Political - 1928
Party Affiliation.

Demo rattle

Compared by Candler

By Bishop Warren A. Candler

There is no possible defense for lynching in the south or lynching in any other part of our country where it occurs. It is to be regretted that there are lynchings beyond the limits of the south which have even less excuse than most of those which occur in the south. But wherever a lynching occurs it is utterly reprehensible. It means the lynching of the law even more than it signifies the lynching of the victim.

But in the entire country last year there were no more than 16 lynchings, if we may trust the statistics reported from a bureau which seems not to overlook any such offenses anywhere.

In the south there are approximately thirty millions of people, which is about ten times as many as are the inhabitants of Chicago. Yet the gangsters of Chicago who assassinate for money outnumber the lynchers of the south very greatly. Yet no bureau keeps the statistics of the dastardly deeds of the gangsters in Chicago and New York; and no federal law is proposed to punish these assassins, although an anti-lynching law is proposed for the south. A lynching in the south is never done for the sake of money. It is generally done to avenge dreadful crimes against women and girls. But the gangsters of New York and Chicago kill in cold blood for cold cash. They seem to divide the cities up into areas assigned to particular gangsters or some particular "racketeers." When one of these shameless criminals invades the territory which another of his class claims, assassination is likely to follow.

Moreover, there is an unblushing boldness and a shameless openness about the gangsters in the great cities of the north. They do not conceal nor deny their crimes, but rather parade them.

A few days ago the press dispatches reported that one of them was buried in a coffin costing $15,000; and the manifestation of sympathizers at his funeral was in keeping with the costliness of his burial. Sometime ago, one of the leading dailies in Chicago, printed, under the caption, "A Gangster's Burial," the following editorial:

"America is entirely capable of providing astounding spectacles for the

NEW YORK WORLD

AUG 22 1928

HANDS OFF POLICY IN JERSEY FIGHTS

Republican National Committee Not to Interfere

NEGRO DISPUTE SETTLED

State Board Places Embargo on Sweet Corn Shipments

The Republican National Committee will not interfere in local political fights in New Jersey. Representative Franklin W. Fort, Secretary of the National Committee, told the State Committee yesterday in Trenton. He said the National Committee's plan is to let the State Committees conduct their local campaigns in conjunction with the Hoover campaign. The State Committee ironed out a difference between two Negro factions by appointing George E. Bates of East Orange, Secretary of the National Colored B. P. C. E., to the Negro Auxiliary Committee. The factions wanted to name their own committee.

Embargo on Corn Shipments

The State Board of Agriculture yesterday ordered an embargo against sweet corn being shipped into Hudson and Middlesex Counties. The quarantine applies to corn, broom corn, all sorghums and sudan grass, unless rigidly inspected by Federal and State officials. This would prevent the redistribution of New York and Long Island corn, which is said to be affected by the corn borer, an insect that ravages both the corn and corn stalks.

The restricted area includes Hoboken, Jersey City, Weehawken, West New York, Union City, North Bergen, Guttenberg, Secaucus and Woodbridge in Middlesex County.

Mrs. Giberson Seeks Pardon

Mrs. Ivy Giberson of Lakehurst, sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of her husband, William Giberson, will seek a full pardon from the Court of Pardons, meeting at Trenton Sept. 4, it was learned yesterday. She was found guilty on circumstantial evidence of chloroforming and shooting her husband in the head. Since her incarceration in Trenton, she has had advertisements in newspapers offering a reward of $2,000 to $5,000 for the apprehension of the killer or killers of her husband. Mrs. Giberson has always maintained that two men, after binding her with a rope, robbed and shot her husband.

CONSTITUTION
ATLANTA, GA.

AUG 20 1928

STEPHENS ON TOLERANCE.

If Alexander H. Stephens, one of the greatest of Georgians and soundest of our democratic leaders since the declaration of statehood, were living today what would he say as to the existing movement of so called democrats to disintegrate the party from within, because of religious prejudice and intolerance?

The only fair and just conclusion must be gathered from what he did say when precisely the same situation existed before the war between the states.

Then the "Know-Nothing party" flourished its insidious creed of bigotry, and incited rebellion and even riot in the south in its attack upon the constitutional guarantee of religious freedom.

That black page in the south's history was in the 50's.

Few people living today recall the activities of the "Know-Nothing party" except by history. But it left its stain and its stigma.

At that time Alexander H. Stephens was one of the great Georgia triumvirate that largely shaped by virile leadership the affairs of the Empire democratic state of the south that was being storm-tossed by a misguided group, and by its mobilization of ignorance and prejudice.

During the democratic campaign of 1856 he delivered a memorable address firmly sustaining the religious freedom provision of the federal constitution, presenting an unanswerable argument in favor of tolerance.

"In America every citizen, wherever he may be born, or whatever may be his religion, is to be measured and weighed in the civil scales according to his merits and conduct, deserts and worth."

Those were his words, followed by a masterful argument in opposition to "mixing religion and politics," and in the interest of the party that had been the sustaining strength of the south, and the house of refuge, ten years later, under the shelter of which the white people of the south escaped from negro domination, and from laws enforced by "carpet baggers" with federal bayonets at their back.

In both branches of congress, as governor, and as vice president of the Confederacy, his great mind, and unsullied statesmanship, stood out conspicuously as a southerner who ranked with the most powerful leaders of the nation.

His statue, one of Georgia's quota of two, is in the hall of fame in the nation's capitol by a choice of the people as one of Georgia's greatest men.

We are publishing elsewhere his address of 1856 against religious intolerance.

If he had made it today, 72 years later, under conditions that exist, it would meet the situation as it did in those days, when practically the same conditions prevailed.

All of the noise now being made by the democratic insurrectionists is incited by religious prejudice. The party mutineeers dare not attack the federal constitution. They hide behind the prohibition issue as a smoke screen.

The words of Alexander H. Stephens, delivered in 1856, ring today, from the pages of history, as a clarion call to duty, to honor and to fundamental obligation.

HERALD
Manchester Conn.

AUG 7 1928

COLORED VOTE

Every Presidential election year, along about this time, we hear about large gatherings of disgruntled northern Negro voters who have resolved that the time has come to quit the Republican party and go over to the Democrats. Somehow the results of the bolts are never discernible in those wards where the colored man and brother has his habitat.

There is no race of people in the world with a sense of humor quite equal to that of the Negro. He can get some fun out of any situation except his own funeral. And the idea of working the solemnly credulous Democratic leaders for spreads of fried chicken and watermelon is too good to be resisted. So we see the colored boys every four years stringing the good thing along and squeezing as much happiness as possible out of the campaign. In November, of course, they all go to the polls and vote for the party of Marse Abe Lincoln.

This year they are not likely to abandon the Herbert Hoover who rescued scores of thousands of their kin from the horrors of the Mississippi flood in the interest of the people who deny them the right to vote at all.

WHY THE SOUTH IS FOR SMITH

The Southern states will vote for Smith and Robinson. Whatever the disaffection, whatever the spirit of resentment, whatever the pain on the part of devoted prohibitionists, they will support the Democratic ticket, because they must. Their good sense will convince them of it.

The presence of the Negroes as potential voters ties the prohibitionists to the Democratic party. In South Carolina are now about 875,000 Negroes and about 925,000 whites.

The white people cannot divide into two parties without getting many Negro voters into both. If the Negroes are used as voters they will be used as [illegible].

Since Mr. Taft took office in 1908, the Southern white people have not been harassed by Republican administrations with appointments of Negroes, and a frame of mind has been induced upon them that this menace to their safety and peace has been wholly removed.

What they have forgotten is that in the same twenty years the contacts of the federal government with the private acairs and interests of the citizens have been multiplied by ten, or twenty. They forgot what might take place when they ratified the

Eighteenth amendment and their congressmen voted for the Volstead act. They forgot that, one day, Negroes might be appointed a federal prohibition enforcers. The Volstead act is a "force bill."

Federal prohibition agents are federal police officers.

In South Carolina are about 200,000 Negroes of voting age. If 50,000 of them vote the Republican ticket, they will demand their rewards and will receive them. Some of them will be appointed to office. That statement proves itself. Probably, in Northern cities, are a few Negro prohibition agents now.

In South Carolina is not a Prohibition Democrat who would be willing for the home of a suspected "wet" to be raided by a Negro agent. Nor would he have white men and white women in automobiles subject to be halted and searched by colored men.

In Mr. Taft's administration was no federal income tax, no collectors and auditors looking into the citizen's books. There was no Harrison narcotic act, with federal enforcers, in those days.

In these twenty years laws have been passed whereby the federal government enters, at will, into every man's and every woman's kitchen, office, store, bedroom, bathroom. Its agents tap the telephone wires and eavesdrop a conversation at a man's fireside if it is their wish. It is their right. The supreme court so has decided.

Twenty years ago the federal government seldom touched the average man. A few deputy collectors raided a few mountain moonshiners, the collector of the port here had to do with shippers, and other people would scarcely have known by personal association that there was a federal government except from the postoffice.

All that is changed now. "Uncle Sam" walks with us arm in arm. He crosses his legs under our tables. When he is in good humor he is a welcome guest, but when he is prying he isn't.

The News and Courier has no delight in talking about the Negro question, its disposition toward the Negroes is not unkind., but we have got to keep the Negroes out of govesnment in the South or get out of the South ourselves.

The federal government having become intimate with all of us, having taken a seat in the family circle, which it did not do formerly, it is for the South to watch.

If the whites divide, the Negroes vote.

If the Negroes vote, they get a share of the offices.

Prohibition agents and income tax deputies are federal officers.

These officers get closer to us than do other offirers.

The Southern white prohibitionists will turn against national prohibition and vote for a "wet" candidate for president, pledged to uphold the right of each state to deal with the liquor traffic question in its own way, before they will take the chance of creating an angry division of the white people and having the South infested with Negro prohibition agents and income tax investigators.

Of course tne South will vote for Smith and Robinson.—The News & Courier.

SMITH AND THE NEGRO

If the Al Smith newspapers did not continue to insist that Georgia democrats will have to contend with Ben Davis if they refuse to support Smith, we would find a little more grounds for beliieving that they were trying to fight out in the open in fair manner.

But they know Georgia has been cleaned up by the Hoover forces who will offer a white electoral ticket for representative citizens. One can take a pint of liquor and color the editorial policy of the Grand Old Telegraph as completely as if he had wielded the brush himself. But wait, please. We did not say it had to be taken into the editorial sanctum of that newspaper and used. Not that. Something a bit different has to be done.

Those who want to shape the editorial policies of the Macon Telegraph go to Atlanta--nowhere else. They find one certain man who with grave countenance admits the candidates by card. His name is Hammond—John Hammond. Once inside a pint—not over a quart — has to be produced. It may be that a supper—a midnight supper in some cafe near at hand — should be added for safety, but that quart and that supper—that's all. The next two or three columns of political observations that go down to the Macon Telegraph are all shaped like the donor of that quart and that supper want them. John Hammond never goes back on a fellow who brings the pint or quart and buys the supper.

Later on, not many moons afterwards, down through the dignified columns of the editorial page of the Macon Telegraph goes the reflection from the latest Hammond article. Truth or no truth—meanness or what not—spleen or hatred, rarest of all rare reflection is the editorial comment. It carries the Hammond coloring, true to the crossing of the last letter "t".

Ben Davis has been removed from the arena in Georgia—was the day after the Kansas City convention refused to honor him with the same place he has held. But because it thinks it can still smear the stink of a sweaty negro flavored with cheap booze and cheroots all over the consciences of upstanding Georgianes who are determined not to vote for Al Smith, it offers in the Monday issue the following—and more:

"According to Mr. Hammond, who received his information from one of the leading white Republicans of the state, the national republican organization has recognized the Ben Davis wing of the republican party in Georgia and is approving Davis' selection of G. F. Flanders, of Swainsboro, for chairman of the state central committee. The information further is that the national committee will make no selection of a national committeeman from Georgia to succeed Davis until after the November election."

Note, please, that it is conceded in the last words that Davis does not succeed himself as national committee man—until after the November election. Then—we are left to guss what will happen. That is rotten as can be—is the work of rottenest kind of fighting. It but knocks the stuffin' out of the fellow who slings such stuff

Now, let's turn for a moment in another direction.

These are the words in which the negro voters "Advisory Association" out in Colorado congratulated the Honorable Alfred E. Smith of New York, when he was nominated to head the democracy of this nation in the fiasco at Houston:

"The Colored Negro Voters Advisory Association congratulates the Democratic party upon your nomination as its standard bearer for the presidency of the United States. Your nomination comes to the negroes of America as their second emancipation proclamation. The first freed them from manual bondage. The second frees them from political slavery. The Colorado negro voters will give you and Senator Robinson in our judgment at least eighty per cent. of their voting strength."

It is hard for the Hammond type to understand that the republicans have never had any thing on Tammany as a negro coddling organization. Hammond's type cannot see it—just doesn't want to see it. With this type—and wiith all the other Al Smithers in Georgia the one task is to spread the smell of the negro.

On the front page of the New York Times of Sunday—day before yesterday—appears this shocking comment on the new move Raskob is making to capture the negro vote everywhere for the Al Smith and Tammany ticket:

"Washington, Aug. 4.—Republican leaders are perturbed over news they have received that Chairman John J. Raskob of the Democratic National Committee plans to organize the negro vote in Northern, Border and Central Western States in an effort to land it for the Smith-Robinson ticket.

"The Republican party always has regarded the negro vote as its own, and party leaders, therefore, were somewhat pained to learn that they would have to be up and doing this year to keep this particular segment of the voting population in line.

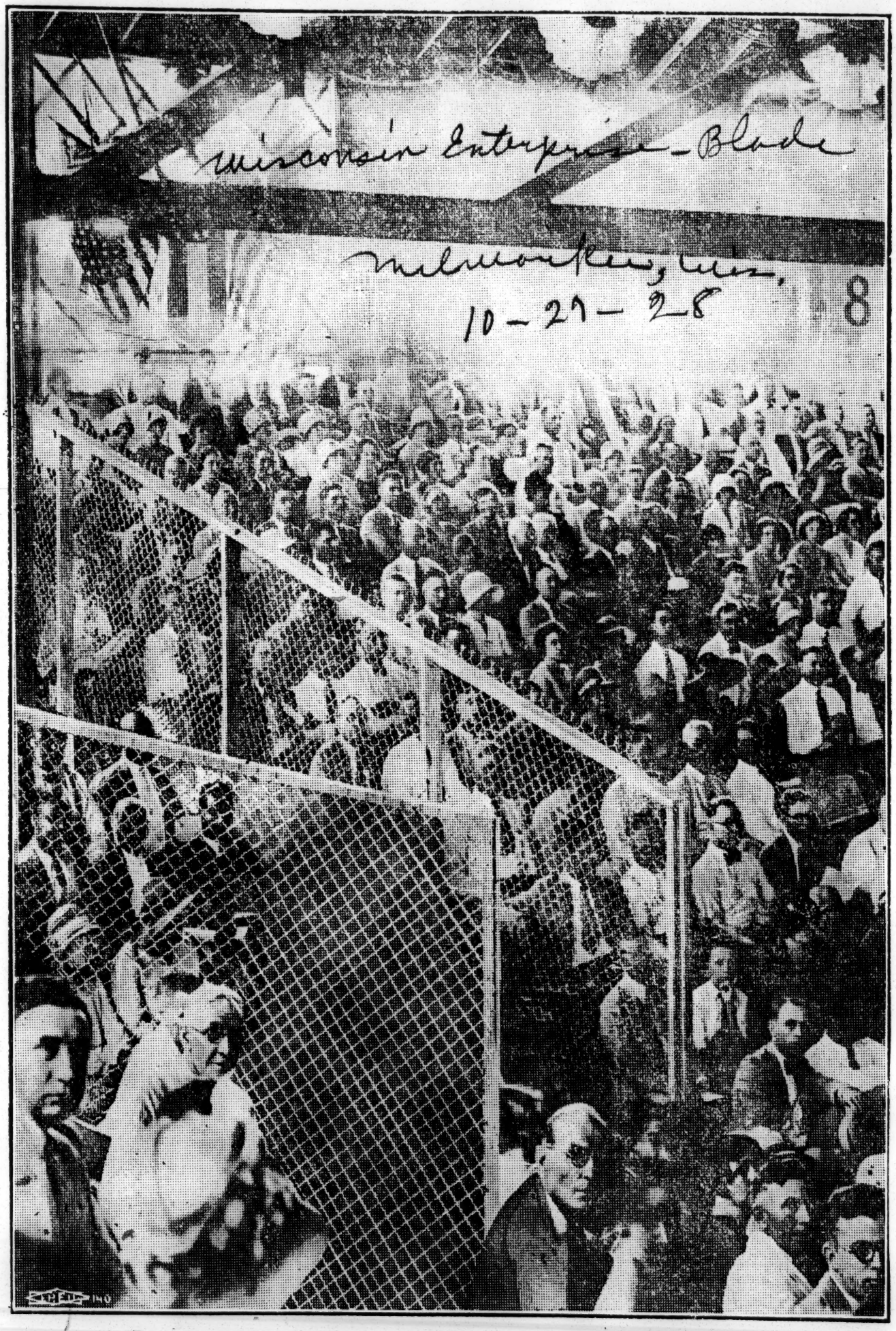
"The campaign now being conducted on behalf of Governor Smith has taken on characteristics that tend at times to confuse the political opposition. The Raskob management is not proceeding along the conventional lines that have marked Democratic campaigns for years. Its appeal to what is known as "big business" was a notable departure from previously accepted Democratic policy.

"Mr. Raskob's bid for the negro vote was a bold challenge that Chairman Work of the Republican National Committee met by the prompt organization of a colored voters division to resist the Democratic attempt to wean the negro in the north and west from his long time political association.

"According to information received here Chairman Raskob has gone after the negro vote in a most business like manner. Hoover leaders are advised that he has chosen a number of bright young men identified with the Harlem black belt, where Governor Smith is strong, to carry on the work. These young men are to be sent to other black belts to convey the message that Governor Smith is friendly to the race that this would be a good year for the negro to demonstrate that he is capable of independent thinking and that he must no longer permit himself to be treated merely as a chattel of the republican party.

"Definite information is lacking as to what special arguments are to be made in urging the colored voter to vote for Smith and Robinson. The republicans have had no trouble in former national elections to hold the negro voter in leash. They have rewarded leaders of the race with public offices and recognition in other ways. It is a new experience for the republicans to find themselves confronted by an organization that thinks it has a chance of swinging the colored vote into the democratic column."

Jim. Crow "Cage" at Democratic Convention



The segregated section for Negroes at the Democratic convention in Houston, which nominated Gov. Smith and Senator Robinson of Arkansas, was built with chicken wire and caused many heart-burnings among the colored people who had been trapped into believing Smith and his supporters would treat them fairly.

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HOUSTON'S MAYORALTY CAMPAIGN

The city executive committee of the Democratic party has designated Saturday, December 1, 1928, as the day for the "white man's primary" election to choose the mayor, four city commissioners and city controller for the next two ensuing years.

Already candidates are filing for the various offices, while the executive committeemen are cutting some peculiar capers in their avowed intention to disqualify all Democrats who vote for the Hoover-Curtis presidential electors in the general election Tuesday, November 6, 1928.

If the city Democratic committee carries out this threat, and if the thousands of local Democrats cast their votes for Mr. Hoover as they have already indicated they will do, it begins to appear as if the local Democrats are in for quite a hectic battle.

In support of their contention that they can disqualify the Democratic "bolters" and defectionists, members of the city executive committee contend that the recent decision of Federal Judge J. C. Hutcheson, Jr., in holding against O. P. DeWalt and J. B. Grigsby, local race leaders who sought a mandatory writ to compel the county Democratic executive committee to permit them to vote in the July and August primaries held by the Democratic party, gives them full authority to determine who shall be qualified to cast a ballot in such partisan elections.

Many local Democrats, who have placed patriotism above party and determined to vote for Mr. Hoover for president of the republic, are literally "up in arms" at the latest edict issued by the city party leaders, and are threatening to resort to court proceedings in the event such a disqualifying clause is printed on the ballots for the municipal primary election.

Members of other political parties in the city, who will also be disqualified by such ruling, should not be caught napping; and if these tax-paying citizens are denied a right to vote in such an important primary election, then they should organize their forces and bring out a strong, independent ticket next spring to oppose the nominees of the December 1 primary.

With the city Democratic primary election being held during 1928, and with ample time between December 1, 1928, and January 31, 1929, for voters to qualify to exercise their elective franchise right in the various elections of next year, those citizens who will not be permitted to vote in the election on December 1, can certainly get ready for the general city election which will not be held until April, 1929.

Most asuredly there is nothing in the city charter which makes it mandatory upon the voters of Houston to elect only Democrats to the offices of mayor, city commissioners and controller.

Furthermore, Houston is the only large city in Texas, with one possible exception, where partisan politics obtain in the election of city officials, and The Informer is of the opinion that 1929 will be as good a year as any to place this city in the group of Texas municipalities holding non-partisan city elections.

Democratic

NEGROES OF VIRGINIA INSULTED AT DEMCRATIC MASS MEETING

Roanoke, Va.—U. S. Senator, Carter Glass, of Virginia, addressed a mass meeting in Roanoke, on Friday, September 28th. Mr. Glass stated to his hearers that to vote for Hoover would mean the enfranchisement of millions of Negroes in the South, which would perpetuate the Republican Party, and he asked his hearers did they want that to be done. An appeal to the audience not to vote for Hoover for President in order that "White Supremacy" would be upheld.

Mr. Glass referred to the Hon. Garrison Villiard of Boston, who was supporting Hoover, and stated that Mr. Villiard was denied service in the dining rooms of the Hotels of Baltimore, because he had a "nigger" to dine with him. After making this statement he asked his audience did they want to uphold a party who was advocating such. He further stated to his hearers, that he would regard it as one of the greatest disasters, and a great set-back for many years if Virginia would go Republican, and this would cause the state to lose white supremacy.

Virginia Negroes also resented Senator Saxon W. Holt of Newport News; Mr. Holt stated that a vote for the Democratic party in November means a vote for the continuation of white supremacy in Virginia. Mr. Saxon W. Holt stated that he was going to vote the Democratic ticket as it means a great step for Virginia, and white supremacy would surely reign. Mr. Holt stated also, that Congressman Dyer of St. Louis, made a grave mistake when he warned the Virginia people to go Republican, and in the event they do so it would mean success and happiness for the State, and would place the colored people on the same equality with the other races of the country. Mr. Saxon, in quoting Congressman Dyers, stated that he (Congressman Dyers) would insist that Congress enact enforcement laws that would give millions of Negroes their Constitutional Rights as citizens, this is the policy of the Republican Party both State and National.

After quoting Mr. Dyers, Mr. Holt asked his audience again, if they wanted to support a party who would advocate such. Mr. Holt stated that many Counties in the State of Virginia have a majority of Negro population, and warned his hearers to beware of any policy where the Negro was liable to become in control. And in his closing he appealed to the seriousness and danger of Virginia lossing white supremacy if the State should go Republican.

Mr. C. Tiffney Tolliver, Chairman of the Colored Voters Division, of the State, stated that the Democrats of Virginia, dread worst of all the Negro vote. Mr. Toliver also stated, that as he has stated to his daily callers at his headquarters, there is no doubt of Virginia being carried by Hoover. Mr. Tolliver and several leading politicians of the State will make another tour of the State this week, and will arrive to Elizabethtown, Tenn., to hear Mr. Hoover speak on Saturday, October 6th. Major W. B. F. Crowell, will be among the number to accompany Mr. Tolliver, and will speak in Bristol, Tenn., on Friday, October the 5th.

20-Page Al Smith Pamphlet Out

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Newark, N. J. Business Man For Smith

NEWARK.— B. C. Gordon, one of New Jersey's best known colored business men, is an ardent Al Smith supporter. "Members of the race should not forget what Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, Assistant United States Attorney General, is doing to Perry Howard, of Mississippi," states Mr. Gordon. "The Republican Party thinks it sees some hope of breaking the Solid South, so the poor Negro is to suffer the same as he did in 1876.

"After forty years voting as a Republican I shall this year cast my vote for the Democrats. It is my belief that if we enter the portals of the Republican Party this year, our future is hopeless and our civic, political and economical hopes would be lost forever."

YES, AL DID IT

Before the campaign is over we expect the Democrats down here in Oklahoma will claim credit for the excellent corn crop. Such reasoning will be just as consistent as the talk that is going the rounds that Al Smith has placed 700 Negroes on the police force in New York. Of course, the governor of Oklahoma does not appoint policemen, and the constitution of the State of New York does not repose any such responsibility upon the chief executive of that state. Bonehead Negroes will still continue to roam around and tell the story of how Al Smith took over the police department of New York City and appointed 700 coppers.

While Al's henchmen are dealing in bunk they ought to go the limit. Why not tell the Negroes that Al will give them a mild winter as soon as elected, so far as the South is concerned he will immediately exterminate the boll weevil.

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"After forty years voting as a Republican I shall this year cast my vote for the Democrats. It is my belief that if we enter the portals of the Republican Party this year, our future is hopeless and our civic, political and economical hopes would be lost forever."

YES, AL DID IT

Before the campaign is over we expect the Democrats down here in Oklahoma will claim credit for the excellent corn crop. Such reasoning will be just as consistent as the talk that is going the rounds that Al Smith has placed 700 Negroes on the police force in New York. Of course, the governor of Oklahoma does not appoint policemen, and the constitution of the State of New York does not repose any such responsibility upon the chief executive of that state. Bonehead Negroes will still continue to roam around and tell the story of how Al Smith took over the police department of New York City and appointed 700 coppers.

While Al's henchmen are dealing in bunk, they ought to go the limit. Why not tell the Negroes up North what Al will give them a mild winter as soon as elected, so far as the South is concerned he will immediately exterminate the boll weevil.

Cutting Off Your Nose

LAST WEEK'S Afro-American published an article by Commissioner Ferdinand J. Morton, entitled "Why I'm for Smith." Some hardboiled souls might reply that Mr. Morton is for Smith because he holds a high-salaried job under Tammany Hall. But apart from that, Mr. Morton makes about as good an argument for the Negro's voting for Smith as can be made, which is saying very little.

Mr. Morton says that as long as the Negro's vote is the property of one political party he cannot use it to his advantage; that he can use it to his advantage only if he divides it; that he should prove his political independence by dividing his vote, thus earning the respect of the nation and placing himself in a position of strategic advantage politically. All these things will be accomplished, Mr. Morton says, if the Negroes give their vote to Governor Smith.

THE AIMS MENTIONED BY MR. MORTON are sound enough and all Negroes can agree upon them. But how can those aims be accomplished by the Negro's voting for Governor Smith? What strategic advantage can be gained by fighting for an enemy? And the National Democratic party, governed as it is by Negro-hating Southerners, is certainly the Negro's enemy.

IT IS EASY TO TALK of dividing the vote, but what encouragement have the Democrats given the Negro to divide it? Whenever a group of Negroes have offered their allegiance to the National Democratic party it has been contemptuously spurned. The best chance the Democrats ever had to win the Negro vote was in 1912, when Woodrow Wilson first ran for President. The Negroes were disgusted with Taft and angry with Roosevelt. Woodrow Wilson came along preaching the new freedom, and thousands of progressive Negroes believed him and voted for him. This number would have been doubled in the next election if the Negroes had received halfway decent treatment. But Wilson not only scorned them; he told them he could be elected without them.

WHAT ENCOURAGEMENT has the Negro from the Democrats in the present campaign? First of all, they nominated a man who in his four terms as Governor had never appointed a Negro to office, who had three times vetoed a bill, ostensibly for the reason that it might make it possible to elect a Negro magistrate to the Municipal Court bench, and who at no time in his public life has ever uttered a word of friendliness or encouragement to the Negro. All through the present campaign the Democratic National Committee has nervously denied that it had any Negro connections and has done its best to assure the South that if Smith should be elected Negroes would not be appointed to anything higher than menial positions.

THEORETICALLY, it might seem a good thing for the Negroes to rebuke Republican negligence by helping to elect a Democrat, but practically it would be like cutting off the nose to spite the face.

Bristol, Tenn., News-Bulletin
Wednesday, September 26, 1928

Oh, Yes! "The Nigger!"

As has already been said in this column, some of the Democratic newspapers and politicians are appealing to sectional and racial prejudices in this campaign. They are engaged in a wild effort to persuade the Southern people to believe Tammany Hall has always been a friend to the South, that Tammany has stood between the South and Negro domination, and that even now the surest means of perpetuating white supremacy in this section is to elect the Tammany ticket in November. Of course, the more intelligent Southern people know there is no menace to white supremacy in the South, at least from the Republican Party; but in this connection it is interesting to note a few facts regarding Tammany Hall and the Negro.

The argument that a Democratic victory is necessary to insure white supremacy is being used only in the South. It is not being used in the North, and especially it is not being used in New York City, where there is a large Negro vote. Tammany Hall is playing for that vote in New York and in Chicago and elsewhere in the North, and indications are that Tammany will corral the most of it. For the Negro has come to regard Tammany as his good friend.

Tammany, which controls New York City, has been very considerate in dealing with Negro patronage. While it has no Negro membership, directly affiliated, there is an organization known as the Colored Democracy, whose leaders are close to the leaders of Tammany in political matters. The colored leader of this Colored Democracy holds the important position of Municipal Civil Service Commissioner at a salary of $7,500 a year and just now is directing the Smith-for-President Colored League.

There are about 1,500 men and women employed by the City of New York, including stenographers, secretaries, clerks, foremen, doormen and messengers. Whites and Negroes work side by side. There are about fifty Negro school teachers in the city public schools, most of whom have both white and Negro pupils. In some schools the Negro pupils predominate, and mixed classes are the rule in all the schools. There are many Negro policemen, some of whom are sergeants. A recent colored addition to the Police Department in Harlem was Louis T. Wright, who was made Police Surgeon with the rank of Police Inspector.

During election times Democratic Negro politicians, working under Tammany Hall direction, are active at the polls in Harlem. Most of these workers are city or State employees and are charged with the responsibility of keeping their precincts or districts properly lined up. They understand the game of politics and play it with the facility and alacrity of their fellow politicians from the Fourteenth Street Wigwam.

As the campaign progresses Democratic orators are telling the voters in the South to work for a great outpouring of Democratic votes to maintain white supremacy. At the same time the Smith-for-President League in New York is talking about new opportunities that are being offered to the Negro by the Democratic Party and of Governor Smith's great human and understanding qualities that may be depended upon to solve the vexing social problems affecting the progress of the Negro.

An incident that did not help the position of the Democratic leaders in the South occurred in New York recently at a convention of the National Negro Business League, which was attended by more than five hundred representatives from all parts of the United States. The convention was welcomed by James J. Walker, the Tammany Mayor of New York, who, according to the New York Times, concluded his address with these words: "After the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November—I won't say what is going to happen—but I can assure you now that you will be as welcome in the White House as you are here in New York City."

Since the Tammany Tiger swallowed the Democratic Donkey at Houston the Democrats of a Missouri district have nominated a Negro for Congress. And indications now are that the Tammanyized Democracy will get the bulk of the Negro vote of the country, in the South as well as in other sections. The Negroes

rally to the Tammany standard, carried by Smith, Raskob and Company, in a noble effort to save white supremacy in the South!

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation.

Rainey Sees Smith Sentiment in West

New York, Sept. 26.—Never before in the country's history has there been such a pronounced sentiment for a Democratic candidate for President as for Alfred E. Smith is the observation made by Julian D. Rainey, chairman of organization of the Smith-for-President Colored League.

Mr. Rainey has just completed a tour of the middlewest getting a close-up of the political situation ,and reports that many Negroes are espousing the cause of the Democratic nominee.

"In the past, while Negroes have supported Democratic candidates in local and state elections, especially in the north and middlewest, they have displayed reluctancy in voting for a Democrat for President.

"This year presents an unprecedented situation everywhere. Smith-for-President Colored Clubs are forming and you will find Negroes openly and enthusiastically proclaiming their preference for Governor Smith."

BISHOP CLEMENT GIVES REASONS FOR SUPPORTING SMITH

Akron, O., Sept. 26—The Rt. Rev. George C. Clement, one of the most influential Bishops of the A. M. E. Zion Church, is giving his reasons for supporting Alfred E. Smith for President.

"First, I regard him as the ablest executive now in American public life, efficient, honest, fair and magnetic; second, I believe in religious tolerance, oppose bigotry, whether creed or race; third, although favoring prohibition, I am convinced that Gov. Smith could not be more favorable to liquor interests than the present administration has proven; fourth, the time is here when the Negro must divide his votes or else hazard his citizenship; fifth, Hell-in and the ku klux klan leaves me no other choice."

This communication was addressed to the Rt. Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, Bishop of the A. M. E. Church, who is Chairman of the Speakers Committee of the Smith-for-President Colored League.

SMITH BACKERS REFUTE BLACKS HOLD BIG JOBS

Washington, D. C.—(ANP—The only recognition that Governor Smith has given to Negro Democrats has been in their appointment to jobs of porters, janitors and charwomen, etc., according to an official statement issued by the Washington office of the Democratic national committee last Sunday. This statement denied emphatically that Governor Smith has ever had a Negro stenographer, or has ever appointed a colored Democrat to a position of trust and responsibility under his administration.

"The truth is," the statement reads, "Governor Smith does not have, and never has had, a Negro stenographer, and in the employmnt of Negroes by the state of New York under his administration this has been done only to fill such jobs as they are given in the South, to wit: porters, janitors, charwomen, etc."

This answer of the Democratic national committee is to a charge alleged to have been made by a preacher at Foley, Ala., that "Gov. Smith's private stenographer was a Negro wench and that Smith had placed thousands of Negroes on the payroll in New York state." Exceptions were also taken to Negroes riding up and down the eastern shore of Maryland in automobiles displaying on their sides "Al Smith" streamers. Senator Millard Tydings, chairman of the Democratic speakers bureau, says that he is informed that Republicans have hired these colored persons to do this.

Sprinkle Smith Clubs Among Illinois' Colored Population

Chicago, Sept 24.—(By A. N. P.)—In order to break the traditional chain which has bound colored voters to the Republican party for the past two generations, prominent Negro leaders of the state have set about to boost the candidacy of Gov. Alfred E. Smith and enlist colored voters in the ranks of the Democratic state organization. W. Ellis Stewart, State Chairman of the Smith-for-President Colored League, reports that active Smith Clubs have been organized in Chicago, Peoria, Springfield, East St. Louis, Cairo, Carbondale, Danville, and Evanston.

COLORED VOTE FOR SMITH CLUB FORMED AT ANNAPOLIS, MD.

A conference of leading colored political and business men of Annapolis, Md., and vicinity, resulted in the formation of a Smith-for-President organization.

Mr. Charles Henry Bell, who has twice been elected city alderman, was chosen president, Mr. Joseph A. Taylor, prominent Elk, was elected secretary, and Mr. Wm. D. Nixon, of Ann Arundel County, chairman of the executive board.

The officers of the newly formed Democratic club accepted an invitation extended by the Royal Flush Club the largest colored social organization in Maryland, to address them on the two political parties. The president of the club introduced Mr. W. D. Nixon, who reviewed the many shortcomings of the Republican party and pointed out that our forefathers have paid in full our former debt of gratitude to that party. He urged the young men to think for themselves and to withdraw their support from the G. O. P. whose ingratitude and neglect of our interests should no longer be tolerated.

Ex-Alderman Chas. H. Bell, of the fourth ward of Annapolis, also made an excellent address, pointing out that it is time for the Negro to stop following blindly the party that has not kept faith with our people.

The Smith Democratic Club has a large following, and has planned for several mass meetings to be addressed by leading race men.

N A A C P HEAD COMES OUT FOR SMITH

BOSTON, Sept. 26—Moorfield Storey, since the early 70's leader of the Boston Bar and as staunch friend of the Negro, has written a letter to John W. Davis, Democratic candidate for President in 1924, offering his support to Governor Smith. Mr. Storey is a lecturer of Harvard University and an author of many monographs on many political subjects. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Since 1912 he has been President of

SMITH ON PARTY RESPONSIBILITY

In his transcontinental tour, Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, Democratic presidential nominee, is proving quite a drawing card, and thousands of people are listening to and cheering him wherever he appears or delivers one of his celebrated invectives against the Republican party and its presidential standard-bearer, Hon. Herbert Hoover.

In his Oklahoma City address a few nights ago, Governor Smith, by replying to those religious fanatics and zealots who are opposing the Democratic presidential candidate because of his church connections, projected the religious issue more to the fore and became very intolerant of those who are opposing him because of his liquor and religious views.

At Helena, Montana, Governor Smith took the firm position that Mr. Hoover and the Republican party are wholly responsible for all the corruption, graft, pillage and fraud charged against certain Republicans during the Harding administration.

If Governor Smith's position is feasible and tenable (and we are not contending to the contrary), then what about the responsibility of his Democratic party for the injustices, inequalities and double standard citizenship in Southern states where the Democratic party holds sway?

If a party organization is responsible for any act committed during its administration of national, state, county or municipal affairs, then must we hold the Democratic party responsible for the prologue to their national convention at Houston during last June, when certain heathenish and hunnish members of the Democratic party staged the first lynching bee in the history of this city?

The Informer is not endeavoring to absolve the Republican party and Nominee Hoover from Governor Smith's charges and allegations, but if Mr. Hoover is responsible for the shortcomings of certain Republicans, how can Governor Smith escape or dodge the blame for the damnable and diabolical record of the Democratic party, particularly in the Southern states?

We wonder if the Gotham governor, in his denunciation of the Republican party as thieves, robbers and grafters, has forgotten about the unsavory and unspeakable record of Tammany Hall, his own "dear and precious" political organization which has been a stench in the nostril of decent American people, without regard to partisan affiliations, since the days of Tweed, Croker and others of their ilk and regime?

We would like to know what Governor Smith thinks about the rotten conditions obtaining in the South, where his "darling" party has held domination since the Civil War, and where crookedness, grafting and pillage of public funds have been practiced on a big scale in numerous instances!

What about the graft charges now being made against the Democratic party in New York City, where, it is alleged, millions of dollars have been filched and squandered by Governor Smith's political associates and partisan comrades—where his bosom friend, "Jimmy" Walker, occupies the mayorality chair?

If Governor Smith's contention about party responsibility is correct, then his Democratic party, taken by and large, can not consistently nor conscientiously point the indicting finger at the Republican party; for whenever the kettle jumps up and calls the pot black, the former makes itself both ridiculous and indicrous

IRA BRYANT'S STAND AROUSES COMMENT

Leading A. M. E. Layman Out Flatfooted For Al Smith

HOOVER INDECISIVE

Afro-American
10-20-28

G. O. P. Candidate Looking Both Ways He Declares

Baltimore, Md.

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The statement of Ira T. Bryant, Secretary-Treasurer and Manager of the African Methodist Episcopal Sunday School Union, that the Negro should support Alfred E. Smith for President as the race owes the Republican Party nothing has been the subpect of widespread comment among members of the race.

Mr. Bryant, one of the most influential members of the A. M. E. Church, is asking Negroes, "Why vote for Hoover?" "They say we should votef or Mr. Hoover because we were 'caged off' at the convention in Houston, but they forget that before we were 'caged off' at the enemy's meeting in Houston we were 'jim-crowed' in the meeting of our friends at Kansas City," cites Mr. Bryant.

"The treachery within our ranks that recently brought about the defeating of Ben Davis in Georgia, Cohen in Louisiana, and Perry Howard in Mississippi, was undoubtedly inspired by white Republican Party leaders in their bid for the Ku Klux Klan votes in the South," he continues.

New Leadership

"But the most cowardly aspect of this Republican treachery in the Negro race is found in Secretary Work's recent statement in Washington reflecting upon the integrity of Negro political leaders of the past, in his effort to conceal the cloven hand of the faint promise of great things to come to the race by reason of a 'new leadership among Negroes', which not deceives no one.

"The truth is the men of the race now managing the affairs of the Party are not one whit better in any respect than those of other days. Politics, where yesterday, today, or tomorrow. Whatever happened in Georgia or Mississippi is exactly what would happen in every other state, altho possibly with a different background. It takes money to maintain organizations and it certainly stands to reason that those who hold office should pay for the up-keep of party organization.

Has The Guts

"I believe there is merit in Harding's advice to the Negro to divide their vote. Aside from that, we stand for the election of Smith: (1) because he stands for something, and (2) because he has the guts to say without being prodded just what he does stand for. In this respect he is in marked contrast with Hoover, the man of indecision, the Sphinx of looking both ways in variety.

"I shall cast my vote for Gov. Alfred E. Smith if for on other reason than to show the Republican Party that they cannot assault all the Negroes with impunity and still keep us in line."

Smith League In Norfolk

NORFOLK, Va. — A Smith-for President Colored League Club has been organized here with the following officers: W. L. Davis, President; Dr. C. F. Coppage, Vice-President; J. M. Harrison, Secretary; Dr. A. Strong, Treasurer; Rev. D. J. Le Chaplain; Dr. R. J. Brown, Sergeant-at-Arms.

DEMOCR'TS USED GUM SHOE ON MINISTERS

Endorsement of Al Smith Sought at Louisville Convention

BODY BACKS HOOVER

LOUISVILLE, Ky.— Employment of Negro ministers by the Democratic party to attempt to corral the Negro votes for Al Smith definitely was revealed at the annual session of the National Baptist Convention held here last week.

Little did President L. K. Williams, of Chicago, suspect that Democrat emissaries were working in the ranks of his organization until he discovered what was characterized as a "gum shoe" method of obtaining the endorsement of Baptist ministers for the Al Smith ticket.

When the real purpose of the Democratic emissaries was brought to the attention of Dr. Williams and other leaders of the convention, a resolution was presented to drive out the Smith workers and another resolution which read:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of the convention it is not safe to place the reins of government in the hands of any person who highly esteems the Constitution, the fundamental law of the land, conceived in the wisdom of the founders of this Republic and enlarged and strengthened by very important amendments held and regarded as essential to the freedom and well-being of all citizens of the country."

Wire Cage At Democratic Convention Recalls Action of Dr. Washington When Speaking In Florida Theatre

Dr. J. Kenney, An Eye-Witness, Recalls How Tuskegee Head Reacted To Dividing of Colored and Whites In Theatre By Sheets

Age
10-20-28

After seeing in last week's Age the photographic reproduction of wire cage installed at the last Democratic National Convention in which Negroes attending the sessions were compelled to sit, Dr. John A. Kenney of the Kenney Memorial Hospital, 132 West Kinney street, Newark, N. J., writes The Age, asking if the Negro can "support a party who has such fear of contamination."

New York Mining

The incident calls to the mind of Dr. Kenny an occurrence in Florida on the occasion of one of the late Dr. Booker T. Washington's Good Will Tours in that state, hitherto untold, in a theatre in which Dr. Washington spoke to a mixed audience of colored and white hearers, on which occasion an attempt to separate the races by visible barriers was quickly resented by the Tuskegee founder, who refused to speak until the barriers had been removed.

Should Cause Serious Thought.

Dr. Kenny writes as follows:

"KENNEY MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
"132-134 West Kinney Street
"Newark, N. J.
October 12th, 1928.

"Editor of The New York Age:

"The publication by you in The New York Age for Saturday, October 13, of the "Actual Photograph of the Jim Crow Wire Cage Installed at the Democratic National Convention for all Negroes Who Attended the Convention, should set every Negro who is planning to vote the Democratic ticket in the National election to thinking seriously. Regardless of the estimate that he puts upon the candidate, can he support a party who has such fear of contamination by his presence that by said party he is caged off as though he were a savage beast?

Separated by Sheets.

This calls to my mind an incident in the life of the late Booker T. Washington which I have never seen in print, and to which I was an eye-witness. It happened during his "Good Will Tour" of the State of Florida. For the purpose of his address to a mixed audience of white and colored citizens, one of the theatres had been secured. This was the first time that Negroes had ever been into this theatre for any occasion.

When Dr. Washington came upon the rostrum by the stage entrance, in looking over the large audience he saw that the house was divided into two longitudinal sections by sheets or curtains from the rostrum all the way back to the door. He was visibly affected. I don't think that I put it too strongly to say that he was actually angry. He walked tothe front of the stage and in attitude and voice he showed the deep feeling within him.

Had Sheets Removed.

"Without any greeting to the audience he said: "I have travelled all over this country and in many foreign countries, but this is the first time I have ever seen white people and colored people separated by sheets, and now before I begin my address, I want those things taken down from there.'

"And he stood without another word awaiting the execution of his demand. He did not have to wait long for immediately from some source there sprang several hands that took hold of the sheets or curtains and in much less time that it takes to tell it, they were removed.

"He then said, 'Now I'll begin.'

An Act of Heroism.

"This may not seem like very much of an act of courage to some, but to me, considering the environment and all conditions associated with it, it was an act of heroism, distinctly showing where he stood on matters affecting the standing of his race.

"What would he have done for those cages in Houston? Was there no one there to take his place and protest against this outrage?

"I don't believe that respectable colored voters can look upon this picture which you present and with honest racial convictions support the party who thus advertises in no uncertain way to the world its contempt for the race.

"In presenting this matter as you have, I think you have done a fine piece of work at an opportune time.

"JOHN A. KENNEY."

Prominent Lawyer Stumps for Smith

Armond W. Scott, local attorney, left for a speaking tour covering:

Huntington, W. Va., Oct. 11
Charleston, W. Va., Oct. 12
Cincinnati, Ohio, Oct. 17
Lexington, Ky., Oct. 19
Louisville, Ky., Oct. 19
Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 20
Memphis, Tenn., Oct. 21
East St. Louis, Oct. 22
Detroit, Mich., Oct. 26
Chicago, Ill., Oct. 29
Indianapolis, Ind., Oct. 31.

Washington, D. C.

A bomb was dropped into colored political circles here yesterday when reports of the remarks of Senator George H. Moses, director of the Eastern division of the Republican National Committee, reflecting upon the colored people, made during one of his speeches in New York City, were quoted to supporters of both the Hoover-Curtis and the Smith and Robinson tickets.

Several colored leaders interpreted Hoover's Tennessee speech at Elizabethton as repeating what Taft said at his inaugural address when he declared himself against the appointment of colored men to office in the South.

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation

LET US REASON TOGETHER AND BE FAIR WITH EACH OTHER

There are four Negro papers in Louisville. Three of them are supporting Mr. Hoover for the Presidency.

This paper chooses to support Mr. Smith.

We will give our reasons as the campaign develops. The papers supporting Mr. Hoover will give reasons for the faith that is in them.

All we ask is that the arguments be kept to the issues and men. We will not indulge in any mud-slinging or personalities.

We will give our readers what we consider the best thing to do in this election. Intelligent men and women will read and ponder them and compare our arguments with those made by Hoover supporters

POLITICAL SITUATION SLOWING ALONG, SAY

Both Parties Slow to Get Things Going; May Be "Hot" In a Week

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 23.—The question now before the country is what is the delay of both major parties in getting started what was supposed to be the greatest campaign the country ever knew. Before the conventions prediction was rife that more money would be spent this year than ever before by both parties—the Republican and the Democratic. The conventions are over, the candidates have been selected and at this writing one of them has been notified, but the campaigns seem to be lagging.

In Democratic quarters nothing can be heard of what part the colored voters will play in this campaign and election and the only thing that has been done by them is the opening of headquarters in Forty-sixth street, New York City, where the colored brother will do his "carrying on." This is several blocks away from the General Motors building where the white folks will "carry on."

Lester A. Walton Named

Lester A. Walton of the New York World has been selected as publicity man and his selection has proven very popular among the Democrats. Mr. Walton has many friends in both of the major parties. Attorney Rainey of Boston is said to be a close personal friend of William Gaston, a New England millionaire, is heading up the colored division along with Mr. Walton. It appears that Mr. Rainey will do the directing of activities, leaving the publicity end of the campaign to Mr. Walton.

Much Talk Of Morton

In prominent Democratic circles in New York City much discussion is going the rounds as to what part Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton will play in the campaign for Governor Smith, since Mr. Morton is the leading colored member of Tammany Hall. It is also being asked what has become of the Honorable William H. Lews of Boston and what part he will play. It will be remembered that he turned Democrat four years ago and it may be said with considerable truth that he is still off the Republican "reservation."

Not Much Doing Here

Down here in Washington things are just as slow as they are in New York City, if not slower. The only difference, however, is that the activities of the whites and colored here in Washington are not separated, they are all in the same building. There is nothing doing in the publicity department. In fact, Robert L. Vann of Pittsburgh, Pa., director of publicity, has not even been to Washington as late as last Saturday. It is understood that Chairman John R. Hawkins is busy trying to get his appointees to come to a conference but they seem to be "shying" at the conference for some reason. At any rate the campaign has not started here in Washington. Another week may see things moving in both camps and the much-talked-of-campaigns may get going at full speed.

Democratic.

Self-Respecting Democrats

For the soul of us we cannot see how any colored citizen of self-respect could this year proclaim any allegiance to the Democratic party. Whatever hope he might have cherished in years past under the aegis of northern Democracy such as that of the Tammany Hall, Cook County and Kansas City Democratic organizations, all such hope he must now leave behind when he enters the portals of the Al Smith for President Colored Democratic League. When the blind Senator Gore at Houston declared that there could be no question of segregation in the Democratic Party because it was a white man's party and colored men are barred therefrom, he spoke not only the truth, but the platform of his party in 1928. When colored men were not allowed at the convention anywhere except in the coop, screened off by chicken wire near the rafters of the gallery, the emblem of the party was there enshrined. When not only the platform, but the notification acceptance speeches of Governor Smith and Senator Robinson patently excluded the colored citizens from the equation, confirmation of this condition which confronts colored Democrats was given. The theory of Democracy does not embrace colored citizens. They must be either foolish or venal who assert otherwise. But a heart's beat in the event of Al Smith's election would separate the colored citizens of this country from the terrible menace of a cracker President. We rejoice to see the upstanding colored democrats of the country such as William H. Lewis of Boston either remaining silent in their shame of their party or coming out squarely for Hoover. When it comes to self-respecting Democrats in 1928, shouting for Smith and Robinson, there can be no such animals.

CAPITAL ANALYZES ROBINSON'S SPEECH

Defense of Smith on Prohibition Taken as Presenting View for South to Adopt.

PARTY VIEW ON SLANDER

Reflected Indignation Felt by Democrats on the Whispering Campaign in Southern States.

NEGROES FRET REPUBLICANS

Reports of Their Defection Are Being Received From Various Parts of the Country.

By RICHARD V. OULAHAN.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 1.—Political Washington's reaction to Senator Robinson's speech accepting the Democratic nomination for Vice President has been extremely slight, due largely to two causes. One of these is the fact that very few persons prominent in the political world remain in the capital. The other is a disposition to pay less attention to a discussion of campaign issues by the candidate occupying second place on a national ticket than to what already had been said by the Presidential nominee in his acceptance address.

Two features of Senator Robinson's address have aroused comment, however. While he devoted more words to the farm problem than to any other issue of importance in the national political contest, his references to prohibition, and especially his defense of Governor Smith's position concerning it, were read with especial attention in political quarters here for the reason that Senator Robinson is a consistent opponent of any change in the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead enforcement act. What he had to say in condemnation of "the poisons of slander and libel" also attracted notice.

Importance of Prohibition View.

The discussion of the prohibition question by Senator Robinson is regarded as important in indicating to Southern Democratic drys the viewpoint they should adopt toward Governor Smith's wetness, and equal weight appears to be attached to Senator Robinson's attitude because it calls attention to and emphasizes the general disposition of men high in the Southern wing of the party to stand by Governor Smith through thick and thin.

With only a few exceptions, Senators from the South have rallied to the party's national ticket and there seems to be an equally high percentage of Southern representatives in Congresstaking the same stand. It is contended by Southern supporters of Governor Smith that the leadership of Democratic opposition to his candidacy in their section is largely confined to Methodist and Baptist clergymen, officers of prohibition organizations and women engaged in feminist activities.

Senator Robinson's defense of Governor Smith's right to his views with respect to prohibition is expected to encourage others prominent in the party in the Solid South to stand by the Democratic colors.

It is well understood in Washington that Senator Robinson's reference to slander and libel were a reflection of the indignation felt by party workers over the so-called whispering campaign that is being carried on in the South against Gov-

ernor Smith. To term it a whispering campaign is something of a misnomer, for much of the attack on Governor Smith's religious faith is said to be in the form of documents circulated liberally, but to a large extent under cover.

Reference to "Poison" Campaign.

It was this aspect of the campaign to injure Governor Smith among Southern Democrats that Senator Robinson referred to when he said in his acceptance speech.

"Numerous political serpents are hissing in the dark and striking from cover, and with venomous malice seek to poison the thoughts and arouse the prejudice of those who will decide issues of far reaching importance."

The shafts aimed by Senator Robinson at the whisperers have particular point on account of the assertions of those high in the national campaign organizations of both major parties that they intend to keep the Presidential race free from personalities. In New York yesterday Dr. Hubert Work, Chairman of the Republican National Committee said that "the Republican Party never inaugurated or had anything to do with a whispering campaign."

This was in answer to a question concerning Senator Robinson's plea for a clean fight and his charges that a whispering campaign against Governor Smith was in progress in the South.

There is reason to believe that a sort of implied gentlemen's agreement to avoid any personal criticism of Mr. Hoover on the one side and of Governor Smith on the other exists between the Democratic and Republican National Committees.

The two campaign organizations are credited with endeavoring to keep the contest clean and to fight out the battle along the lines of principles, without questioning the sincerity or good faith of either candidate. This does not mean that Governor Smith or Mr. Hoover, or any of those who speak for them, is not free to mention his opponent by name and criticize him for his stand on this or that public question, or for the manner in which he administered public office.

But in such criticism the Presidential candidates and their authorized spokesmen, it is understood, will avoid anything that has the appearance of attack on character or personality.

Cannot Control Minor Workers.

There is a disposition here to believe that Governor Smith suspected that the reputed gentlemen's agreement had been broken by his opponents when former Governor Henry Allen, chief of the Republican National Committee's publicity department, gave to the press the cable message from William Allen White denying that he had retracted aspersions on Governor Smith's record as a member of the New York State Legislature. Mr. Allen has declared the National Committee free from complicity in this bit of publicity and insists that it was through an error that the publicity bureau in New York gave newspapers copies of the White message.

There is danger, however, that the tentative understanding may go by the board. In a speech he delivered yesterday in Lonoke, Ark., the town in which he was born, Senator Robinson said:

"Agents hired directly or indirectly by the Republican Party are going into many Southern communities for the purpose of intensifying religious and sectional prejudice."

As to whispering and personalities, the two national committees have been unable to control minor workers in their attacks on candidates. All the committees have done or apparently have been able to do is to let it be known that they are not responsible for the objectionable accusations that are being whispered or uttered aloud. In the South, where this sort of thing is especially marked by bitterness, lesser politicians of both parties are accused of indulging in it.

Republican party workers assert that these practices are not confined to innuendo aimed at Governor Smith. They declare that Mr. Hoover is being made the subject of attacks, some open but in many instances whispered or under cover, concerning his order as Secretary of Commerce abolishing the segregation of negro employes in that department.

Angles of Negro Question.

It is not denied that critics of Mr. Hoover have the right to comment on his anti-segregation order in unfavorable terms, but Republicans contend that some of the ramifications of these criticisms give an unfair and erroneous construction to Mr. Hoover's attitude.

The negro question is taking peculiar angles in this campaign. Republicans aver that an intensive drive is being made on the part of Democratic campaign organizations to line up the negro vote for Governor Smith. That this has been attended by some considerable success, especially in Northern and Western States with good-sized negro populations, is admitted by some Republicans.

These concede that Governor Smith's candidacy is making a strong appeal to many negroes, partly because of his prohibition views, partly through his friendly attitude toward the colored race in making appointments in New York State and partly because of dissatisfaction among many negroes over what they hold is failure by the Republican Party to do justice to the colored population.

The head of the negro Elks recently declined an invitation to serve in the colored branch of the Republican National Committee's campaign organization and in a letter to Chairman Work, while he said he wished success to Mr. Hoover, he declared that he and the generality of others in negro fraternal organizations felt that the Republican Administration had not fulfilled its promises to give protection and recognition to negroes.

Situation Worries Republicans.

Reports of negro defection from the Republican Party are being received from candidates and organizations in various parts of the country and it is evident that fear is felt by many of them that a negro trend from Republican to Democratic candidates, and especially from Mr. Hoover to Governor Smith, may turn the scales of the election in favor of the Democratic cause.

Such conditions in States like Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and New Jersey, each with a considerable negro population, are producing worry in the Republican ranks. The assertion is made that negroes in Northern and Western States are being influenced against the Republican Party by statements that it is sympathetic to the so-called "lily-white" Republican organizations in Southern States and contemplates their recognition to the exclusion of the "black and tans."

On the Democratic side the assertion is made that anti-Smith Democrats in Southern States are seeking to overcome the effect of statements about Mr. Hoover's abolition of negro segregation in the Department of Commerce by circulating stories that Governor Smith has appointed negroes to State offices and otherwise shown a disposition to recognize their race.

Negro Candidates on Both Sides.

One of the peculiar slants the negro phase of the situation has taken has to do with the nomination of two negroes for Congress. Reports have reached Republicans in Washington that attempts are being made to bring anti-Smith Democrats in the South back to their party by stressing that the nomination of Oscar De Priest as the Republican candidate for Congress in the Tenth District of Illinois is a first step toward electing other negroes to seats in Congress. De Priest was chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Martin B. Madden, who represented the Tenth District for many years.

The Tenth is a downtown section of Chicago and negroes of the district are said to number four-fifths of its residents.

Republicans say they have a good weapon to counteract the effect of the De Priest nomination on white anti-Smith Democrats in the South by calling attention to the fact that a negro has received the Democratic nomination for Congress in the Twelfth District of Missouri. This colored Democrat is Joseph H. McLemore. His Republican opponent is Representative Leonidas C. Dyer, who has been sent to Congress for eight terms and who received the certificate of election for a ninth term but was unseated by a Democratic House.

An anomalous aspect of the contest in this district, which comprises a heavily populated portion of St. Louis, with a large number of negro residents, is that Representative Dyer is the author of the so-called anti-lynching bill, which seeks to have the Federal Government punish communities where lynchings occur. On account of sponsoring this measure, Mr. Dyer has been something of a hero among negroes and regarded as the foremost friend of the race in Congress.

WHY THIS PAPER IS FOR AL SMITH

There are many and various reasons why the Louisville News as well as all agencies enlisted in the great cause of the down-trodden, should rally as one person around the standard of this great and chivalric man who in the face of prejudice and in the stress and strain of intolerance will dare to do what he conceives to be honest, just and right. The Empire State, with its teaming millions, with its countless wealth, its stupendous commerce, its varigated nationalities—a Modern Bable of tongues—has seen fit to call to its highest office, four times in succession, this most marvelous man. In the thirteen departments of the State of New YoYrk, he has chosen as his advisers and co-workers. nine Protestantts, three Catholics and one Jew. Disregarding all questions of race, nationality or religion he has been so clear in his great office, that his virtues plead like angels for hiselection. Never before in the history of this nation has so great an opportunity come to the Negro race to stocke a blow for tolerance, for individual liberty and for the brotherhood of the human race. The wicked and infamous band of marauders and murderers, known as the Ku-Klux-Klan, has permeated and poisoned the minds of countless thousands against the Negro in all sections of our beloved country. This brood of misanthropes were never allowed the privilege of marching down Pennsylvania Avenue in the Capitol of this Nation until Coolidge, whose father was a Klansman and was buried by the Klan, has used his great power to nominate a man to succeed him who will be plible to the Klan. We all know that the Klan elected all the Kentucky delegates to the last National convention; we all know that the Republican Klansman cared so little about the feelings of the Negro dupes and diciples that they gave the Armory to the Klan for Labor Day and invited the "Unspeakable Heflin" here to sow the seeds of hatred, bigotry and intolerance They took fright when the storm of protest arose and recinded the order at the eleventh hour, but their deep and dirty design was fuly revealed. Are all Negroes here sa lost to the whites that constitute their manhood and womanhood as to support by their voice and vote such a band of prostitutes? God forbid tht any thinking human being should fall so low as to lick the boot that repeatedly kicks him. As between Hoover and Smith, why should any Negro hesitate to make the proper choice. Hoover is a political adventurer, a soldier of fortune, serving under any banner for revenue only—one time a Democrat under Wilson—next time a Republican under Coolidge. Under Wilson he was for the League of Nations—under Coolidge he was against it. Under Wilson he wanted nothing but Democrats to come to congress—under Coolidge he wants nothing but Republicans to come. All things to all men—nothing to any man.

Hoover's greatest admirers point with pride to his great record in carrying food to flood sufferers. Now if that fits a man for the presidency of the greatest Nation on earth, Noah should have been elected Lord of Lords and King of Kings. Hoover wears his political principles as a loose garment.

Al Smith has arisen like Lincoln fom the honest walks of life. In the struggle and strife he has ben in constant contact with the weak and lowly. He has taken them to his bosom that they might feel the warmth and pulsations of his mighty iron heart. He was not like Hoover, born with a silver spoon in his mouth and a ace colar about his neck. He has felt the cold and of'times that which is sharper than any cold. He has climbed to the highest places and left all predjudice, meanness and hatred far below him .

Political—1928

Party Affiliation

Democratic

Political Pot Boils Slowly

Lester Walton Heads Democratic Political Bureau

HAWKINS LEADS G. O. P.

Another Week May See Things Hum

Washington, D. C., Aug. 21—(PNS)—The question now before the country is what is the delay of both major parties in getting started what was supposed to be the greatest campaign the country ever knew. Before the conventions prediction was rife that more money would be spent this year than ever before by both parties—the Republicans and the Democrats. The conventions are over, the candidates have been selected and at this writing one of them has been notified, but the campaign seems to be lagging.

Democrats Make Start

In Democratic quarters nothing can be heard of what part the Colored voters will play in this campaign and election and the only thing that has been done by them is the opening of headquarters in 46th street, New York City, where the Colored brother will do his "Carrying On." This is several blocks away from the General Motors building where the white folks will "Carry On."

Lester A. Walton Named

Lester A. Walton, of the New York World, has been selected as publicity man, and his selection has proven very popular among the Democrats. Mr. Walton has many friends in both of the major parties. Attorney Rainey, of Boston is said to be a lose personal friend of William Gaston, a New England millionaire, is heading up the Colored division along with Mr. Walton. It appears that Mr. Rainey will do the directing of activities, leaving the publicity end of the campaign to Mr Walton.

Much Talk of Morton

In prominent Democratic circles in New York City much disucssion is going the rounds as to what part Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton will play in the campaign for Governor Smith, since Mr. Morton is the leading Colored member of Tammany Hall. It is also being asked what has become of the Honorable William H. Lewis, of Boston and what part he will play. it will be remembered that he turned Democrat four years ago and it may be said with considerable truth that he is still off the Republican "reservation."

Not Much Doing Here

Down here in Washington things are just as slow as they are in New York City, if not slower. The only difference, however, is that the activities of the whites and colored here in Washington are not seperated, they are all in the same building. There is nothing doing in the publicity department. In fact, Robert L. Vann, of Pittsburgh, Pa., director of Publicity, has not even been to Washington as late as last Saturday. It is understood that Chairman John R. Hawkins is busy trying to get his appointees to come to a conference but they seem to be "shying" at the conference for some reason. At any rate the campaign has not started here in Washington. Another week may see things moving in both camps and the much-talked of campaigns may get going at full speed.

MARY BOOZE DENIES PATRONAGE CHARGES

Negro G. O. P. Committeewoman Flays Postmaster.

CLARKSDALE, Miss., Aug. 26.—Mary O. Booze, negro, national Republican committeewoman for the state of Mississippi, in an interview with a Commercial Appeal reporter, takes issue with W. V. Taylor, postmaster of Clarksdale, regarding his public statement made a few days ago, denouncing the sale of federal positions by negro politicians in the state.

"Mr. Taylor seeks to reflect upon the integrity of the recognized political authorities in Mississippi, some of whom happen, at this time, to be members of the negro race," said Mary Booze.

"It is well known that I have been for the past four years, and am now, the recognized Republican national committeewoman of the state of Mississippi, and, as such, federal appointments in the Third Congressional District have been referred to me for approval," she said. "In these matters I have first sought the advice of the Republican county chairman and secretary in each county of this district, but before making my recommendation, I have sought the advice of some outstanding white citizen in the community where the appointment was to be made, and in no instance were applicants or their friends required to pay for my recommendation.

"Under date of June 21 I received a communication from the chairman and secretary of the Coahoma County Republican committee approved by the chanrman of the Republican Third Congressional District committee, asking me to call upon the national committeeman to have an examination to secure an eligible register to fill the vacancy at Clarksdale caused by the expiration of Mr. Taylor's commission. The request was granted and the examination was ordered. I am told several applicants applied for the position and some, including Mr. Taylor, requested my support. I made no promise to any applicant as it was my policy to wait until the elegible register had been announced and referred to me for approval.

"It was, therefore, a surprise to me to note the announcement that the examination had been withdrawn and that Mr. Taylor would be reappointed. I immediately registered my objection to his reappointment to highest political authorities and I shall follow up my protest, until the insinuations or charges he has made are investigated and disproven.

"I do not believe in making unfounded insinuations or charges against anyone, especially through the press, but it is very likely that there will be some surprises in store for both Mr. Taylor and the public when the actual facts are made known regarding his effort to be reappointed postmaster.

"It is true that I am a negro woman and that my father, the late Isaiah T. Montgomery, was a black man and a former slave, but he was raised under the highest environment of the white race, being a member of the household and office boy of the late President Jefferson Davis. His heart was as true as steel to both races and he always advocated peace and harmony among them. He gave his life for the betterment of his native state and taught his children to love and respect its history and traditions. He was proud of his race and had faith in its ultimate success, but he wa sabove flattery and race prejudice and it pleased him just as much to help a white person as it did to help a member of his own race.

"I came up under the special training of my father, serving as his private secretary. Under every Republican administration for the past 40 years his advice was sought and respected in the Third District. I know the course he pursued and have conscientiously followed his example and I do not believe there is a white man in the district except Mr. Taylor, who would question my veracity and integrity. I have an abiding faith in the fairness of the white people of Mississippi. Therefore, I have no fear of the outcome of a thorough an dimpartial investigation by the federal authorities. As a matter of fact, I welcome such an investigation."

Mobile, Ala., Register
Sunday, Aug. 26, 1928

Voice of the People

SMITH AND THE NEGRO

To the Editor of The Register:

For the reason that there are very few dailies in the South which would give it space, the article which I am taking the liberty of enclosing to you was prepared for and has been offered to few publications other than religious weeklies. An editorial from The Register in this week's Literary Digest expresses the viewpoint of the article and encourages me to hope you may be willing to give it to your readers. It is too long, but I could not condense it and carry the thought to a conclusion which I wanted to convey.

I am just a farmer of no particular distinction. But I have voted the Democratic ticket for more than forty years because I thought it represented the best things for the average man—the man with the hoe. Personally I have divided my time about equally between making a living for myself and family and helping to make living better for others. And to indicate that my efforts have not been merely moral preachments, I mention only for your personal information, that I have established a trust fund in the sum of $200,000, the proceeds of which are to be used for benevolences. I am profoundly interested in preserving all of the best that civilization has accomplished.

L. D. Childs.

St. Petersburg, Fla., Aug. 4, 1928.

The article referred to by Mr. Childs is the following letter to Judge R. C. Watts, of North Carolina:

St. Petersburg, Fla., Aug. 3, 1928.

Judge R. C. Watts,
Laurens, S. C.

My Dear Sir:

I have read in the public press, with much surprise and very profound regret, your statement issued from an Atlanta sanatorium in which you attack the intelligence and honor of Southern Democrats who elect to support the principles and platform of the Democratic party rather than to support Alfred E. Smith. Surely you have failed to inform yourself about the background of Mr. Smith and to see from whence his viewpoint of life comes, than which, nothing is so important in determining what course of action he may be expected to follow, and which, in addition to his present attitude, those who oppose him regard as sufficient grounds for their position. For instance, I wonder if you have informed yourself about the causes which brought about the impeachment of William Sulzer, Democratic governor of New York. If not, let us review that enlightening history.

Alfred E. Smith was speaker of the assembly at the time and Boss Murphy was his faithful lieutenant. Among the first acts the speaker jammed through were the famous "McKee bills" intended to cripple the work of Dr. William H. Maxwell, superintendent of schools in the city of New York, and to place the public schools more completely under the control of Tammany Hall, the political organization in which he has been nurtured and to which he is so greatly indebted. Governor Sulzer refused to sign the bills. He was besought, implored, threatened. Big Tammany bosses, one after another, with high church dignitaries came from New York to Albany and repeated the process. But the governor stood firm. On April 13, 1913, Boss Murphy paid the governor his final call, remaining with him until after midnight. As he was leaving he turned upon Governor Sulzer with these words: "All right; I will disgrace and destroy you!" But many Democratic representatives outside of New York City and its environs refused to impeach their governor without cause, and the Republican minority had by caucus decided to let the Democrats do their own dirty work. . . . . Immediately thereafter several Republican assemblymen were summoned to Speaker Smith's office. At 5 o'clock in the morning when their names were called seven of those Republican assemblymen bolted their party caucus, voted to impeach Governor Sulzer, and he was impeached.

Why you should raise the question of the "bloody shirt;" why one in your position should threaten that negroes "will be killed," I am unable to see. I have failed to hear of any opponent of Mr. Smith who has in any manner whatsoever suggested "negro domination." Since you have raised the question, I think it is worth while to inform you, as you do not appear to know, what actual conditions are in the city of New York where Governor Smith and his Tammany backers are in complete control.

Ferdinand Morton, a negro, and president of the "United Colored Democracy," a Smith negro club, is civil service commissioner in the city of New York. Every civil service position filled by negroes and whites, by men and women, is granted by Commissioner Morton. The majority of policemen in parts of the city are negroes. The public schools, now under complete dominance of Tammany Hall, in at least some sections of the city, have no segregation of negroes and whites. Though the law permits it, Tammany bosses refuse to permit white children who have to sit side by side with negro children to transfer to schools where only white children attend. In the Harlem section of New York there are many cabarets where white men and negro women and white women and negro men associate upon a common level, dance and drink together and freely intermarry. And in the New York Times of October 29, 1924, can be found the report of a campaign speech, on front page, which Governor Smith made to the people of Harlem, a populous negro section, in which he appealed for the negro suffrage on the ground that he was unalterably opposed to any kind of race prejudice. And if Governor Smith likes the condition of race equality which he and Tammany bosses impose upon white school children in the city of New York; and if he is unalterably opposed to any kind of race prejudice in one section of the United States; and if he is as "fearlessly honest" as his Tammany backers assert he is, why should he not like the same condition in the South, were he president of the United States?

I, and, I believe, all Southern men and women are used to holding the high office you hold in profound respect; the robes you wear are emblematic of justice to small and great to weak and strong, and of that poise which inspires emulation. You will therefore permit me to say, that your intemperate language; your denunciation of your fellows as "traitors," apparently without informing yourself about the tremendous principles which actuate their conscience, is an assault upon the freedom of action guaranteed to every American, which I did not expect from one of your years of valued service and your exalted position.

Very sincerely,
L. D. Childs.

DEMOCRATS APPOINT HEADS

NEW YORK, N. Y., Aug. 23.—Encouraged by what they feel is a definite drift upon the part of Negroes to the standard of Al Smith, plans are being laid by the Democrati

National Committee for a determined effort to capture Negro votes.

Already a colored section of the campaign committee is being formed. The organization is titled the Smith for President Colored Headquarters and is located at 132 W. Forty-sixth street, this city.

Julian Rainey, a prominent young attorney of Boston, has been named as active director although it is said that some titular position will be created for Civil Service Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton, long known as the Tammany chief of Harlem. Lester A. Walton, nationally famous member of the New York Daily World staff, is director of publicity. Mr. Walton handled a similar phase of the campaign four years ago under the leadership of William H. Lewis of Boston, Mr. Morton and Dr. William J. Thompkins of Kansas City.

Earle B. Dickerson of Chicago has been named regional director for the Middle West. It is understood that eastern headquarters hopes Mr. Dickerson may be chosen to substitute for the white congressional candidate in the first Chicago district. Charles Washington, well known New Yorker and nephew of Booker T. Washington, is an attache of the office. A vigorous campaign is to be launched at once. Messrs. Rainey and Walton declared "to sell the virtues of 'Al' Smith to the colored voters of the country." Bishop Reverdy C. Ramson is to head the speakers' bureau.

HOLD YOUR NOSE—JUST ONCE

There is much enthusiasm among the Al Smith colored voters of Mobile and vicinity for a committee of prominent colored men are arranging for a big mass meeting to be held next week. The purpose of the meeting is the organization of a Smith and Robinson campaign club. The names of the committee follow: A. Caldwell, W. H. Atkinson, John A Pope, Daniel Powell, Joe Burke Speed Taylor, Dove Robinson, W. H. Lewis, John Shaw, Alexander Pope, Al Smith—Mobile Post.

What? Alabama negroes organizing to vote for Al Smith—the white man's democratic nominee for president—the white man's candidate? Can that be true? The Mobile Post—whatever newspaper that may be —is responsible for this bit of choice news. It is news of general circulation in Alabama, but not in Georgia where, according to the larger newspapers, one who votes his choice upon the call of conscience has to do so at the beck and call of Ben Davis! Piffle!

When this campaign is bared to the voter it will be found that Tammany is organizing the negro and giving him political preference over the white man—as in the case of the St. Louis negro candidate for congress on the Al Smith ticket against the veteran white man Congressman Dyer from the Twelfth Missouri district. The Al Smith supporters have this negro out for congress upon the democratic ticket. You'll never hear them make denial of it, for it is so. And the Alabama negroes are going to vote the Al Smith ticket!

But over the line here in Georgia the protesting white democrats who propose to vote for Hoover because they cannot support Smith and the menace of the Tammany ticket are stigmatized— unmentionable brutes—for daring to follow conscience in their belief that Hoover is a real leader in the cause for clean government—and the man of all men in the crisis which threatens the very principles upon which this republic was founded to save it from the alien hordes of Tammany as national dictators in the White House. Over here in Georgia protesting democrats are negro coddlers for protesting.

And the capping of the climax is the nerve of the Smith supporters who are planning to vote the negroes like so many cattle—for liquor—the grog shop and the saloon—using the negro in office as high up as congressional candidates as far south as Missouri—and at the same time squirting the perfume of the greasy negro, Ben Davis, at the good women who are courageously trying to save the homes, the women and the children of this land from the disgrace and disaster of the return of the saloon!

Pity Marse Hoke! Where is he with his pistol and musket? What is he going to do with Alabama white men and women who refuse to vote with these negroes for Al Smith?

Smith Not Worried About The South, But Anxious For Negro Vote

Of interest to those Democrats of the solid south who are willing to be voted like sheep for Al Smith because of their mortal fear of being termed bigots, bolters or worse by their party bosses, should be the cock sure attitude of Al Smith and his managers that the South despite its traditions and ideals of all future years will forget the past and go down the line for the wettest and most selfish candidate (we shall say more about his selfishness later) that has ever headed a Democratic presidential ticket.

Summing up the attitude of Smith's campaign leaders, a staff writer in the Chicago Tribune said: "In the first place they count on carrying the South despite all threats of bolting Smith that have emanatted from southern drys since the New Yorker telegraphed the Houston convention that he still favors modification of the prohibition law. The Democratic disaffection in the south has simmered down to a few protestant teachers and anti-saloon league superintendents.

While this confident of the South, and the belittling attitude taken toward the protestants of the south who have voiced disapproval of Smith, the democratic national committee will divert its greatest attention to the large cities of the east where it is hoped to sweep the wet states of the seaboard on the issue of modification of the prohibition law.

The democratic national committee will also forget the corn belt and the farmers, because the corn belt is conceeded to the republicans.

But Al Smith has not forgotten the negro vote. The highest paid negro appointee of New York has been sent on a tour throughout the nation to organize the colored vote for the wet Tammany candidate. And yet Mr. Raskob and Al except the south to line up and remain in line by the whip of the **democratic leaders of the southern states—the threat that if they don't vote for Smith they will be eliminated from participation in the next primary election of the party.**

As an Arkansas party said, of the threat to disqualify bolters. "Who wants to stay in a skunk's den anyway?"

If Mister Smith was the man that the democratic bosses of the south say he is, he would have declined the nomination after the party of Jefferson had declared for enforcing the prohibition laws. Ordinarily any man—if he was a man at all—would not attempt to run on a platform if that platform was not his own convictions. Instead, selfish and greedy, Smith the drinker, and Smith the Negro-lover, accepted the nomination of the party in one breath and with the next declared that his own opinion of the dry laws of the country greater than the opinion of the party that selected him.

Smith has bolted the ticket of the democratic party. There is not one word for condemnation from party leaders or the delegates that adopted the platform and then made Smith. Yet democrats who would bolt Smith because he has bolted the platform are to get thrown out on their ear.

Any true Democrat of the south than can stomach this, that is ready to swallow hook, line and sinker who is ready to shut his eyes and vote for a candidate who KNOWS the South MUST vote for him while he also organizes the negro vote, is, to our mind, anything but a true and loyal democrat.

And on that our measurement of a loyal and true democrat matters so much—it really doesn't—but it should be exceedingly hard for any Democrat who considers himself true and loyal to his party to conscientiously vote for Smith, who is himself a bolter and bigot of the lowest type.—The Foley Onlooker.

THE NEGRO VOTE.

(From The Lynchburg News)

When Bishop Ainsworth, of the Methodist church, denouncing the candidacy of Al Smith, asserts that the "good men" who are supporting Smith are joining hands with "large numbers of purchasable negroes and foreigners" in an effort to elect the New York governor he makes a statement which he should know is not true. The plain and only reference is that the good men who are seeking to prevent the election of Smith are not keeping political company with purchasable negroes and foreigners.

Is Smith being supported by the negro national committeemen and women from certain Southern states? Is Smith being supported by the Republican negro candidates for congress in Chicago? And what of those voters of foreign extraction in certain Western and Middle Western states who normally vote Republican; are they bolting their party to support the Democratic candidate? Unless Bishop Ainsworth can answer these questions in the affirmative, his effort to make it appear that Smith is the candidate of the "purchasable negroes and foreigners" is an effort to make white appear black.

Those gentlemen who, for reasons which satisfy their own minds, are fighting the Democratic candidate would do well to soft-pedal on the question of which candidate is a bidder for the "purchasable negro" vote. It was Hoover, not Smith, who forbid race segregation in the department of commerce: it was Hoover, not Smith, who profited by the support of corrupt Southern political machines in the hands of negroes. It was Hoover's party, not Smith's which nominated a negro for congress in Chicago; it has been Hoover's party, not Smith's, which has kept itself in office with the aid of negro votes.

Political – 1928

Party Affiliation.

Dr. Du Bois, Negro Leader, Bares Gov. Smith's Record.

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, editor of the *Crisis*, Negro monthly, and well-known champion of the colored race, writing in the current issue of the *Nation*, claims that the Democratic organization has established a "Jim Crow" annex and does not allow Negroes to have offices in the regular headquarters. This he says lines the Democrats up with the Lily Whites of the South as surely as did the action of the Republicans, whom he charges with ousting every Negro political leader in the Southern states.

The unsuccessful effort to induce Governor Smith to make a friendly gesture toward Negro voters is thus described by Dr. Du Bois:

> A number of enthusiastic colored folk and friends of colored people put before the advisers of Governor Smith several possible statements which he might make to show that at least he was not an enemy of the American Negro. He refused to say a single word. He refused to let even indirectly anything go out from his headquarters which should seem to represent him as friendly to the black men.
>
> On the other hand, explicit and repeated anti-Negro propaganda is being sent out by Democratic headquarters. When the Klan accused Governor Smith of having as his private stenographer "a Negro wench", Democratic headquarters at Washington on September 8 sent out the following release: "Governor Smith does not have, and never has had, a Negro stenographer, and in the employment of Negroes by the State of New York under his administration this has been done *only to fill such jobs as they are given in the South*, to wit: porters, janitors, charwomen, etc."

The interesting thing about this statement is that it is perfectly true. *In all of Governor Smith's long career, he has sedulously avoided recognizing Negroes in any way. He has twice vetoed bills which would have given a colored magistrate to Harlem.* He has never given a Negro any major appointment. He has seldom been willing to receive a Negro delegation and it is doubtful if he has met personally in all his career a half-dozen of the 150,000 Negroes of his State.

Dr. Du Bois asserts that in view of the actual facts, Gov. Smith has repudiated the politically embarrassing Negro as thoroughly as has Mr. Hoover.

When "Boss" Tweed was put on trial and convicted for grafting, the prosecuting attorneys were Charles O'Conor and Wheeler Peckham, noted attorneys and members of Tammany. "Boss" Tweed was defended by Elihu Root, a Republican.

Democratic

SMITH STRONG ON CHICAGO'S SOUTHSIDE

Say Republicans Are Worried Over Changing Sentiment In Stronghold

10/20/28

By LESTER A. WALTON

CHICAGO, Oct. 18.—When it comes to compactness and consistency at the polls there is an analogy between the Democratic Solid South and Chicago's Republican South Side, sometimes referred to as the "Black Belt." At this time when predictions are being broadcast about Mississippi, or some other Southern State breaking away from past traditions and going into the Republican column, Illinois Democratic chieftains are expressing high hopes of making an appreciable dent in the South Side's vote, hitherto one of America's most impregnable G. O. P. strongholds.

That there are good reasons for making this claim cannot be denied as colored voters here are manifestly in a resentful mood. A pronounced feeling of dissatisfaction prevails. To the visitor those in a belligerent frame of mind express themselves openly and loudly.

Have Played Game According to Hoyle

Since the World war thousands of migrants from the South settled in the South Side and Chicago Negroes have been an important factor in local politics, having played the game more "according to Hoyle" than members of the race anywhere else in the country. They have a municipal judge, civil service commissioner, state senator, state representatives and other important offices. There are between 80,000 and 90,000 colored men and women who vote in the "Windy City," and while the bulk of it is in the Second, Third and Fourth wards the group exerts a commanding influence in other sections of the city, particularly here and there on the west side.

Like Democratic leaders in other Northern states, who are greatly cheered by reported Smith sentiment among Negroes, State Chairman Donovan and others high in Illinois party councils are optimistic about weaning away from the G. O. P. scores of colored voters to Gov. Smith. They are mindful, however, of memorable instances in the past when some in the race have revolted against the Republican party in the early stages of the campaign, only to be placated by G. O. P. managers a few days before the election. But with Smith clubs being formed among Negroes throughout the city and state, the feeling persists at Democratic headquarters in the Sherman House that this year a precedent is to be established in which colored voters will say what they mean and mean what they say.

There is a combination of reasons for this threatened disintegration, but the chief one is keen resentment against the elimination of the Negro from responsible places of leadership, which policy many colored Americans believe has been inspired by the Ku Klux Klan.

The bitter fight in Cook County for control of the Republican machine has directly involved the Negro voters, the majority of whom in the past have been loyal to Mayor Thompson. With the Deneen forces doing everything in their power to gain control ill feeling is being engendered on every hand.

The indictment of Oscar De Priest, formerly alderman of the Second ward and Republican candidate for Congress from the First Congressional District of Illinois, to succeed the late Martin B. Madden, by the special grand jury now probing election frauds, graft and vice conditions on the south side, has been brought about by factional politics, Thompson supports assert.

Like a Martyr Among Negroes

De Priest's indictment has served to make him sort of a martyr among colored voters in the district who, with unconcealed delight, had looked forward to sending a Negro to Congress from the North for the first time in history. The nominee has refused to withdraw and has issued a statement charging Republicans unfriendly to him with having put him in his embarrassing position.

"My indictment is but a part of a nefarious scheme hatched through the erstwhile oligarchy of pseudo-Republicans which waged the battle in the spring of 1927 against William Hale Thompson, when hundreds of men and women were promiscuously thrown in jail, all of which was aimed at our leadership. The charges against me are unwarranted and without foundation in fact," De Priest avers.

THE WORLD'S HARDEST JOB

10/20/28

UNQUESTIONABLY, the hardest job in the world is that of the Negro Democrats who must apologize for the party of their adoption. For some time now, ever since funds have been available they have gone up and down the country trying to persuade skeptical Negroes that the Democrats have experienced a change of heart. Some of them hold forth at great length about the "liberal" Democrats who are now heading the party. This sounds very strange to those acquainted with the facts. It is the general impression that the leaders of the Democratic party are such men as Senators Robinson and Caraway of Arkansas, Senator Patrick Harris of Mississippi, Senator Glass of Virginia and others of that ilk. These gentlemen may be "liberal" but they have not been "liberal" in their attitude toward the colored brother.

It is rather pathetic to hear Ferdinand Q. Morton laboring to tell why he is for Smith. Mr. Morton, it will be recalled, is the gentleman who is supposed to head the United Colored Democracy in Harlem. And yet, so badly has Tammany treated her Negro friends there that they have only recently formed a Ferdinand Q. Morton Association in order to get control of the district into the hands of Negroes. It was but a few weeks ago that Mr. Morton had to refuse to take charge of the Negro Democrats in the present campaign because the Democratic party opened a Jim Crow headquarters in New York City. Not only that, but Mr. Morton and all Negro Americans know that the National Democratic committee was very anxious to keep him in the background because of his militancy, which is very distasteful to the southern element.

The Negro apologists for the Democratic party have seemingly forgotten that the Democrats refused to send a single delegate to the Democratic convention for fear of insulting the Solid South and impairing the chances of Governor Smith being nominated. Further, anticipating that some Negroes might be anxious to attend the sessions in Houston, the Democrats set aside for them a cage, such a one as will find in every zoo throughout the country. In this cage the Negroes were herded, and one of their number delegated to watch over the portals to see that no dark Democrat sneaked out and wandered among the whites.

All through this campaign, the Democrats while anxious for the Negro vote have tried to conceal the fact that they are in order not to arouse the enmity of the Solid South. If these Democratic strategicians are so solicitous about the feelings of the Solid South regarding the color question before election, what will be their attitude after election? In order to make their job easier, the black spokesmen of the Democratic Party are attempting to point out, first, that there is a difference between the Democrat in the North and the Democrat in the South; second, that the northern Democrats are now in the ascendency in the party councils; and thirdly that, since the Northern Democrats are more liberal than the Southern Democrats a Democratic Administration, therefore, will be more liberal toward the Negro than any of us suspect. In proof of this, they point to men like Governor Smith, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Herbert H. Lehman, John H. Raskob. Owen D. Young and others. These gentlemen seem to forget that already the Northern Democrats have shown what their attitude will be in the event of Governor Smith's election by what they have done already. If they Jim Crow Negroes before election, when their vote is solicited, how much more likely are they to Jim Crow them after election when their vote is not needed?

Southern campaigners for the Democratic party such as Senator Robinson of Arkansas are vociferously pointing out to

Dixie audiences that Tammany has always stood by the South in the past. The Senator is on sound ground. Tammany HAS always stood by the South. It was the cohorts of Tammany that encouraged the Draft Riots during the Civil War. After the Civil War it was the Democrats of Tammany Hall who stood shoulder to shoulder with the South to beat the Negro back into chattel slavery. When Representative Henry Cabot Lodge, the eminent Republican, introduced his bill in 1890 (popularly called the Force Bill) to secure the Negro in the South the right to suffrage, which the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed, Tammany was on the side of the South in opposing it. During the impassioned argument for the bill in the House of Representatives, Representative Cummings of New York, a Democrat, had this to say: "The New York Representative who votes for this bill ought to blush with shame. He will repent of this in sackcloth and ashes." If there has been any change in the attitude of the Northern Democrat since that time, it has been conspicuous by its absence.

We admire these Negro Democrats for their courage i attempting to defend the Democratic Party and even to plea its cause. They have no easy job to convince intelligent Negr audiences that they should vote for Senator Robinson of Arl ansas and all the hoard of hungry Democratic politicians who will descend upon Washington if Governor Smith is elected.

Yes, they are brave men and they need to be brave for they have the World's Hardest Job.

"A VOTE FOR THE PARTY"

"We can never vote for the Democratic party so long as it stands for the ignorance, meanness and race hatred exemplified in Memphis, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia and Mississippi. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but for the Democratic party, with all of its infamy, race hatred and political intolerance.

"Every law on the books that offers us citizenship, protection, or anything else, was put on by the Republican party, and every act outlawing our rights, humiliating us, or taking from us that which the Constitution guarantees us was placed upon the books by the Democratic party. In every state in the union where there is a Democratic governor or Democratic government, we are jim-crowed, disfranchised and humiliated, and in no state where we have a Republican government are we jim-crowed, disfranchised, or denied our rights."

These are the words of Ben Davis, colored national committeeman for the Republican party in Georgia. He is the man who has been trusted by the party with the sale of patronage in Georgia during the Republican regime, and is still recognized as the chief spokesman for the party in Georgia.

Ben Davis is no simpleton, whatever else he may be. He knows the significance of a vote for the Republican nominee in the coming election, and he says it means a vote for that party which stands for the furtherance of negro equality. He says, "A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic party."

And Ben Davis is exactly correct in both of his statements. The Republican party is the defender of negro equality, and the foe of the Southern white man's determination to defend his government against negro domination. Whatever our bolting friends may wish to admit, they can not evade the truth of Ben Davis' declaration.—Bulloch Times.

APPROACH ROBINSON

SENATOR ROBINSON CORDIALLY RECEIVES SMITH COLORED SUPPORTERS.

(California Eagle)

Los Angeles, Cal., Oct. 18, '28: Stories have been rumored that Senator Robinson, Democratic candidate for Vice-President, refused to see a Negro delegation and various things said about his attitude to lynching and mob violence in the south.

Tuesday morning, October 9th, a Negro delegation, composed of Miss Theodosia Jones, Messrs. Jas. Alexander, R. G. LaMar and Mrs. C. A. Bass, visited Senator Robinson at the Biltmore Hotel and were cordially received.

After asking Senator Robinson about these so called rumors, he said:

"These rumors are all propaganda intended to take the Negro vote from the Democratic party. There is not a word of truth in it. Among my many and long friends are to be found some of the best people of the south, in fact, I received a telegram from Rev. Robinson, who happens to have the same initials as my own, that we will receive more than ten thousand Negro votes in Little Rock.

"I was present at a meeting just a few days ago when one of our leading women of the state said that for every Democratic vote lost to the party, we would gain 2 colored votes. No, my good friends, such action on the part of the Ku Klux Klan and the lower element of the South does not have my approval nor that of any fair thinking man. I am for law and order. My record is the best proof. Any doubt as to my stand on this or other things, wire or write Rev. Robinson or have him come west and tell you in person."

MARCUS GARVEY, DEPORTED, WRITES URGING NEGROES OF U. S. TO SUPPORT AL SMITH

Marcus Garvey, negro, who once was probably the greatest leader of the race in the United States, but whose voice now is heard and influence felt only from afar, since his deportation, is a most ardent supporter of Alfred E. Smith for president.

Spread over the entire front page of The Negro World, weekly published in New York City and said to be the leading race paper of the country is a "message" from Garvey to "fellow men of the negro race," in which he points out the great things Al Smith as governor of New York has done for negroes in the way of political jobs and other rewards, and hints at the greater things that may be expected with Smith in the White House.

Garvey writes his message from West Kensington, London, England, whither he has drifted since being forcibly ejected from the United States as a highly undesirable citizen. The issue of \ekl yis dated July 28, and the article is captioned: "All negroes should vote for Al Smith and the Democratic party in November; negro voter must not be misled." The article:

"Once more the time has come for the American negro to use his ballot wisely in the interest of domestic politics and supremely in the interest of the black race.

"Another presidential election is to be held in November. Already the two larger parties have placed their respective candidates in the field. For president the Republicans have Secretary Hoover, and the Democrats Governor Al Smith. Between the two men every member of the Universal Negro Improvement association, in America with a vote must decide for Al Smith, not because the Democratic party has been more kindly disposed toward the negro than the Republican party, but because Hoover represents a gang of politicians who mean absolutely nothing good to the black man in America, nor anywhere else, for that matter. Therefore, if we have to choose between the two men, it is better for us to decide for Al Smith than Hoover.

"Who is Mr. Hoover? Mr. Hoover is the candidate of a corrupt system of republicanism that has exploited the country for the past eight years—the system that gave us the Tea Pot Dome and the alien fraud cases in which Harry Daugherty, the late attorney general, figured prominently; the same Daugherty under whose regime the Universal Negro Improvement association and its auxiliary corporations were hounded and its president framed up in the federal district court so as to dispose of his power and influence which could not be used by the gang to keep the negro fooled in order to exploit him to serve big business interests. Isn't Mr. Hoover the friend of Mr. Firestone, who also acted as foster father to the Firestone scheme to rob black Liberia? Isn't this the Mr. Hoover who supported Firestone so as to corner Liberia and take away her independence, the independence that was given to her by former white presidents and American philanthropists as an experiment in negro self help? After other white men in Americna public life helped to establish Liberia and made it a free Republic, this Mr. Hoover in this our present century has come upon the scene to assist big American interests to reduce Liberia to slavery, the slavery from which Abraham Lincoln freed us in America in 1865. Mr. Hoover is representative of his business men; business men without souls or consciences, big bsuiness men, like Firestone, who are always ready to invade and exploit the countries of the darker and weaker people of the earth.

"There is absolutely no doubt that every intelligent and far-seeing negro in America with a vote will cast it for Al Smith and pass over the name of Herbert Hoover, the man who represents nothing to the negro but a return to slavery.

"I am warning the American negro not to fall for the clap-trap of the Republican party. They will tell you lots of things and promise you worlds whioh ycu will never obtain. They have fooled you from one presidential campaign to the next. Whenever the president is elected and gets into power he has a way of shunting the negro, or in other words, 'passing the buck.' The time has come for the American negro to call a halt on this passing-the-buck scheme. With a man like Al Smith as president, we may hope for much more from the Democratic party than the race has ever received from the hypocritical Republican party which serves nothing else but big business interests in their efforts to exploit the black people of the world.

"The Republican party has throttled two independent black republics. They have throttled Haiti so that the National City bank and other commerical interests can exploit the black republic of the West Indies. It is true that it was under Woodrow Wilson's regime that America assumed control of Haiti, but Woodrow Wilson never intended Haiti to be exploited as the Republican party has done.

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Negro World

Democratic

AT THE CROSSROADS

The Negro World will be on the newsstands of New York City by 6 a. m. on Election Day, and so we cannot resist saying our last say to the Negro voters of the metropolis. Everything points to the fact that the Democratic ticket will be more largely supported by the Negroes of New York City in 1928 than ever before in the history of Presidential elections. And this is as it should be, since at the head of that ticket stands the name of a man which is one to conjure with.

Governor Alfred E. Smith, the people's man, stands for all that is sanest and soundest in American political life today. Of this we are assured.

Some people take the position that because Governor Smith has not mentioned the Negro group by name and made a definite pledge to it to put an end, as far as he is able, if elected President, to the many vile abuses which it now suffers, that he is not entitled to the votes of Negroes. These people reason in the same manner about Hoover, and they would have the Negro either refrain from voting or, as a gesture of protest, vote for Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate.

These people, we earnestly submit, are giving the Negro unwholesome advice. This is not the time for the Negro to be throwing away his ballot, his most precious possession today. A lesson must be read to the faithless Republican Party. A change must be effected at Washington. A man whose heart beats in sympathy with the masses must occupy the White House. Every trace of Daughertyism or snobbery must be obliterated from Pennsylvania avenue. No "White House spokesman" must confront Negro delegations as they ask that they and theirs be allowed to live like human beings, and citizens, if you please, in the land which thrived and put on stature as a result of their labors. We want, all should want, to see humanity and Christian charity and honest-to-goodness fifty-fifty dealing enthroned in this land. And who is better fitted to fill this great role than the standard-bearer of the Democratic Party, Alfred Emanuel Smith, who, even in the marvelous campaign just ended, has already wrought a wondrous good?

If Smith had singled out the Negro as the recipient of fervid promises of social and political betterment, he would have solidified the sentiment of the bigots and the unjust which is now arrayed against him. He would have reduced almost to vanishing point his chances of election. For, say what we may, the most rabid Ku Kluxer is as powerfully armed on Election Day as the most liberal of the liberals. He, too, has the ballot. It stands to reason, then, that the Negro who longs for a friendly and humane attitude in the White House should not be alarmed at the failure of Al Smith to guillotine his chances.

On the other hand, may we point out that it should be enough, in this campaign, that Smith has not hesitated in making it known far and wide that he stands vehemently opposed to bigotry and intolerance in any form and that he has expressed himself as very mindful of that passage in the Constitution of the United States which asserts recognition of the fact that all men were created equal. All that American Negroes ask, all that American Negroes should ask from those in authority is that they be treated as American citizens.

We again submit that it is of more than passing significance that Al Smith, while Hoover was promising the ignorant and prejudiced that he would not appoint Negroes to Federal office, was paying tribute in a log cabin to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, who signed the Emancipation Declaration giving freedom from slave chains to Negroes.

Governor Smith says victory is in the air. We sincerely hope that victory will crown his efforts. For, if he fails, we see no gain, not by a single step, for many a year in the drive of the oppressed Negro race against the fortresses of injustice and prejudice in this country.

Al Smith, man of the people, demonstrated champion of the people, seeks the suffrages of the nation. Every Negro should deem it a duty to vote for him. Let it never be held against the Negro that at a crisis in his and the nation's history he was found wanting.

GAZETTE

Charleston W. Va.

OCT 16 1928

Negro Democrats Suggest Debate

Republicans Are Challenged To Show Why Colored Race Should Continue to Vote for the G. O. P.

The colored division of the state Republican bureau was challenged to a debate yesterday by the Smith for President colored league, the subject to be "Why the Negroes Should Support the Democratic Ticket," according to Dr. C. F. Hopson, state chairman of the league, who made public a challenge he had addressed to T. Edward Hill, chairman of the G. O. P. branch.

Dr. Hopson suggested that the debate be held the latter part of October or first of November and said that perhaps two debaters should be named by each organization. It was suggested that one of the debaters for the Republicans be T. G. Nutter and one of those for the Democrats would be C. E. Kimbrough, Sr. Both are negro attorneys of Charleston.

The text of Dr. Hopson's letter to Chairman Hill follows:

"The Smith-for-President Colored league would like very much to have a public debate arranged in Charleston on some day about the last part of October or the first part of November, prior to the coming election, between not more than two persons on behalf of the Republicans and not more than two persons on behalf of the Democrats. The subject to be, 'Why the Negroes Should Support the Democratic Ticket.'

"We will chose the affirmative of this issues—that is to say, we will support the proposition that the negroes should vote the Democratic ticket in the coming election."

Race Prejudice in the Campaign

WHATEVER the issues of the present political campaign and whatever the merits of either cause, Americans generally are agreed that some of the tactics being employed to win votes are among the most unethical that have characterized a presidential campaign within the memory of the present generation. This fact is regrettable in the extreme and is alarming.

Exhibiting this feature of the campaign is the insistence of some of the campaigners on lugging the race question into the situation as a determining factor. That is the unethical and illogical way of confusing issues and diverting sane judgment by the appeal to dormant prejudices. It is the way of the mossback mugwump politician who assumes that the constituency to whom he is making his appeal are too ignorant to discriminate between that which is an issue and that which is mere "bunk." Ringing the changes on the Negro as a monster to be feared, and therefore to be hated, and suppressed to the point of extermination, was the characteristic method of the now extinct Vardamans, Tillmans, Hoke Smiths, and Cole Bleases. Long time ago their political "hokus-pokus" swayed large masses of unsuspecting folk, and to-day is tolerated even by a not inconsiderable number.

In the present campaign, the harsh song of that group of "type" politicians is left to the Hon. Josephus Daniels. Press dispatches report him as going up and down the Southland digging up the buried skeletons from the graveyard of reconstruction days and dangling these harmless spectres before his audiences in the frantic effort to incite the people to vote against the highest moral interests of the section and of the nation. It is a strange and rather sinister fact that Mr. Daniels is attempting to stir the dry South to follow the wet leadership which he himself just a few months ago specifically declared, according to published report, that he would not follow.

While it is not strange that he uses the weapon of race prejudice as his most efficient means of agitation, it is strange that Mr. Daniels—he of dry navy fame—should be following gleefully behind wet leadership now, and is urging others to do so. As one who once held high office in the Government with all the dignity that office implied, Mr. Daniels should feel it beneath that bestowed dignity to go about the country now capitalizing race prejudice against a minority group of American citizens in order to influence votes. Suppose Mr. Daniels' political career had brought him into the presidency of the nation, colored Americans would have experienced a sad deal at his hands as Chief Executive of all the people.

More disconcerting still is the fact that Mr. Daniels is a Christian—a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Sad indeed it is that Christianity has not pierced through his coat of race prejudice. This same Mr. Daniels, we heard several years ago, deliver fraternal greetings to one of our Methodist Episcopal Negro Conferences in session at Raleigh, N. C. He spoke then eloquently—if eloquence be possible without sincerity. For how can a man be sincerely religious if his religion does not color and determine the character of all his human relationships? Neither Mr. Daniels nor any other man can profess religion without owning the sway of that religion in determining and obligating him to mutual fellowship with all other Christians in every constructive endeavor and relationship of life.

Pious platitudes and inconsistent social attitudes on part of professing Christians are the deadly weapons that are fast killing the confidence of moderns in the validity of the religious experience claimed by those who preach divine love and practice human hate. It is a singular fact that this country of specialized religion is also a country of specialized race prejudice. And this will continue to be so as long as leaders in church circles advocate and practice race discrimination and race hate when their feet leave the threshold of the church building and enter the doors of the marts of industry and commerce, the arena of politics and public relations. Certainly a man who cannot be Christian at the polls and on the hustings cannot be Christian at the baptistry and the prayer altar.

In courageous and heartening contrast to the low level on which some would wage the present political campaign is that pronouncement sent forth last week from a group of high-minded Southern gentlemen with the Christian ring in it, deprecating those tactics of bringing the race question into the campaign. These gentlemen are eminently right and have the gratitude of all right-thinking Americans for this timely admonition. Such men are public benefactors. Broad visioned and broad gauged in soul, they are looking beyond the limits of past traditions and prejudices. They see issues clearly. They know values. These men are seeking the good of the nation. They have risen to a higher political and social philosophy than that of mere sectionalism. They share the mind of a national and world community. Theirs is the sanest voice that has come from the South within the last three decades except as a few other similar voices have been their forerunner. Theirs is a happy corroboration of the fine work done by the Interracial Commission in the effort to break down prejudice and to clear the atmosphere of social thinking so that the races may live peaceably and co-operatively in the South in fruitful labor and in the legitimate pursuit of happiness.

This timely request of Southern leaders that race prejudice be not dragged into the campaign is expressive of the new South. In this section is a growing nucleus of fine Christian public opinion that is striving to make itself articulate in the interest of a just social order. Often it seems well-nigh overcome by backwashes such as appear in this campaign when so many men are resorting to low tactics for partisan purpose, but it cannot finally be suppressed, and will continue to make itself effective with ever-increasing approval by the public mind throughout this entire section. Approaching the polls at such a momentous time as this when big moral issues are pressing for support; when our hearthstones and altars, our children and their destiny are at stake, let Americans, all Christian citizens, banish prejudice of race from their thinking, and let us be moved only by honorable and Christian consideration in casting our ballots.

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NEGROES FOR SMITH

A dispatch from New York says:

Declaring that he "has long known Gov. Smith's strength with the negroes in New York state," and that he finds the negro voters in many states lining up for the Tammany candidate, Royal S. Copeland, Democratic senator from New York has issued a statement in which he virtually acknowledged the Tammany-Democratic party to be the party of the negro.

Expressing himself as "pleased with early development indicating great strength for Gov. Smith" among the negro voters, the New York senator continued:

"I have long known his strength with them (negroes) in New York state, and find he is strong with them in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, where the colored people hold the balance in determining how these states will go this fall."

Commenting on Senator Copeland's statements a prominent writer says:

"Time and custom have previously lined the negro up with the Republicans, but this present campaign finds a new alignment, with the negroes—at least those who crave social and political equality—clamoring for the election of the Tammany ticket. The complete equality, socially and politically, of the negroes in Harlem, New York's great black belt, has reacted on the southern negroes and they will be found this November, perhaps for the first time, voting the national Democratic ticket.

"This flop of black voters into the Tammany line-up has been hastened and abetted by action of the Hooverites, who have been ousting many negro politicians from the Republican party councils. This, under the favorable Tammany tactics on the one hand and the "strictly white" policies of the Hoover ticket, white southern Democrats are finding it "easy" to jump the old party traces and vote their Protestant, dry, American sentiments by marking their ballots for Herbert Hoover. The only thing to hold them in line was the "nigger" question, and with the negroes flocking to Al Smith, this issue has lost its kick."

Will southern Democrats follow the lead of Tammany and encourage negro men and women in their efforts to attain "complete social and political equality?"—Palm Beach Independent.

Colored Democrats Construct Midwest Organization

CHICAGO, Sept. 19—With the first firing of the political big guns at various Labor Day celebrations all over the country, the Mid-West division of the Smith-for-President Colored League opened its permanent headquarters in Chicago and announced the line-up of its organization.

In Illinois, two men prominent in the commercial life of Chicago, have accepted appointments on the National Advisory Committee of the Smith-for-President Colored League, and announce that they are out to put "Al" Smith over. W. Ellis Stewart, Secretary of the Liberty Life Insurance Company, and David Manson, Traffic Manager of the Illinois Iron and Metal Company, known widely as the highest salaried Negro executive in America, are the two men.

Dr. Edwarad A. Carter, prominent physician of Detroit, Michigan, and state medical director of Liberty Life Insurance Company, and Dr. Ossian A. Sweet of the famous "Sweet Case," are members of the Advisory Committee from Michigan.

In Ohio, Dr. C. C. Ailer, Cleveland, Pastor of Zion Hill Baptiist Church, has been appointed as one of the representatives from that state on the committee.

State chairmen of three states have also been appointed by the Regional Director, Attorney Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago. Dr. J. W. Ribbins, formerly a close associate of Robert Church in Tennessee has been selected as state chairman of Ohio, and Dr. James Owens, prominent physician, has been chosen vice chairman. Byrd Wade of Charleston, W. Va., has been appointed head of the league's activities in that state.

Leave The Negro Out

We are in to a pretty deep mess of politics in the South. There is no way out of it but to go on through with it. Here in Georgia we are taking the presidential race much more seriously than they are taking it in the "doubtful states" where presidential campaigns rage every four years. It is a new thing with us, and naturally it is characteristic of Georgians to get wrathful, bitter, ugly and mean when they get in politics. We can beat the world with our "intemperance" and our "intolerance" in our politics. It will soon reach the point where the fight will be removed from Hoover and Smith, or from the Kansas City and Houston platforms. It will be a family brawl among Georgia democrats over the question of freedom of the ballot. It will be friend against friend and neighbor against neighbor. This is all bad, but it is now inevitable.

For one thing, The Observer would like to see the Negro left out of the controversy. He is an innocent bystander. He is saying nothing, making no threats and getting in nobody's way. The accomplishments of leaders of the two races for fifteen or twenty years have been coopërating to break down race prejudice and establish good will and law enforcement, have been very great. The Negroes are peaceable citizens. They have good leaders among their preachers and teachers. They are out of politics. They are attending to their own business and letting others alone. They deserve to be let alone in this campaign. Efforts to "ring the Negro in" to the political discussions to stir anew prejudice and hate, are very unworthy. It is tearing up the wide consructive work of wise leaders. that has been a fine contribution to peace and good will among the races in the state.

Let the whites fight among themselves, and say all of the ugly things they feel they must say about each other. Let the Negro go in peace.

Once we had a great race problem in Georgia. Now that problem seems to have passed, largely. Let's not stir the embers into flames again.

N. C. Smith Club At Work

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., Sept. 26—North Carolina Negroes have organized in the interest of Governor Smith for President. The Forsyth Colored Democratic Club has established headquarters in the Bruce Building. The officers are W. W. McGhee, President; James E. Mattren, Vice-President; U. S. Anderson, Secretary and Treasurer; and W. H. Copeland, Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Smith's Grove, Ky. Times
Thursday, September 6, 1928

The Negro Equality Buggaboo

The following letter appeared in the Charlotte, (N. C.) Observer for Sunday, July 15:

Tammany and the Negro

"I want to present the following facts before your readers about Tammany and the Negro: Rev R. B. Robinsin, president of the National Afro-American Democratic League, with headquarters at Washington, has issued a call for all Negroes everywhere to rally to the Tammany Democratic standard. He urges all Negroes to support Al Smith in November. And the following from Colorado: "The Colorado Negro voters Advisory Association congratulates the Democratic party upon your nominee (Al Smith) as its standard bearer for the presidency of the United States. Your nomination comes to the negroes of America as their second emancipation proclamation The first freed from manual bondage. The second frees them from political slavery. Colorado Negro voters will give you at least 80 per cent of its voting strength.

"In New York the Tammany organization has a strongly organized Negro branch of Tammany which numbers 100,000 or more. The Tammany, boss of these negroes is Ferdinand Q. Morton, a Negro member of the Civil Service Commission of New York City. This body has charge of the employment of 100,000 white government servants. Tammany Hall has given this Negro commissioner a white woman as his secretary, and he is also the superior officer of 150 white women and white men employes. Other Tammany Negroes hold supervisory positions in the public service in New York. There are numbers of dance halls in New York where blacks dance with white women, and Tammany makes no effort to separate them. Tammany takes into its bosom any and all colors. Negroes and whites eat together in public places in New York City, and go to movies together.

"The above is open to the inspection of any voter who will see for himself, by going to New York. The above are facts. Seek and ye shall find.

"I am visiting in your fair city for a few days, and would appreciate your publishing the above in your paper."—T. Q. Hassell, Brooklyn, N. Y. Flatbush Ave.

Macon, Ga., News
Thursday, September 6, 1928

Race Segregation

To The Herald:

Is it possible that such eminent statesmen as Senators George and Harris are putting themselves on the level of petty politicians in their efforts to make Georgia safe for the "Dummycrats?"

Both senators have, according to the press, declared in their speeches that Herbert Hoover as secretary of commerce, issued an order cancelling the previous custom of labor segregation in his department, thereby placing white and negro employes side by side in the seating arrangements.

An Associated Press dispatch from Atlanta, dated August 30, said:

"Charges that Herbert Hoover, Republican presidential candidate, in his capacity as secretary of commerce, revoked a long-distance order under which white and negro employes were segregated in his department, were reiterated here today in a public statement by Senator William J. Harris, of Georgia. The charges previously had been denied."

And Senator George, in a speech at Tampa, Fla., on August 25th, was quoted by the press as saying:

"As much as I dislike to bring the race question into the picture, still you must have the facts about Hoover's department in Washingon. In order to get the negro vote in Ohio, he issued an order abolishing race segregation and our white women must work along with negroes and have negro bosses."

Well, I believed it until the other day. Surely, I said, such sterling authorities as Messrs. George and Harris new whereof they spoke. In fact, my Southern blood became so ebullient that I was about to tear the Hoover sign off my car and cry out "All for Al," despite the fact that Smith is reported to have appointed 276 negroes to offices paying from $1,800 to $10,000 a year during his administration as governor of New York, and that negroes and whites are allowed to intermarry, and negroes to attend white schools, in his state.

Of course, Senators George and Harris would not resort to deception to keep their state in line for the man they so biterly opposed before he was nominaed. I would give them the benefit of the doubt, and say that they are so gullible that they still believe in Santa Claus, or that their policy, in the present situation is to shove discretion to limbo.

The following correspondence, reproduced from the Christian Index will explain what I mean:

Mr. Frederick J. Haskin, Director,
The Atlanta Journal's Bureau,
Washington. D. C.

Dear Mr. Haskin:

There has been a very decided rumor circulated which declares that Mr. Hoover, as chief of his department, has issued an order cancelling the previous custom of labor segregation and has, by direct instruction, placed white and negro employes side by side in the seating arrangements of his department. You can readily understand that the truth or falsity of this report will have much bearing upon the Southern people. You are in position to know if this rumor is true. Should there be any truth in the statement that negroes and whies are working side by side in the Department of Commerce, I would like for you to indicate how long this has been true and whether or not Mr. Hoover is responsible for the change.

Appreciating your services and with all good wishes, I remain,

Cordially Yours,
SPENCER B. KING.
Superintendent State Missions.

The Atlanta Journal
Frederick J. Haskin, Director
Information Bureau, Washington, D. C.
August 17, 1928.

Mr. Spencer B. King,
Executive Board,
Georgia Baptist Convention,
317 Palmer Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. King:

The Department of Commerce says that no order has been given in regard to racial segregation in the Department of Commerce. No change in the seating arrangement was ordered by Mr. Hoover.

Yours very truly,
FREDERICK J. HASKIN,
Director.

And that's that Dr. Editor. As you know, Haskin's Bureau information is regarded by the press and everyone as thoroughly authentic. But I suppose that some of the Georgia papers now carrying this service will drop it forthwith, on the grounds that there are times when the truth hurts.

Maysville, Ky., Independent
Saturday, September 1, 1928

Negroes Seek Right To Vote Democratic

Houston, Texas, (A. P.)—After 58 years of allegiance to the republican party, many negro voters in Texas are promising fealty to the democrats if they are allowed to cast ballots in the democratic primary elections.

So eager are the negroes to obtain a vote in the primaries that they have instituted suits which, their attorneys say, will be carried to the United States supreme court if necessary.

Texas laws leave to the political parties the power to fix qualifications of elections. The state democratic executive committee has made color one of the qualifications, specifying that a pledge, to appear at the head of ballots in the primary, read: 'I am a white democrat and pledge myself to support the nominees of this primary."

In Texas the election of a republican to any office state or local, is unusual. With the democratic primaries tantamount to general elections, negroes assert they are deprived of a privilege granted by the fifteenth amendment to the constitution.

In the face of previous court decisions holding that primary elections cannot be limited, negroes have applied in several Texas cities for injunctions to prevent election officials from barring them at the democratic primaries.

Judge J. C. Hutcheson of the United States distict court at Houston refused an injunction on the grounds that affairs of political parties are not the business of the courts. An appeal to the United States circuit court at New Orleans now is being prepared.

VOTE FOR A DEMOCRAT?

Tribune Sept 28

Years ago if a colored man would announce that he intended voting a Democratic ticket, he would be gazed upon in wonder. Time has changed considerably. At the coming election thousands of colored men and women will vote for this party. Even in Savannah this party will receive many Negro votes. In fact in the South there is a large class of colored men who are desirous of voting with their white friends of this party rather than otherwise, but in some manner many of these friends have always been suspicious of his vote and would never lend encouragement.

Savannah Ga.

These conservative colored voters are interested in the best welfare of their respective communities and the state at large and want to join with the best thought among their white friends in such a promotion, and will do so whole heartedly if given the least encouragement.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Baltimore Afro-American 9/29/28

KLAN AND LILY-WHITES INJECT NEGRO ISSUE INTO CAMPAIGN

NEW YORK, Sept. 27.—The unholy alliance formed by the Ku Klux Klan and Lily-White Republicans and their endeavor to inject the Negro issue in the present presidential campaign become more apparent each day. A letter from the Klan was recently received by Mrs. M. B. Dottery of Okolona, Miss., a white woman, in which she was urged to vote against Governor Smith, primarily because of his friendly attitude toward the Negro. The letter was written by Fred E. Wankan, Grand Dragon of Mississippi, and was as follows:

Dear Mrs. Dottery:

"We have Hoover, a Republican, who is dry, and Smith, a Democrat, who is wet. We have Hoover, who is a Protestant, and Smith, who is a Romanist. We have Smith who believes in social equality and intermarriage of blacks and whites, and Hoover who was the last head of the department in Washington to abolish segregation.

"Tammany Hall has a Negro division, and I am enclosing you copy of record appearing in the Negro Year Book. Smith's record on the Negro question is ten times blacker than that of Hoover's and, of course, it is needless for me to say that I intend to vote for the Republican electors. They will be the Lily-White electors, not the Perry Howard electors.

"We have an upstanding American, who is a Protestant, who is managing Hoover's campaign, while John J. Raskob, who has always been a Republican, who is dripping wet, a Roman Catholic. Private Chamberlain of the Pope's Lay Household, who has been decorated several times by the Pope, managing the so-called Democratic Party, but in fact the 'Tammany Clerical Party.'

"There is no comparison. It is a question of country, and I expect to stay with the country in opposition to the alien-controlled. Rome-ridden, Negro-loving, rum-selling Tammany gang. The Smith forces are going to seek to force us all to vote for Smith on the Negro question, and that little bubble will all be punctured and we won't hear much more of it after our campaign gets under way."

Mrs. Dottery's reply to the Grand Dragon of Mississippi follows:

"I am not nor ever have been a K. K. Was not old enough to belong to the old Order and do not want to belong to anything that works under a mask, anyway."

RUMORS STARTED BY DEMOCRATS ARE SPIKED BY REPUBLICANS

Washington.—It appears that this campaign will go down in history as a campaign of false propaganda. A great question in the minds of honest people is where does all this propaganda come from?

The color question seems to be the object of attack by nearly every piece of propaganda originated. Reference to him is made in most uncomplimentary terms and he is accused of aost elvmerything from deserting the Republican Party to voting for Al Smith. As a matter of fact, it is interesting to know how some of the propaganda is freated as well as to know the utter falsity of it.

Jack Johnson

For example, it said in the newspapers sometime ago by Mr. Raskob, Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, that it was false that Jack Johnson was going to take the stump for Al Smith and the Democratic ticket. Mr. Raskob was very indignant and said that the report was put out by Republicans in order to injure the Democratic ause in the south.

The truth of the Jack Johnson story ought to be told to the public and here it is. The Associated Press dispatch from Winston-Salem, N. C., September 6th, 1928, is a follows:

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If the Associated Press properly quoted Jack Johnson, and this ought to be easily determined, how can anybody imagine that the Republican Party started the story that Jack Johnson was going to take the stump for Al Smith. The Republican party has made its selection of colored men and women to assist in Mr. Hoover's campaign and it is a matter of public record who they are.

Most Citizens For Hoover

Another canard appeared in the Pittsburgh Post, under date of September tenth, to the affect that the Negro newspapers of the country were turning to Al Smith. The reporter went on at great length at tempting to impress his readers that he was familiar with Negro newspapers and although he did not tion any newspapers by name he made the statement that a number of Negro newspapers he had read were favorable to Al Smith.

It is absurd to attempt to answer such a statement but the colored newspapers prefer to be put in the proper light before the reading world and the editors of the following papers have expressed their indignation at being classified as Smith supporters and have expressly declared themselves as favoring the election of Herbert Hoover:

On G. O. P. Bandwagon

The Nashville Clarion, Nashville, Tenn.; Oklahoma Eagle, Chicago Whip, Herald Commonwealth, Baltimore; Newark Herald, Pittsburgh Courier, Norfolk Journal and Guide, New York Age, New York News, New York Amsterdam News, Progressive Herald, Buffalo; Philadelphia Tribune, Philadelphia Public Journal, Michigan Defender, Southern Register, Miss.; The Light, Chicago; Newport News Star, Cleveland Call and Post, Nashville Herald, Atlanta Independent, Hartford Pilot, Detroit Independent, Louisville Leader, Washington Tribune, Birmingham

Nothing To story

In addition to the foregoing newspapers the majority of the leading colored journals of the country are militantly for Mr. Hoover and there is absolutely nothing to the story that the colored papers are leaning toward Mr. Smith.

Another story

Another story went the rounds that the National Baptist Convention which met in Louisville, Ky., passed a resolution endorsing Al Smith. The truth is and the records show that President L. K. Williams was in the chair when a resolution calling for the endorsement of the candidate and platform which espouses a strict enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and the cause of temperance was passed.

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Dr. Williams himself expressed his earnest solicitation for the upholding and enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. The resolution was offered by Dr. W. H. Jernagin of Washington, D. C. and was seconded by the following ministers and delegates: Dr. Isaacs of Tennessee, Fuller of Tennessee, Bagby of Michigan, H. Bousham, Illinois; W. F. Graham and C. C. Scott of Pennsylvania, Carter, California; Holmes, Md.; Walker, Ohio; Attorney Robinson, Louisiana; Perry, Oklahoma; Charles Morris, Va.

Another Story Nipped

Another story nipped in the bud was the false impression put out at Democratic headquarters in New York that the Honorable William H. Lewis had refused to join with Dr. John R. Hawkins, Chairman, Colored Voters Division of the Republican National Committee. Mr. Lewis, it will be remembered, supported John W. Davis four years ago. Just this past week Mr. Lewis had a conference with Mr. Hoover and issued a statement declaring that he is satisfied with Mr. Hoover and will do whatever he can to bring about Mr.

The Martyr of "Al" Smith

Many colored voters throughout the country are misled under the delusion that Governor Smith is another Theodore Roosevelt and Mayor "Big Bill" Thompson rolled in one. They suffer under the misinformation that Governor Smith has been responsible for the creditable places that colored New Yorkers have held under the city administration of New York City. There is a foolish belief among many that the Democratic candidate will be able to bring liquor back. Nothing could be further from the truth. A second thought will convince them that the latter is impossible and more impossible under Smith than under Hoover. The record should convince them that Smith's election, judging the future by the past, would mean the complete loss of political recognition for their race and that he is as far from being a "Teddy" Roosevelt or a "Big Bill" Thompson as the North Pole is from the South Pole. They should read his record. We ask all colored citizens to investigate the record:

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Senator Tydings, Chairman of the National Democratic Campaign Speakers' Bureau proclaims this when he said in answer to the Alabama clergymen who inquired as to whether or not Governor Smith had not formerly had a "Negro" wench as a stenographer, that not only had Smith never had a Negro stenographer,

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Reports from Boston, Toledo, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; Cleveland, Ohio; West Virginia; all indicate that the Negroes in these pivotal states will give an unprecedented majority to Mr. Hoover in November.

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but that he had never appointed "Negroes" except as porters, janitors, charwomen, etc.

2.—Governor Smith vetoed the Judiciary Bill in the New York Legislature in 1926 and 1927 which would have permitted the election of a colored Municipal Judge.

Governor Smith has given silent consent to disfranchisement, jim-crowism and lynching by Democratic Dixie.

3.—Governor Smith, though in absolute control of the Houston Convention refused to either personally or on the floor of the convention to have his party denounce the atrocious lynching of a colored youth as a pre-convention spectacle.

4.—Governor Smith refused through his lieutenants to forbid the Jim-crow cage of chicken wire into which colored spectators were forced to enter single file into the gallery at the convention.

5.—Smith and the Democratic Party has arranged that a heart's beat would separate colored America from a Dixie President in the event of Smith's election.

Governor Smith's forces at the Houston Convention dictated the nomination of Senator Robinson of Arkansas for Vice-President on his ticket. If Smith should die like Presidents McKinley and like Harding, Robinson would be President.

6.—Smith and the South are both nullifications. Smith on the Eighteenth Amendment and together in effect with the South on the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Colored America wants no tampering with the Constitution.

7.—Smith and the Democratic Party are committed to a destruction of the present tariff laws.

The Protective tariff has made possible the present prosperity of the nation, the boon of ind[illegible] and commerce for colored and white Americans alike.

8.—Smith and the Democratic Party are committed to the destruction of the present immigration laws.

They are in favor of letting down the bars of immigration and the entrance of a flood of cheap European labor which would lower the standard of wages and working conditions for colored labor as well as white labor. The entrance of colored men and women during the last decade into their ever widening field of employment has been due to the restriction placed by the Republican Party on foreign immigration.

9.—Smith and the Democratic Party have refused to allow colored Democrats to participate in the campaign—at the behest of the south—except through the jim-crow "Al Smith for President" League, miserably housed and functioning apart from the National Democratic Committee. If he will do this before election, what after election?

10.—Smith and the Democratic Party have destroyed colored Democratic leadership under such stalwart and progressive leaders as Ferdinand Q. Morton of New York and William S. Hargrove of New Jersey.

11.—Smith and the Democratic Party through the present head of Tammany Hall have discarded the support of colored New York with the statement that "their voters are so few that they are not worth while bothering with."

12.—Smith and the Democrats [illegible] completely through such spokesmen as Mayor W[illegible], to the southern race point of view in the denial of the civil and human rights of colored citizens.

Read the troth of northern and southern democracy plighted by Mayor Walker at the unveiling of the monument to the Confederate General Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee, at Stone Mountain at Atlanta. Remember the spectacle of Robert E. Lee, 3rd, being made a Lieutenant-General upon the Mayor's staff at the welcome of the German trans-Atlantic fliers. Recollect the barring of the Black Brazilians from the dance hall at Rome at the request of Mayor Walker.

We ask the colored citizens of America to read the record of Smith.

THIS NEW DENUNCIATION OF GOV. SMITH SHOULD MAKE EVERY NEGRO VOTE FOR HIM

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 24—Among the scurrilous literature being sent throughout Alabama by enemies of Smith and supporters of Hoover is a so-called campaign book, gotten out by Hugh A. Lock of this city. Some of the reasons he advances for the defeat of Al Smith, and the election of Hoover are:

"In Tammany the Negro has found a powerful friend and ready ally, and in Al Smith the Negro has found the so-called Democratic leader who is more enamored of the Negro than any man in public life today.

"Al Smith was raised among Negroes. He believes in social equality. He believes in intermarriage. He associates with Negroes. He ran for Senator on the same ticket with a Negro. He has Negro members of his legislature. He has taken away the Negro from the Republican party.

"Al Smith has not uttered a word indicating any sympathy for Southern ideals or Southern traditions. His environments, sympathies, and political alignments are all with the Negro. He is getting the undivided support of the Negro because Al will do for the Negro in the South as has done for him in the North.

"A typical illustration of Tammany's method in coralling the Negro vote is the nomination by the Tammany wing of Democracy in Missouri of the Negro McLemore for Congress. This Negro is a member of the so-called Democratic party in Missouri. He is for Al Smith.

"Once this country puts a Negro Democrat in Congress and a Negro loving Democrat in the President's chair, the South is doomed.

The "campaign book" is filled with other such bunk of this type."

Current Comments

WHAT OTHER EDITORS ARE SAYING

Some More Facts

From the Chicago Defender

In the last issue of the Defender, the two political parties were discussed at length. The object was to make known some facts concerning our governmental machines and the manner in which they operate. It was pointed out that time has served to alter the Republican and Democratic parties to such an extent that there is hardly a difference between the one of today and the other of yesterday and vice versa. What the Democratic party stood for 40 years ago the Republican party stands for today, and what made the Republican party famous two score years ago characterizes the Democratic party of today.

How this state of affairs came about can be explained only by an astute student of our American society—that this is the state of affairs can hardly be disputed by the most careless politician.

We as a group are unique in America. While overtures are being made by both the Republicans and Democrats to every other group, racial or national, in this country, we remain the bootball of both. It is either cocksureness that prompted the Republican organization to open its campaign to drive us out of the party, or it was the great contempt for our feelings in the matter. On the other hand, the Democrats have remained Democrats throughout the campaign. That is, they have followed for the most part the pattern which our attitude toward them justified, and which we have expected them to follow.

Again, the campaign is now in its last stages. Both the Democratic and Republican candidates have been in the South. But it was the Republican candidate who handed out the choice morsel to southern bigots by the declaration that the Republican party and the southerners to whom he was speaking had the same ideals and aspirations, while the Democratic candidate, almost at the same time, was paying tribute to Abraham Lincoln at his shrine and praying for the wisdom that guided that great Republican. He was also denouncing the Ku Klux Klan, a group that thus far has done its utmost on behalf of the Republican candidate.

The things which we have pointed out should be superficial were it not for the fact that we are so deeply concerned. Tariff, labor and prohibition are issues that will be met by either party as 118,000,000 Americans shall dictate. But the racial issue must be pushed by us and by us alone if it is to be considered. When a candidacy for the presidency of the United States decides to insult and humiliate us before election, we should know what to expect if he is elected.

Political 1928
Party Affiliation

Smith Asked Negro Views

Also Quizzed On Prohibition Stand

NEW YORK, Oct. 11.—(AP)—The Socialist National Campaign committee today made public a telegram which Norman Thomas, socialist candidate for president, sent to Governor Smith urging the governor "in the interest of a genuinely educational campaign" to tell the voters of the South his views on the negro problem and on prohibition.

The message, directed to the Democratic presidential candidate at Charlotte, N. C., said:

"On my recent trip South I discovered that certain simple questions interest the people in that section as they interest people everywhere. They are questions which Herbert Hoover evaded. I discussed them frankly. In the interest of a genuinely educational campaign I respectfully urge you to answer them.

"1. Will you explain more fully your plan for regulating transmission of power which may be generated at government owned and operated plants? Whom will you appoint to office to make the contracts of which you speak?

"2. If our remaining water power sites are God given resources what about coal, oil, copper, etc? What plan have you for them?

"3. You have properly criticised Coolidge's imperialism in Nicarauga. Will you tell the South and the country that you think of Wilson's imperialism in Hatti, Santo Domingo and elsewhere? Will you withraw the Marines from Nicarauga and Haiti?

"4. You have spoken plainly on religious bigotry. What about racial bigotry? Do you approve the constant attacks in the South on Mr. Hoover based on his abandonment of segregation in his department? Do you approve of the Texas rule of your party which excluded from its primaries all negroes, no matter what may be their character and attainments?

"5. What do you think of the plea of many prominent Southern Democrats that the electors vote for you in order more rigorously to enforce the 18th amendment without modification?"

Maryland Negroes Have Strong Smith Org.

Baltimore, Oct. 10.—Thomas R. Smith, Baltimores' influential Negro leader, and Robert J. Nelson, Regional Director of the Middle Atlantic Division, predict that the Negro will play an important part in putting Maryland in the Democratic column for Governor Smith. The Smith-for-President Colored League is organizing throughout the state.

Prominently associated with the Maryland Division are: Thomas J. Callaway, William Weaver, Arthur H. Bragg, Theresa Connoly, Edward Ridley, Eugene Barbour, William N. Jones, Sallie Logan, Alphua Peck, Elmer Amos, Edith Pritchett, Estelle Ridout, Alice Woodland, Georgianna Lewis, F. L. Nelson, Mamie Stewart, John W. Smith, Benjamin Hendricks, Truly Hatchett, Josiah F. Henry, John Johnson, Edward Harris, William Thomas, Peter Woodbury, Cincinnatus Major, J. Steward Davis, Walter Berkley, Sidney Edwards, Logan Jenkins, Jr., Amos Logan, Don S. S. Goodloe, Dr. Charles A. Marshall, Herman Dickson, Blanche Davis, Littleton Gamby, Sarah Murphy, Ralph Wade, Harry Brotten, George Williams, Beulah Tilgham, Mamie Sisco, Cardelle Scott, Annie Rich and Margaret Dow.

Believes Al Smith Is Honest

To the Editor, Journal and Guide:

The group of so-called leaders of the Negro race came together as campaign workers for an extra $105.00 and attempt to advance reasons why the Negro should support the Republican ticket; try to make it appear on the surface that the Republican party is Alpha and Omega, life preserver of the Negro. They are too often engineered by pecuniary motives, caring little for the welfare of the masses.

Political parties come before the people stating their policies. The Negro should scrutinize these policies themselves and not be moved by partisan appeals, and on election day they should cast their votes for the candidate or the policies which appear to them to best further the good and welfare of humanity, they should support principles and not party labels.

The writer is not unmindful of the fact that the Negro was unfettered from chattel slavery during a Republican administration, but the Republican party of today cannot be compared with the party of Lincoln, Sumner, Morton and Stephens. Today it is nothing but a party of trusts, functioning in the interest of the capitalist class, though masquerading as the party of liberalism. In spite of the record of the party in failing to defend the race against proscription, there are many Negroes who believe that the race should remain in the Grand Old Democratic Party and wait on the Lord for the change. There are others who believe that the Negro should shape his own destiny; they are saying why stay here until we die. The inducements offered the Negro by the party when in its embryo are now only imaginary. We are dying politically and economically, and if we support the Democratic ticket, we can but die. And if they save us from our political and economic oblivion, we shall live the accepted philosophy of the age—"A wise man changeth, but a fool never."

I believe that Al Smith is honest and will execute the law. He has the courage of his convictions. What he expresses can be comprehended by the ordinary mind. It is to be hoped that the time will soon appear when the Negro will think and act to the best interest of his race and humanity. The Negro can gain much out of politics for the ballot is all powerful, yet he can gain more out of industrial cooperation and economic independence.

—WILLIAM A. WALTERS

New Smith for President Club.

Dyed in the wool Republicans of many years standing have changed their tactics and resolve to give their support to Al Smith of New York for our next President.

Favors Al

Pittsburgh Courier

O. C. HALL

Prominent Layman and Clerk in County Auditor's Office Backs Al Smith

ST. PAUL, Minn., Sept. 27. — For more than two months the Republican political pot has been simmering in preparation for one of the greatest Presidential campaigns in history, staid politicians were almost certain that the Democratic nominee would not appear on the horizon to any great extent in Minnesota because of the strong Hoover sentiment.

Lo! and behold, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky a group of Minnesota's representative citizens, after weeks of careful maneuvering, fired a broadside which threatens to disrupt the ranks by organizing an "Al

Aged Veteran Resents Editorial Of Negro Editor In Plea For Democr

Montgomery is again the Capitol of the Confederacy. The "Gray Uniforms" is to be seen on every corner. Old and young salute the Confederate flag and "camp fire" stories are being retold as the heroes of the Sixties meet their old comrades and review the days when the South fought to preserve her sacred tradition and to repel the invading foe.

There is no more interesting visitor at the Reunion than J. W. Stewart, of Randolph County. Mr. Stewart is past eighty-six years of age, but his eyes are still bright as he tells of the four years under Lee and Jackson and his memory is still clear as he recounts the closing days of the war when he was in a Yankee prison at Elmira, New York.

The surrender of Lee did not close the war for Mr. Stewart, for he refused to take the oath of allegiance until the summer of 1865 and languished in a Yankee prison until, under the advice of his friends, he crossed his fingers and took the oath. He was given transportation only to West Point, Ga., and had to walk from West Point to his home in Randolph County, walking by day and sleeping on the ground as he made his way back to the ruins where once was home.

Mr. Stewart has in his possession a copy of the "Atlanta Independent," a negro newspaper edited by Ben Davis, the negro Republican National Committeeman from Georgia and when a reporter asked Mr. Stewart his views of the "strange times" that have fallen upon Alabama, he spoke with great indignation and his face flushed at the very mention of the leadership of this Georgia negro.

Loyal Democrat

While Mr. Stewart is a loyal Democrat and an enthusiastic supporter of the Democratic nominees, he resented the article of Davis branding white Republicans in an unprintable term. "This," he said, "is the greatest insult ever given to the white men and women of the South, regardless of party affiliations, yet, the Republican party and their Alabama associates, in the face of this dastardly insult, is trying to hood-wink those who stand for white supremacy and Southern Democracy with slander unprecedented."

"I am wondering what has become of the Ku Klux Klan that once dared to face the South of negro domination and keep the Democratic party free from negro contamination."

"Many of these men who were once willing to risk the Federal prison that white supremacy in the South might be made certain are now flirting with the Republican party—the same Republican party that has negro leadership in Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and other Southern states, the same party that right here in the First Capitol of the Confederacy has a negro for chairman and a negro for secretary of the Montgomery County Republican Executive Committee.

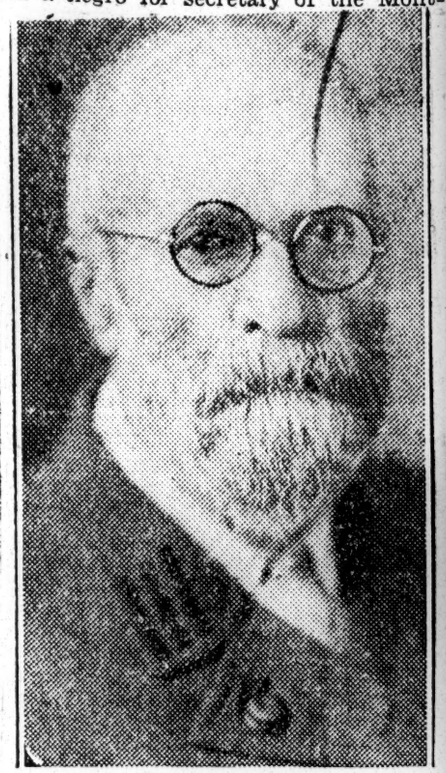

Photo by Paulger
J. W. STEWART

Mr. Stewart raised himself to his full height when he said: "If the present population of the South had lived through the Civil War and the dark days of reconstruction, they would remember that the Democratic party is the party of Lee and Jackson, the party of Jeff Davis and white supremacy and these people would resent the insults of the negro, Ben Davis; they would repel the advances of the negro, Perry Howard; and they would turn away with indignation from those who now ask the soldier of the Confederacy to join in the effort being made by certain organizations to drive a wedge into the very heart of the Democratic party."

"This is the last reunion for many of us. We are making our last stand, and as we wave the sacred flag of our sacred cause, we call on our comrades and their sons and daughters to remain true to the White Man's party in Alabama and to keep safe the party under whose banner white supremacy has fought its battles."

Mr. Stewart is the first Democrat elected in Randolph County after the war. He did well his part to redeem Alabama and his county from scalawag and carpet-bagger rule and when the Democratic party again was restored to power, Mr. Stewart was elected circuit clerk of Randolph County.

2,000 CHICAGOANS CHEER FOR AL SMITH AT LARGEST DEMOCRATIC RALLY

G. O. P. Policy of Junking Negro Leaders and Indictment of De Priest Sends Crowd to Fever Heat

CHICAGO.—The largest and most enthusiastic meeting ever held in Chicago's history by Negroes on behalf of Democratic candidates was held in the auditorium of Wendell Phillips high school, Thirty-ninth street and Prairie avenue, when two-thousand men and women packed the hall and lustily cheered the name of Alfred E. Smith. The name of Herbert Hoover was received in silence.

The big meeting reflected the mood of hundreds of colored voters on the South Side. The indictment of Oscar DePriest, running on the republican ticket for congress, and the publication of an articel in The Chicago Tribune telling of the G. O. P. program to eliminate the Negro from a commanding position in politics, are the chief contributing factors in bringing about a new and unusual situation which is giving G. O. P. leaders much concern.

Arthur Sears Henning, writing in The Chicago Tribune, says in part: "The politically dry, anti-Catholic southern democrats cannot affiliate with the democratic party so long as it is dominated by Gov. Smith, a wet Roman Catholic, who will be its titular head for four years at least whether elected or defeated, and by John J. Raskob, a wet knight of the Roman church, who is democratic national chairman.

"In the G. O. P. those southerners find a party committed to the preservation of national prohibition, a party dominated by Protestants. To them the G. O. P. now opens its arms with the assurance that they have nothing to fear by joining up permanently. Their ground for distrust, fear and hatred of 'black republicans' is being removed. The G. O. P. is handing the Negro his hat and is prepared to be as 'lily white' as the most exacting southern shouter for white supremacy can demand.

"The plan to build a white republican party in the South received the approval of Hoover early in the campaign, according to somewhat varying versions obtained from southern republican leaders. Some say that the program was mapped out prior to the Kansas City convention, when Hoover organization had contracted for the delivery of certain Negro delegates from the South, but promised rival 'lily white' delegations to recognize them in the party reorganization after the convention.

"According to another version, the project did not actually take form until shortly before Hoover's acceptance speech when a number of southern republicans headed by Col. Jennings C. Wise of Richmond, Va., visited the candidate at Palo Alto. They explained to Hoover the opportunity of annexing the anti-Smith democrats permanently to the republican party if he would authorize the elimination of the Negro and the reorganization of the southern G. O. P. as a white man's institution.

"This movement, according to the universal understanding here, has the entire approval of Herbert Hoover, who is reputed to regard the regeneration of the republican party in the South on a white basis as one of the principal reforms he expects to carry out if elected to the presidency."

This Writer Believes Smith Will Do Justice

To the Editor, Journal and Guide:

Sir:—Mr. Hoover alluded inferentially to the Negro in his speech of acceptance; Mr. Smith did not. Except as a salve to partially assuage the much ruffled sensibilities of the black man, such an allusion was an unctuous platitude. The Negro question politically speaking has ceased to be an issue between the dominant parties.

While it is debatable whether or not the differences between the Democratic and Republican parties are more apparent than real, there is little question that his brother's in white attitude as to the Negro's participation in governmental affairs is guided essentially by locality first and expediency second. In other words, I am strongly of the opinion that the white man's political affiliations had but little to do with his attitude with reference to Negro suffrage.

I am of the opinion that we should regard the parties as they are and not be unduly influenced by what they were. I am not unmindful of the benefits conferred by the Republican party in the past; for these I am grateful. I am aware, too, of the Democratic party's opposition in the South to every measure apparently favorable to the bestowal of the rights of citizenship on the black man, yet (the Democratic party) as formerly constituted and constituted merited the opposition of every Negro. Since that time, however, much water has gone over the dam and many changes have taken place. In some section of our land both parties vie with each other in extending to our group the hand of political fellowship.

I think the time is now propitious for the Negro to break away from fetters and fetishes; to be less influenced by party labels and more by men and measures.

Mr. Hoover is in favor of the retention of the Eighteenth Amendment unimpaired, and his utterances on the "Volstead Act" are quite ambiguous and susceptable to various interpretations. Mr. Smith in quite understandable and forceful language, without equivocation or evasion, advises the electorate that he is unfriendly to the said Amendment and advocates the repeal of the "Volstead Act."

Mr. Hoover tacitly admits that the "Volstead Act" is the source of many abuses and inferentially suggests a partial failure in stating that, "It is a noble experiment which must be worked out constructively." If it must be, it has not been. Mr. Smith says that the "Volstead Act" is a failure, a source of corruption, graft, bribery and crime, and submits a constructive program for a temporary relief from such a condition, to be followed later, if the people be so advised, by a program which he believes will afford relief from a condition admittedly inimical to the best interest of our government. I think Mr. Smith's program merits, if not approval, certainly respectful and careful consideration. I am in favor of any program which has a tendency to remedy the present situation.

It is true that law, no matter how obnoxious or unpopular, merits observance and should be respected because it is law, but it is equally true that if that is its chief merit, it is a poor recommendation for the law itself. It is doubtful if the devil himself could have devised or sponsored a law more calculated to arouse the most wicked and criminal instincts of man; more pregnant with possibilities of graft and corruption, and more harmful to the morale of any given community than the "Volstead Act." It has put within easy grasp of the most vicious and degenerate persons the acquisition of vast wealth, a circumstance of itself to be deplored; corrupted many officials of the law and cast the shadow of suspicion on not a few. It has not only created a disregard for but even disrespect for law.

My admiration for Mr. Smith is not based solely on his views concerning the liquor question. I admire him because I believe him to be a man honorable and honest, capable and efficient, wise in the science of government and possessed of a remarkable ability of sponsoring and putting into execution measures and programs best calculated to promote the greatest good to the greatest number.

I am not prepossessed in favor of nor prejudiced against any person on account of his religious belief or protestation. I confess a certain degree of amazement at the apparent anger of one ostensible follower of the meek and lowly Nazarene against another because, forsooth, he differs in the approach to the same goal both hope to attain. Both ostensible worshippers of the same God, both believers in the same Christ, but because of the differences in their respective rites and tenets, haters, abusers and villifiers of one another. Such an excellent commentary on the efficacy of the influence of One who gave the world the wonderful admonition, "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself"! Verily, there must be a vast difference between religious belief and religious protestation.

I believe that so far as in his power lies, Mr Smith will do justly; I believe he loves mercy and I believe he walks humbly before his God. What matters the form if there the substance be!

In conclusion may I not be pardoned in looking askance at the sincerity of those who have risen in seeming righteous indignation to hurl their thunderbolts of anathema against any one who suggest a change in the 18th Amendments, a sumptuary enactment, while they sit complacently by witnessing, daily, the violation and actual nullification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, enacted to protect human rights? Can any one, a real follower of Christ and an adherent to his teachings, be perturbed over the violation of the liquor law and remain quiescent in the face of the nullification of the law the purpose of which is to protect human rights?

—WALTER L. DAVIS

Norfolk, Va.

THAT 'SEGREGATION' QUESTION.

Answering a Florida correspondent that Mr. Hoover, a few months ago, while secretary of commerce, abrogated racial segregation in his department, and placed white and colored employees of both sexes together, the Manufacturers' Record editorially says:

"We have been officially advised and so published some weeks ago that there has been no change whatever in the department of commerce since the Wilson administration, in the matter of race relations. The report to that effect was merely a political canard."

The editor of the Record is grossly at error, as have been a number of so-called "Hoover democrats," who have sought to brush the facts away with a gesture, and hide behind the technicality that "no such order was issued."

Mr. Hoover has never denied the fact that racial segregation was recently abolished in his department, and he is not going to do so if he sticks to a truth that is too well known to admit even of the slightest controversy.

The facts are there—

During the Hoover-Willis campaign for the Ohio delegation to the Kansas City convention—Secretary Hoover contesting in Senator Willis' home state—a delegation of negro preachers and politicians of that state called on the secretary of commerce, and promised the support of the negro contingent in that state, if he would throw his white and colored employees together, in offices, rest rooms and in the department's cafeteria.

Failure to do so, they frankly stated, would mean they would throw the negro strength in the Ohio primary to Willis.

The secretary of commerce—the present republican candidate for president—agreed to interpose no objection to such a change.

And the next day the racial bars were let down.

There was no "official order" issued. It was not necessary, and Secretary Hoover was probably too keen to have the matter go into official records. But the word was passed down the line, from one chief of division to another, and the new racial alignments—a complete reversal of the Wilson policy—went immediately and rigidly into effect.

The matter was brought to the attention of congress, and an investigation disclosed the facts as stated. Various newspaper men made independent investigations. They, without exception, published the facts as stated. There is no secret about it, and the camouflage of "no official order" can not alter nor mitigate the fact.

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation

Democratic.

Washington, Ga., News-Reporter
Friday, September 7, 1928

DEMOCRATS ANGLE FOR NEGRO VOTES IN NEW YORK CITY

Tammany Mayor In Public Speech Promises Harlem Negroes A Hearty Welcome at White House Provided Al Smith Is Elected to Presidency.

(Editor's Note: The Macon (Ga.) News, one of the South's leading democratic dailies, has repudiated Gov. Al Smith and is now enthusiastically supporting Herbert Hoover. This great daily says it cannot support Al Smith, whose record is dripping wet and whose attitude towards Rome and Social Equality is so distasteful to the men and women of the South.

The following copyrighted article appearing on the front page of The Macon News, Monday, September 3rd, reveals an astonishing condition within the ranks of the national democratic party, and, feeling that it would be of interest to our own readers, we wired The Macon News for their permission to re-publish it, which they graciously granted. It is a very frank disclosure of conditions permitted by the Tammany Hall administration of which Gov. Al Smith is the recognized leader.)

(The Macon News)

By J. W. H. DeBelleville

NEW YORK, Sept. 3.—The Democratic national campaign managers in New York are displaying considerable concern over the Tammany Hall issue and the reaction of normally Democratic voters in the South and West to Al Smith's alleged intimate association and friendship with the promoters and protectors of immorality in the greater city. The governor's support, as a legislator, of Tammany protected vice appears now to be fairly well established. In fact, during his entire career as assemblyman it cannot be shown that he ever voted in favor of a single so-called reform measure. He has been at all times a dutiful and obedient son of Tammany and in his last speech in the hall on the 4th of July of this year he expressed his ardent admiration for that corrupt political machine.

In order to allay the fears of the decent elements in other parts of the country, the Tammany leaders are being shunted into the background and are expected to remian there until election day. During the preconvention campaign and at Houston, however, these same leaders were clothed with exclusive authority and ran things to suit themselves, nor are they losing any sleep at the present time over their temporary eclipse. In fact, they were in full agreement with the plan that during the election campaign Tammany should occupy the limelight as little as possible so as to relieve the governor of the taint of association with it. That this is only a meaningless gesture in the direction of expediency every well-informed person thoroughly understands. If the governor is elected, Tammany will in no sense be a welcome guest at the White House. It will be the host and will welcome only those whom it particularly desires to favor. The tiger knows how to reward its friends and it has never hesitated to destroy its enemies.

There should be food for thought in the present situation. Tammany has always been jealous of the power of the South in Democratic councils and has bitterly resented the minority role it has been forced to play in national politics. If it can elect its candidate, it will undoubtedly take advantage of its control of the federal administration to to turn upon the South and rend it In another four years it will hav so entrenched its position that will not need that solid block of electoral votes in order to keep its candidate in the White House. There are other sources of political power which Tammany knows only too well how to develop and the control of these will make the South no more necessary than any other party of the country. In 1932 Tammany will not be worrying over the electoral vote of Alabama or Mississippi. Long before that time, the power of the South in the councils of Democracy will be a thing of the past.

One important source of power which Tammany has ever been alert to cultivate lies in the constantly increasing numerical strength of the negro vote. In Harlem, where 150,000 negro residents of New York city have congregated and in the blac belts of other cities of the state, Tammany has for years been coddling the negro. Al Smith himself not only visits them during his campaigns but hands them out a brand of soothing syrup which he specially reserves for that type of citizen.

The Harlem negroes are permitted to run a wide-open town under the liberal eyes of their own black policemen. Their favorite gambling games are not interfered with in the back rooms of the speak-easies. Young bucks are allowed to lounge on the street corners and offer obscene insults to any white woman who passes that way. Nor do they hesitate to make eyes at the more attractive specimens and to revile them with lewd remarks if they resent their approaches. It is not safe and certainly not pleasant for a white woman to find herself in that neighborhood. Nothing however, can be done about it since these young negro gallants boast of power friends in Tammany hall to whom they can appeal for protection.

In the black and tan joints, which Tammany permits to run wide open white women dance and get drunk with these same negroes, and later in the night entertain them in their private quarters. Tammany has always looked with an indulgent eye on such diversions as these. In fact, only a fanatical reformer could object to such harmless pastimes. By these means moreover, it hopes finally to annex the negro vote throughout the country once its present candidate has become the occupant of the White House.

For years the Tammany mayors have recognized the power of the black belt on election day. The present wise-cracker who fills the office of mayor when he is not touring Europe and the United States has started off the campaign to enlist the negro vote for Al Smith by paying a personal visit to Harlem and oftsoaping his audience in approved Tammany fashion. The following description of the affair was published in the New York Times of August 16 last:

"With more than 500 negro delegates from all over the country attending, the twenty-ninth annual convention of the National Negro Business League opened yesterday mornig at the Mother Zion A. M. E. church, 151 West 136th street.

"Mayor Walker welcomed the convention to this city at the evening session in the Abyssinian Baptist church, 132 West 138th street. The mayor's only reference to national politics came when he paused for a moment towards the end of his address and then concluded with a smile:

"'After the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November—I won't say what is going to happen—but I can assure you now that you will be as welcome in the White House as you are here in New York.'

"The mayor's remarks were cheered until he left to go to another engagement.'

Let us hope that the southern Democratic statesmen who are so ardently championing the cause of the Tammany candidate for president will be as welcome at the White House as Jimmie Walker promises to make the negroes of the Harlem black belt.

(Copyright, 1928, The Country Editor Publishing Co., Inc.)

Publication Unknown
Wednesday, September 12, 1928

WHAT BEN DAVIS, NEGRO REPUBLICAN COMMITTEEMAN OF GEORGIA, THINKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

"Sometimes we may vote for a Democrat because of the man, but we can never vote for the Democratic party, so long as it stands for ignorance, meanness and race hatred as exemplified in Memphis, Texas, Georgia and Mississippi. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic Party.

Al Smith is no better than the Democratic Party. His record does not disclose a single favor that he had done for Negroes in New York. He (the Negro) knows that the Democratic Party is his sworn enemy.

As infamous and as wrong and cowardly as lily-whiteism is, it is worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic Party against the American Negro.

CHICAGO WOMEN LINE UP FOR SMITH

Publication Unknown
Date Unknown
Washington

Chicago, Oct. 10.—Colored women in Chicago are organizing to support Governor Smith. Mrs. Sophia Boaz, 6531 Eberhart Avenue, has been named chairwoman by the Democratic National Committee to work among the business and professional women of the race in Chicago. She reports that several influtnial colored women are working in behalf of the Democratic nominee.

A GOOD BUT NASTY CAMPAIGN.

Whether Governor Smith is elected President or not, his nomination has been a good thing for the country. For one thing it has aroused the South and caused it t oreally think out loud. Heretofore, the whole South just went along and never thought enough in National elections to have a difference of opinion among its citizens or if there were any differences, there was not the courage to express them. The result was the quality of citizenship, politically speaking was of the stereotype order. 'Tis different however this year, thanks to the nomination of Governor Smith. For once, there is a real campaign on in this section. There is great activity on everywhere to win over or hold in line those who heretofore have gone along without a question. This might be regarded as the good side of the situation. The other side however—the nasty side—is the tactics employed to whip in line or keep in line those men and women who presist in doing intelligent thinking themselves.

The old Negro bugaboo is worked over time. "Negro domination" is held up as a scarecrow. The days of Reconstruction are called to mind, embellished with all the luridness that little, mean imaginations can bring to bear. To listen to this line one could easily imagine that there has been no progress at all on the part of either the whites or the blacks. But surely 50 years of education and progress must mean something, or it must be admitted tha tthe brand of education in vogue this way is not capable of making people better as it does in the other parts of this country. That this kind of argument disturbs and has a tendency to break down the good will and kindly relations that christian men and women have been with much difficulty building up for many years is given no consideration. Cheap politicians consider nothing other than having themselves or their side prevail. The after results never cause a thought wave to enter their pates. This is the nasty side of the campaign as it is waged. Indeed, 'tis a good campaign but a nasty one. However, maybe the good in the end will outweigh the nastiness of it. Let us at any rate hope so.

Augusta, Ga., Herald
Friday, August 24, 1928

The Negro Voters

(From The Green ville, S. C., News)

The fact that a number of negro voters in various Southern states appear inclined to support the Democratic ticket in the presidential election this year has aroused considerable interest.

Democrats, of course, are glad to have the votes of all citizens who conscientiously desire to vote that way. The question, however, arises in the mind of the average citizen as to why these negro voters, who are supposed to favor the Republican program, should have decided to support the Democratic ticket.

A recent news dispatch from Washington by P. H. McGowan appears to make this clear. The negroes are resentful of the Republican party for sidetracking them now when it wants votes in the South, in favor of "lily whites."

The negroes have supported the Republican program in preference to the Democratic in the belief that party would give them greater recognition, and a bigger hand in political affairs. But they are finding now, in the South at least, that the Republicans have simply "used" them for its own purposes, and had no real interest in them, and that when it goes out seriously to get votes, it does not hesitate to pitch them out and put in white leaders.

The Democratic party has never promised anything to the negro in the way of political preferment or prestige. The negroes understand that very well. But like other human beings, they prefer candor and frankly fair treatment to false hopes that were never meant to be fulfilled.

Race Vote To Swing To "Al" By Thousands Says Ohioan

G. O. P. Under Hoover Has Cast Negro Aside Like An Aged Sheik Divorces A Faithful Wife For A Vamp

COLUMBUS, O.—Race Republicans in the south are swinging to Al Smith by the thousands, according to Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, former Minister to Liberia.

The reason is the Hoover program to make the G. O. P. in the south "lily white." Mr. Johnson said:

"The Republican party in the South, particularly in the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, never had a Republican victory except for the colored vote in those states. Since the war of the rebellion the Republicans have carried Kentucky several times for President, and have elected four Republican governors. Each time it was accomplished by the colored vote, which if it had been given to the other side, would have turned the election the other way.

In Tennessee

"In Tennessee, the Republicans have carried that state for President once, and they have elected the governor several times, besides numerous members of Congress, and other local officers. In Louisville, Kentucky, it is a well-known fact that but for the colored vote this city would be Democratic overwhelmingly.

"Now in return for all this local service, these loyal soldiers of the Republican party who have helped them win all their victories, are to be put aside like a faithful wife who is put aside for some trivial reason and another wife taken up.

Discovered In Time

"This has been discovered in time for the colored people to resent such treatment as this. Their votes are counted upon to deliver the states of Kentucky and Tennessee to Hoover, and then they are to be dumped bodily and receive no consideration whatever at the hands of the party they have sustained for half a century. I can imagine the Methodist and Baptist preachers of the colored people in the south reading this news with great pleasure, and I can imagine how enthusiastically they will preach to their congregations to vote for Hoover, who after all, is nothing but a renegade Democrat.

Democrats Owe Nothing

"The Democratic party in the south owes nothing to the colored vote because they have never given their votes to the Democratic party, but the Republican party, which has always received its vote, now proves its base ingratitude by allying itself with the movement to exclude the colored people from any participation in the councils of the Republican party.

In The North

"The Republican party managers in the National Committee are perfectly willing to throw overboard the colored votes in the south, forgetting that if the colored vote was removed from the Repubilcan column in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, Illinois, Missouri, Oklahoma, and ever so many states in the north, they would have absolutely no show whatever.

Will Desert

"What do you think the colored people of the north are going to say when they hear that the Republican party and its candidate for President have deliberately entered into a scheme to cast the colored voters overboard in the southland?

"I miss my guess if hundreds of thousands of them do not resent this, not only in the south, but in the north by casting their votes with the Democratic party headed by Governor Alfred E. Smith."

SOUTHERN NEGRO VOTING

From the New York Times.

That the Democratic anti-Smith movement in the South may make the question of Negro voting more acute than for years is indicated by the activity of Texas Negroes in trying to find a way in which to obtain political privileges. The theory behind Democratic white solidarity in the Southern states has always been the necessity of opening no space for the wedge of id South" is threatened by Bishop Negro voting. Now that the "sol-Cannon and his associates, many Negroes naturally see a possible opportunity to gain support in their desire to participate in primaries and elections.

The Texas Negroes asked for an injunction against the Democratic party committees so that they might vote in the Democratic primaries. They have been barred by the committee under the private powers (which the court sustained) to fix the qualifications for party membership. The court agreed that the committee is in no sense a government agency, and that the Texas statute conferring upon it the right to make membership qualifications is unsound. But as a political agency its rights are clear, thought the court, and even though the Negroes promised to abide by the decision of the primary and support Democratic nominees, the opinion sustained the act of the commmittee in barring them from participation.

This is one of the devices whereby Negroes are stopped at the first barrier, and it is a very effective barrier, because Democratic primaries in states like Texas are virtuallly elections, since a primary certificate is usually equivalent to election itself. State literary statutes and other tests effectively prevent most Negroes from voting in the South, but after the primary is held without them the right to vote is of very little value. That is why they addressed themselves to the primary. This election, however, is national, and if Negroes could obtain vote and support the Republicans, they could easily carry several Southern states. They are looking more and more to evangelical clergymen and laymen and to the militant drys, to help them in getting to the polls, since there would be no more effective way to defeat Governor Smith than to carry Southern states for Mr. Hoover.

The probability is—and that is what is behind much of the confidence in Southern Democratic victory expressed at headquarters here by Senator Harrison, of Mississippi—that the rising Negro activity will bring out a large White vote and checkmate any possible danger. However, the Fifteenth amendment may be in for a real test in the next few years.

SPEIGHT FINDS MANY NEGROES FOR GOV. SMITH

Asbury Speight, principal of the Fort Gaines colored public school, who has been spending his vacation in New York and New Jersey, returned home Friday last. He says politics is at a fever heat up there, and to his surprise many colored voters in each of those states are supporting Al Smith.

Political - 1928.

Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

DID THE CHICAGO DEFENDER GET ITS PRICE?

The week of the 20th, it was noised about Chicago, that the Defender would take over Al Smith the current week. The prediction came true. It praised everything it could against Hoover, and loaded up with propaganda favorable to Al Smith; and since the flop, the question uppermost in the public mind has been, did the Defender get its price? It had been currently reported that the Defender was offering the Republicans space for five figures, and if the Republicans did not come across, it would pass to the party of disfranchisement, lynching and segregation.

Now, the public is wondering whether the Defender, having failed to get the price from the Republicans, flopped to the Democrats for whatever it could get; after the old axiom, "a half loaf is better than no loaf at all."

We do not vouch for the correctness of any of the rumors questioning the wisdom and integrity of our esteemed contemporary, the Defender. We will let the public judge for itself why the Defender, or any Negro can support the Democratic party in the light of its anti-Negro record. Until two years ago, the Defender supported the Republican party, because it was the party of freedom, that enfranchised us against mob law, segregation, jim crow cars and placed every law on the books that had been enacted in our favor over stubborn Democratic opposition and had opposed the Democratic party, because it had disfranchised, segregated and jimcrowed the Negro in every state where it controlled; because it was a white man's party; protected the mob and outlawed the Negro's rights in every possible form by legal subterfuges. This is a brief statement of the Defender's political record until it went over to George Brennan in 1926.

The Democratic party stands for the same infamies and outrages against the Negro today that it stood for when the Defender supported the Republican party and condemned the Democratic party.

If the Republican party has not done all for us the Defender thinks it should have done, it has done all for us that has been done, and the Democratic party that the Defender now lovingly embraces has done everything damnable to us that has been done. If the Democratic party has ever done anything for the Negro, except to buy the influence of a few high-powered Negro mercenaries among us for a few corrupt dollars, we call on the Defender to produce the proof.

The Defender cannot hope to serve the Race through the party of Blease, Heflin, Pat Harrison and Joe Robinson. Then if it doesn't hope to serve the Race, logically it sought to serve its own personal ends. The public may judge how and by what means it hopes to benefit.

No self-respecting Negro can vote, or serve the Democratic party, so long as the party poses as a white man's party, and publicly announces that no Negroes are wanted in the party, and those Negroes, who in spite of racial insults, continue to lick the white heels that stand on their necks are mercenaries unworthy of the confidence and respect of decent men and women, though they may have money, ride in fine cars and live on boulevards. Money does not necessarily make men, or develop character and manhood. It often develops a larger crop of fools, grafters and scoundrels than it does men and gentlemen.

ARGUING ISSUES IN MISSISSIPPI.

Neshoba, Miss.

To The Commercial Appeal:

As to the statements of Sen. Earl Richardson of Philadelphia in The Commercial Appeal on last Sunday relative to the meetings of anti-Smith Democrats in Neshoba County last week, in which Hon. Wm. D. Upshaw was invited to speak at several places in Neshoba County, I wish to make the following statements.

In the first place these meetings were not planned as joint debates. Mr. Richardson says that citizens of Neshoba invited him to answer Mr. Upshaw. I do not know any thing about this, and I live in Neshoba. I was told on Tuesday afternoon that the Democratic campaign committee would have some one there to answer Mr. Upshaw, and I suggested to Mr. Johnson that they be given a courteous hearing, notwithstanding the fact that these meetings were planned by the anti-Smith Democrats and all the expense paid by them.

As to what Mr. Richardson has said about the interruptions at Neshoba while he was speaking. One of their men in the audience called Mr. Upshaw "a little Georgia peanut," and Mr. Upshaw resented this and characterized it as a cowardly act on the part of the man who said it, as Mr. Upshaw is a cripple man. At this point many of the anti-Smith Democrats left the building, as did also some of the Smith supporters. Mr. Richardson called on Mr. Upshaw to furnish a man who could take his place, which was interpreted to be a threat to personal violence. Richardson did not answer any of the charges that Mr. Upshaw made against Al Smith, and twice misquoted statements that Mr. Upshaw made, one in which he claimed that Upshaw made reference to Al Smith kissing the toe of the pope. I see Mr. Richardson did not make this statement in his published statement in The Commercial Appeal. The other misquotation of Mr. Upshaw was with reference to the number of votes Governor Smith received in the State of New York. After Mr. Richardson had spoken for 30 or 40 minutes he introduced Sen. Brown Williams. Mr. Williams indulged in the most abusive language of Mr. Upshaw I have ever heard. Mr. Richardson has not denied this in his statement. Among the charges that Mr. Williams made against Mr. Upshaw was one in which he charged Upshaw of being paid by the Republican party. Williams did not offer any proof for this statement at this meeting nor at any other time so far as I have heard, and when Mr. Upshaw arose to deny the statement so much racket was made by Williams and his followers that no one could have spoken and been heard.

Mr. Williams characterized Mr. Upshaw as a hypocrite and a liar, and others say he called him a thief. I do not recall hearing this statement. At the close of the meeting, which broke up in a general riot, an attorney from Philadelphia announced that Governor Bilbo would speak in Philadelphia on Saturday, and gave an invitation to the public to attend this meeting. At this announcement I ask if Congressman Upshaw would be permitted to answer Governor Bilbo, and received the sarcastic answer that it was "a Democratic meeting," and was given to understand that we would not be welcomed in that meeting.

The citizens of Neshoba on both sides of the question resent the abusive language that was used by both of these speakers, and the ladies of the community are preparing a statement in which they denounce their tactics as un-American, and entirely unethical in even a political campaign. They claim that language was used in the presence of ladies which was not decent to be used in the presence of men.

As to the charge made that Mr. Upshaw credited all the Smith speakers with using abusive language, it is absolutely untrue. Mr. Upshaw made the public statement that he was treated with courtesy by Mr. Pierce and Mr. Blont at Shady Grove on Wednesday afternoon.

The statement that "the Democratic speakers so effectively answered Mr. Upshaw that he did not meet all his advertised speaking engagements in the county" is also untrue. The facts are that Mr. Upshaw was sick on Wednesday evening, and under the treatment of a doctor and could not meet his engagement at Bardale schoolhouse, at which time Mr. Hilman and Mr. Gillis, both of Philadelphia, spoke for Smith. The only other engagement he did not fill was at Forest Dale on Friday night, which engagement was cancelled by citizens of that county on account of a box supper, and even then some of the people of that community came to him on Friday afternoon and urgently requested that he speak any way, but because he did not want to be discourteous he declined to do so.

At Bond schoolhouse on Thursday the charge was made that they were afraid to challenge Mr. Upshaw to a public debate on the right kind of terms, based largely on the fact that Governor Bilbo had refused to debate with Mr. Upshaw. At this time Mr. Jerry Gillis of Philadelphia challenged Mr. Upshaw for a debate then and there, which was accepted. Mr. Gillis did not adequately answer any of Mr. Upshaw's statements. And when after the chairman had called time on him, he made a statement that "the preachers are being paid by the Ku Klux Klan," he was asked for some proof, he only went into a rage and demanded that the questioner "shut up."

At Bloomo schoolhouse on Friday afternoon Mr. Gillis and County Attorney Stribling were present to speak, but were refused a hearing by the citizens of that community. They said it was planned only for Mr. Upshaw, and they did not want to hear the others. Then they said they were indignant over the action of the Smith followers on Thursday night in Philadelphia. Upshaw spoke to a large crowd at Bloomo.

As to the Thursday night meeting in Philadelphia, they have been trying mighty hard to wiggle out of the responsibility for what took place there. For this we cannot blame them as it is entirely un-American, but the facts remain the same. A large number of them were present in the hall which had been rented by anti-Smith Democrats; they ask for a division of time, and as the chairman was trying to give them a courteous answer, they made so much noise that nothing could be explained, and finally he told them flatly they would not be allowed a division of time. As they started to file out I made them a proposition which I knew to be satisfactory to Mr. Upshaw and many others, that they would be given a division of time provided they would divide time between Mr. Upshaw and Governor Bilbo on Saturday. To this they refused and passed out.

About 15 minutes after they had left the building, and wihle I was speaking just before introducing Mr. Upshaw, a brickbat came hurling through the window from the east end of the building. Mr. Livingston, living near Neshoba, has the brickbat in his possession now. There were a goodly number of women and children in the building, and they knew they were there when they went out. They will have a hard time making the people of Neshoba County believe they did not throw the brckbat which came through the window, as well as some more which did not come through.

S. J. RHODES.

WOULD BE ASHAMED.

Memphis, Tenn.

To The Commercial Appeal:

You have published so much in the Voice of the People Column about the coming presidential election that I feel that I should voice my opinion. My territory extends as far south as Yazoo City, Miss., and in covering this territory I have heard all kinds of arguments about the qualifications and disqualifications of the presidential nominees. While I do not condemn any one for voting as his conscience dictates, I am at a loss to understand how any fair minded man who was born and reared in the south can feel justified in voting for a Republican for president. It seems to me that the past eight years of Republican rule featuring thievery and every conceivable form of corruption should be enough to turn any one against the Republican party.

Several radical newspapers have made much ado about some photographs of a negro commissioner of New York City dictating a letter to a white girl stenographer, claiming that this negro was appointed by Governor Smith, and asking the question, "Is this white supremacy?" It most assuredly is not, but that is in New York, where they have no race distinction. All we can do is disapprove of it. Some say that if Al Smith is elected the same thing will take place in the south. I do not agree with them. He is too smart a man to insult the southern people by appointing negroes to public offices in the south, for if he is elected he will know that the southern people elected him.

Quite a few people say they are going to vote for Hoover because Smith is a Catholic. I am frank to admit that I would be much better pleased with Smith if he were a Protestant, but he was the choice of the delegates we sent to the national convention, so I am going to support ihm. When a man who claims to be a Democrat votes against Smith because he is a Catholic, he is practicing the very thing for which he condemns the Catholics, intolerance. Besides being a traitor to the Democratic party he is a traitor to the principles for which our fathers fought and bled on the battlefields of the Civil War.

If I should vote for Hoover on Nov. 6 I would be ashamed to call myself a Democrat.

A. K. WILLIAMS.

McNinch Insists Al Smith Picked Negroes For Office

Anti-Smith Chairman Offers Literature to Substantiate Charges; Replies to Attack by Mull.

A more extended expose of Governor Smith and Tammany's political recognition of the negro in New York was offered last night by Frank R. McNinch, democratic state chairman, in answer to the attack on him and the democratic state anti-Smith committee by O. M. Mull, democratic state chairman, published in the press Friday morning.

As a part of his answer to the Mull attack, McNinch quoted from an official pamphlet issued by the Smith-for-President Colored League of New York City which credits Governor Smith not only with the negro Morton's appointment but with many other appointments of negroes to important public offices in the city and state of New York.

The Raleigh News & Observer was cited by him as authority for the statement that the Smith-for-President Colored League, which issued the pamphlet, recently received $15,000 from the democratic national committee.

He charged that the negro issue was first raised in the campaign by Smith speakers in North Carolina and that, since the anti-Smith forces had met it with facts, the Smith supporters are running from it.

Mr. McNinch made the following statement:

"The reckless assault upon the anti-Smith democrats made by Chairman Mull through the press this morning is one more clear and unmistakable illustration of the fact that he is putting the interests of Governor Smith in North Carolina above the welfare of the state, district and local democratic candidates.

"Thus far the only active support for the state ticket has come from the anti-Smith organization through the speeches of Senator Simmons and myself and others and the circulation by our committee of more than a million pieces of literature carrying appeals for the support of the entire democratic ticket with the exception of Governor Smith. Mr. Mull had better be expending some of his time and energy on behalf of our home ticket instead of in a futile, hopeless effort to make the democrats swallow Governor Smith and his Tammany, Raskob duPont nauseating political pill.

"Mr. Mull's frantic effort, born of desperation, to defend Governor Smith on the race issue is at best a plea by way of confession and avoidance. For he does not deny the facts but only attempts to excuse Governor Smith from responsibility for outrageous conditions in New York under Tammany Hall. Mr. Mull does not deny that Ferdinan Q. Morton, a negro, is now and has been for years one of the three civil service commissioners of New York city, under Tammany Hall administrations. He does not deny that Morton has a white woman secretary and many white men and women working under him. He does not deny that negro teachers teach white children in the public schools of New York. Indeed, Mr. Mull would not dare deny these statements for he is, of course, familiar with the recent telegram sent to the democratic chairman at Fayetteville by the Hon. George Gordon Battle, of New York, who has twice spoken in North Carolina on behalf of Governor Smith, in which telegram Mr. Battle said:

"'One of the three civil service commissioners of New York city is Ferdinand Morton who is a very respectable colored man, a graduate of Harvard and highly esteemed by all who know him, white and black'.

"Mr. Battle very discreetly said nothing about the charge that Morton has a white woman secretary and other white employes under him. And it is certain that he would have denied it had he not known these statements to be true. Neither did Mr. Battle deny that negro teachers teach white children which fact is notorious in New York city and has never been denied by anybody.

"But Mr. Mull says that Governor Smith is not responsible for Morton being in office as he was appointed by Mayor Hylan. Governor Smith supported Mayor Hylan who was the Tammany candidate for mayor and twice elected by Tammany. Governor Smith was then as he is now the real boss of Tammany for Senator Robinson said in his Charlotte speech: "Governor Smith tells Tammany what to do.' Being the real boss, though Charlie Murphy was the titular head of Tammany, it is an irresistable conclusion that Morton was appointed either at instance or with the approval of Governor Smith.

"It is true that after Mayor Hylan had refused to let Tammany Hall have complete control of his administration, Tammany and Governor Smith turned on him and defeated him in his third race for mayor by the election of Mayor Walker. Morton has been continued in office under Governor Smith's alter ego, Jimmie Walker. Will anybody believe that Governor Smith has not a direct and inescapable responsibility for Morton.

"It is certain that Morton has no misgivings about who is his political patron for he is now actively engaged in the campaign on behalf of Governor Smith appealing to negroes to vote for Governor Smith because of his recognition of their race.

"In a 20-page pamphlet containing on its front page a picture of Governor Smith addressed to colored voters and issued by the Smith-for-President Colored league of New York city, Morton, among other negroes, makes appeal to negroes to support Governor Smith for president. In Morton's appeal, he says:

"'For the first time since his enfranchisement the colored voter is confronted with an opportunity at a national election to use his suffrage for the advancement of his own cause . . . . I earnestly hope and firmly believe that at this election colored voters in overwhelming numbers will be found in the ranks of those Americans who are resolved to banish forever from this nation religious bigotry and racial hatred. The bigots, the morons, the prohibitionists, the Ku Klux Klanmen, the Bourbon democrats and the Lily White republicans in the south, in short all the forces of intolerance and hatred, are earnestly striving for the election of the republican candidate. The colored voter will not align himself with these sinister froces against the candidacy of Governor Smith.'"

"This is the insulting characterization laid upon the Christian men and women and the white democracy of the south by this negro Tammany politician, who by Tammany's patronage works white men and women under him.

"This negro Morton knows his master's voice and is acting upon the principle: 'Whose bread I eat his song I sing.'

"The negro organization publishing the pamphlet above referred to in the interest of Governor Smith is the same organization to which was contributed September 12, 1928, by Smith and Raskob's so-called democratic national committee the sum of $15,000 and to which another $15,000 was contributed by Raskob's committee as reported in the News and Observer of October 26.

"As a further evidence that Governor Smith himself recognizes his responsibility for the appointment of Morton and many other negroes to office, this same pamphlet, paid for by funds from the Smith-Raskob national committee, carries the following statement on page 9:

"'During Governor Smith's four terms of office, the democratic organization of New York has been responsible for the following appointment of negroes: a civil service commissioner (Morton), an assistant attorney general, several assistant district attorneys; a commissioner of decedent estates, waiver clerk in the state tax department, a deputy commissioner of funds for disabled veterns; several deputy sheriffs; four members of school boards; board of health inspectors; a superintendent of markets; two bonus investigators; a Harlem hospital staff composed almost entirely of negro physicians and over 500 other appointments, principally of teachers, policemen and firemen including one fire lieutenant. The liberal treatment of the negro by Tammany Hall is a fact of general knowledge among negroes throughout the country.'

"This same pamphlet, paid for by the Smith - Raskob committee's funds, further recites on page 12 that Clarence J. E. Robinson, a negro, being eligible, on August 18, 1926 for the position of New York state insurance examiner was passed over by the department of insurance in favor of a white man. But, adds the pamphlets, 'Governor Smith sent for the insurance commissioner and insisted that Robinson be appointed. It was the first appointment of a colored man in this department since its organization, sixty years ago.'

"It is evident that Mr. Mull has been imposed upon and is woefully ignorant of the campaign literature being circulated by the Smith-Raskob committee, under which he is working, for he does not seem to know anything about this important negro pamphlet nor is he informed about the true racial conditions under Governor Smith's administration, not only sponsored by Governor Smith himself in New York state, as illustrated by his interference in behalf of the negro as against a white man in the matter of the important office of insurance examiner of the state of New York. If Mr. Mull had taken the trouble to make the most cursory examination into the facts he would never have made the absurb and humorous statement that "in the employment of negroes by the state of New York under his (Governor Smith's) administration, this (appointing negroes) has been done only to fill such jobs as they are given in the south, to-wit, porters, janitors, charwomen, etc.'

"And surely his employment of the harsh term of 'liar' towards anti-Smith democrats was only to be accounted for through his ignorance of these many appointments to high-salaried and important office of negroes by the political organization controlled by Governor Smith. An intelligent electorate will not allow the Smith-Raskob coalition to make this published and widely circulated appeal for negro voters in the north and east based upon Governor Smith's political recognition of negroes and at the same time let them get away with attempted evasion of responsibility in the south for conditions so repugnant to southern democracy.

joint commission, Friday expressed this same hope for more active cooperation in extending the fraternal greetings to the group from the Protestant church.

"It was speakers in behalf of Governor Smith who raised the negro issue in this campaign. We knew it was a false cry and though we were then fully prepared to meet it we refrained for a long time in the hope that they would abandon it. But their continued pressing of this issue justified and made necessary that we meet the issue with the facts. Mr. Mull's intemperate statement shows that they are running from their own issue which has returned like a boomerange to their own camp with deadly effect.

"The anti-Smith democrats of North Carolina yield to no one in their severe condemnation of racial conditions which have existed in the past under whatever party and wherever such conditions obtained. What we are undertaking to do with all the power at our command is to prevent the national democratic party from being used by Smith and Tammany as an instrumentality to inaugurate in the national government the same policy of negro political recognition as now obtains in New York city and state under the political control of Smith and Tammany Hall.

MULL SHOWS FALLACY OF SMITH NEGRO TALE

Governor Never Had Colored Stenographer, Says North Carolina Democrat.

Raleigh, N. C., October 26.—(AP)—With the declaration that the republican and anti-Smith organization of North Carolina have raised the "negro issue" in this campaign and have portrayed Governor Alfred E. Smith, democratic presidential nominee, as favoring equality of races in New York, O. M. Mull, chairman of the state democratic forces, tonight issued a statement.

"The democratic party is both able and ready to meet them on this issue," he declared in preface.

He then charged that the forces opposing Governor Smith were circulating in this state "a picture purporting to be that of Ferdinand Q. Morton, negro, member of the municipal service commission of New York city, dictating to a white stenographer."

Pointing out that the literature purports to "hold" Smith responsible for the negro's appointment, Chairman Mull declared that Morton was appointed to office by the administration of Mayor Hylan, whom Governor Smith opposed, and that his term of office has not expired since Mayor James J. Walker, Smith's candidate, took office. He added that negroes appointed to positions on school boards and similar controlling units, in New York were given office through laws enacted by the general assembly, which is "controlled by republicans." He also charged that the forces that appoint these negroes to office are now the forces "supporting Herbert Hoover" for president. He denied that Governor Smith has now or has ever had a negro stenographer in his office.

The statement, after pointing out other similar allegations and denying, them assured the voters that the record of the democratic party in this state speaks for itself and holds high the principle of "white supremacy."

He declared that the republican party has always courted the negro vote and that the Kansas City convention which nominated Mr. Hoover for president "was composed of negro delegates and white delegates."

Political – 1928

Party Affiliation,

LEADERS FROM EVERY SECTION VOICE PROTEST AGAINST HIS SELECTION TO LEAD AL SMITH FORCES

STATE LEADERS TURN DEAF EAR TO THOMPKINS' PLEA TO NAME HIS CHOICE

"Dummy" List Used To Screen Off Opposition As Battle Looms

Black Dispatch

"I'll vote the Republican ticket and endeavor to carry every Negro with me in the state," said Elijah J. Burnes, editor of the Trumpet, Democratic newspaper, and who has been active in local politics. Burnes was enraged Monday night at what he characterized as the arbitrary action of Mrs. J. B. A. Robertson, who had selected Dr. I. W. Young as head of the Negro Democratic forces of the state.

Black Dispatch

Young Re-enthroned.

Suppressed indignation ran rampant in every section of Oklahoma this week immediately following the news article in the Black Dispatch in its last issue telling that the czar of black Democracy had been re-enthroned by Chairman Key and Mrs. Robertson.

9-27-28

Thompkins Muddles Things.

The arrival of Dr. William J. Thompkins of Kansas City, the regional head of the Al Smith clubs in the West, further complicated things last Thursday. Thompkins was in conference with Democratic leaders during the major portion of the day. It is known that he endeavored to dislodge Dr. Young from his position of advantage and that he contemplated placing his personal friend, Bud Brown of Tulsa, in the position that Young now holds.

Oklahoma City

Brown National Head.

Key and Mrs. Robertson are said to have stood their ground, and Thompkins retired from the scene as gracefully as possible, naming Brown as his personal representative in Oklahoma. Brown, who is connected with the Tulsa Eagle, announced through that paper this week that he would open national headquarters in Tulsa. Thompkins, when queried by a Dispatch representative as to the connection Brown would have to the state work, was noncommital.

Slush Fund.

Rumor has it that $3,200 has been allowed Young for state work. The state has been already flooded with copies of a letter from Mrs. Robertson announcing his selection.

Dummy Organization.

Immediately upon the confirmation of Young's appointment, he proceeded to hold a conference in the offices of Dr. Brooks, Thursday night and an elaborate list of officers were named, without regard to whether the persons named would affiliate with the organization under his leadership, and regardless of party alignment. Because of the storm of protest that arose locally, the Black Dispatch sent out a letter to many of those whose names had been used in the "dummy" list submitted to the public, in an attempt to make the Democratic State Central Committee believe that Young had the support of hundreds of Negroes of the state. The following persons have denounced the plan and refuse to have anything to do with the organization:

9-27-28

Dr. Bethel, Oklahoma City:

"In answer to your letter will say that I am for Smith and the entire Democratic ticket as an individual, but I shall not accept an office in the Smith Club, headed by Dr. I. W. Young or allow him to use my name in any way. Anyone connected with Young in any respect is a figurehead and I shall be a tool for no one. I am an administration man, while Young is an anti-administration man."

Oklahoma City

Dr. Bethel was named by Young as vice chairman.

"Take My Name Off"

Miss Effie Bullock of Rosedale, another whose name appeared on Young's dummy list of officials, came to Oklahoma City immediately following receipt of information that her name was included in such a list. "My, my, my, I'd have had a spell if my name had gone out to the people in that way," said Miss Bullock, who is one of the prominent teachers of McClain county. "Be sure to take my name from such a list," she continued.

Democratic.

Will Not Join Club.

"I am unequivocally for Smith but have joined no club, do not think it necessary and am an independent voter," telegraphed Dr. H. W. Conrad of Park Sanitarium, Guthrie, in answer to the query as to what connection, if any, he had with Young's club. Conrad was placed on the advisory committee by Young.

Don't Know Anything About It.

"I do not know anything about it and do not expect to be in any political club with Dr. Young," said Dr. E. B. Brooks of Oklahoma City. Brooks said he allowed the meeting to be held at his office at the request of Young. He did not stay and told Young that he could spend a more profitable evening at home with his wife than he could attending his meeting.

Snagged a Republican."

"You say, that I do not know anything about the Smith-for-President Club. I am a Republican and my grandfather would turn over in his grave if he even thought I had joined the Democratic party," writes Dr. W. S. Boyd of El Reno. Boyd was named as county chairman of Canadian county in the dummy list.

Frazier Hot.

"I had a letter from Young on this subject," telephoned Prof. Wm. Frazier of Wewoka. Frazier is a Republican. "I don't want my name on any of his literature," he shouted over the telephone.

Smith a Diplomat.

J. Bernard Smith of Muskogee, was more of a diplomat when he responded to the Dispatch query. Smith said in part: "I was elected state chairman of the Al Smith for President Clubs at a regular and stated meeting held in Muskogee some time ago. At this meeting delegates from a number of counties from over the state were present, and I am of the opinion that the call and the election as a result thereof was due and regular." Smith headed a protest delegation to Oklahoma City to see Chairman Key, Tuesday. It is reported that when he returned home the dove of peace was hovering over the Young and Smith camps, at least on the surface.

Lowe Still Adamant.

But Editor Lowe was not so easily modified and appeased as was Smith. Lowe, when he first arrived in the city, proceeded to explain that many of the Muskogee group would not endorse any program headed by Young. In the list of the bitter enders in Muskogee (but on Young's list) pointed out by Lowe, were: Mrs. Rebecca Turner Jackson, Atty. O. Ben Jefferson, Jacob J. Jones, G. W. Gatewood, D. M. Lewis. He also said that Mrs. Maggie Daniels of Oktaha and Prof. E. E. Weaver, all named by Young, had stated to him that they would not work under the Oklahoma City man's leadership.

Suppressed Rage Says Reed.

Frank Reed, Oklahoma City, said Tuesday night, that Thompkins had done more to make votes for Hoover, and he said that while many of the Democrats might submit openly to Young's leadership, under the cover every one of them would rebel against the Key-Robertson appointment.

Used Name Unwarranted.

Mrs. Rebecca Turner-Jackson of Muskogee, Grand Worthy Counsellor of the Court of Calanthe, and perhaps one of the most prominent and well known women in the state, writes: "I wish to say if my name has been used by anyone relative to any political propaganda it was unwarranted and without my consent."

Another Mistake.

Writing from Drumright in Creek county, J. H. Simmons, Republican war horse, says: "I am sorry that some one has mistaken me for a good old Democrat. As for Al Smith, I guess he is all right, but he does not happen to be on my ticket. I am a Republican and this will inform you that I am not serving as a member of an Al Smith Democratic Club. I am known all over Texas, Kansas and Arkansas as a staunch Republican. Please let it be known in your next issue that I am advocating the support of the entire Republican ticket. I am urging my people to stamp under the eagle and let him fly to Herbert Hoover's box." Simmons was to take charge of Creek county on the dummy list prepared by Young.

Tulsa Not Heard From.

Just how much opposition will develop in the state-wide meeting against Young, Saturday called by E. J. Burnes, is not known. Burnes said Tuesday that Dr. Motley of Tulsa, and several others from the East Side of the state had agreed to join with him in the protest meeting. The Tulsa group generally has not been heard from on the Young appointment, but it is safe to say that John Smitherman and Young have not broken bread together since the day when Tulsa's valliant deputy sheriff sought to cast Young out of a window during the progress of the last gubernatorial election.

McDonald Now Satisfied.

The threatened bolt of A. B. McDonald has subsided completely and the "silver tongued orator" (as he styles himself) has a commission in his pocket signed by Lewis T. (Bud) Brown of Tulsa, giving McDonald a commission as organizer at $50.00 per week and McDonald is ordered to go immediately to McAlester to commence activities for the Smith forces.

Young Barred From National Trough.

Just how many $50.00 per week men will be sent out in the state by Brown is not known, but the fact that Brown is sending out the men instead of Young, indicates that Thompkins intends to see that the national funds are distributed in the state thru his man. Young will be confined to state funds solely.

Lilly and Johnson Ignored.

Just how J. R. Johnson at Taft, and J. H. Lilly of the school at Boley, will enter into Young's program is not known. There has never been any love feast held between these gentlemen, and it was very noticeable that when the news story written by Thompson and Young first arrived at the Black Dispatch office, their names were not included in the organization. They were later included.

SMITH ORGANIZATIONS COMPLETED IN STATES

New York, Sept. 26.—State organizers of the Smith-for-President Colored League recently appointed were: Dr. Robert Williams, Connecticut; Morris Rozelle, Delaware; W. Ellis Stewart, Illinois; [illegible] Henry, Indiana; William Warley, Kentucky; Dr. S. E. Taylor, Massachusetts; Lincoln Clark, New Jersey; Arthur J. Black, Rhode Island, and Dr. C. F. Hanson, West Virginia.

National headquarters of the Smith-for-President League is now permanently organized, and an intensive campaign in the interest of the New York Governor's candidacy is under way.

Julian D. Rainey, national organizer, announces that Clinton A. Williams, of New York, has been named Supervisor of Smith-for-President Colored Independent Clubs.

NEW JERSEY CLUBS FOR SMITH

Trenton, N. J., Sept. 26.—Following are the officers of the Mercer County Colored Democratic League: Arthur Allen Disduke, president; Arthur Taylor, first vice president; William Turner, second vice president; Dr. W. S. Hayling, executive chairman; R. Clinton Rock, recording secretary; Miss Jackie Harris, assistant recording secretary; Charles T. Patterson, treasurer; the Rev. G. G. Morgan, chaplain, and Mrs. A. Swanson, organizer.

9-29-28

The Board of Directors are: Chester A. Wheeler, chairman; Capt. Henry Lee, Mrs. Lottie Madden, Mrs. Ethel Willcugh, Mrs. Jessie Thomas, Mrs. David Alexander, W. M. Jackson, Ethel L. Turner, and Rev. H. H. Gaines.

MINUTEST DETAILS PERFECTED IN SMITH-FOR-PRESIDENT CAMPAIGN

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE CALLS ARMORBEARERS TOGETHER

McDonald, the "Nation Rocker," Still On Board Of State Organizers

9-27-28 Oklahoma City

At a conference of the Executive Committee of the Democratic State Central Committee held at Oklahoma City, Wednesday afternoon, the following state organization of Colored Smith-for-President Clubs was presented and confirmed: I. W. Young, State Chairman for Oklahoma, Oklahoma City; A. P. Bethel, vice chairman, Oklahoma City; Frank Reed, vice chairman, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Rebecca T. Jackson, state chairman for women, Muskogee, Okla.; Mrs. Lottie Gentry, vice chairman, Tulsa; Leslie McMahon, secretary, Oklahoma City; R. S. Holmes, treasurer, Oklahoma City; Fred H. McNeil, publicity director, Oklahoma City; Atty. C. E. Corbett, director of speakers, Muskogee; W. E. Rowse, Ada; Bland Wharton, Muskogee; Atty. W. G. Moffit, Tulsa; Pat Hawkins, Dewey; Geo. Schott, Sapulpa; and A. B. McDonald, Oklahoma City, state organizers; Atty. O. B. Jefferson, chairman executive committee; B. C. Franklin, Tulsa; J. C. Evans, Okmulgee; Mrs. Carrie Tolliver, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Blanche McFall, Terlton; state national committeeman, Dr. J. A. Cox, chairman first district; John H. Smitherman, Tulsa, second district, A. L. Marchbanks, Taft, third district, Dr. R. W. Motley, Tulsa, fourth district, J. Bernard Smith, Muskogee, fifth district, J. E. Hardy, Tulsa, sixth district, I. H. Haws, Oklahoma City, seventh district, M. W. Hawkins, Oklahoma City, eighth district, Prof. C. R. Johnson, Taft, Prof. J. H. Lilly, Boley, national committeeman at large.

Executive Committee.

Atty. O. B. Jefferson, chairman, Muskogee; Dr. E. W. Williams, Altus; Rev. Wm. Lyles, Oklahoma City; Sam Ivey, E. B. Brooks, Oklahoma City; J. J. Jones, Rev. G. W. Gatewood, J. B. Fue, Muskogee; Frank Williams, Tulsa; D. M. Lewis, Muskogee; Mrs. Bernice Wilson, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Georgia Haws, Oklahoma City; Wm. A. Chandler, Wewoka; Wm. Hazel and Wm. S. Peters, Boley.

Advisory Committee.

Dr. A. P. Bethel, chairman, Oklahoma City; Dr. C. B. Wickham, Oklahoma City; Dr. H. W. Conrad, Guthrie; Dr. B. A. Wayne, Tulsa; Mrs. L. R. Thurman, Oklahoma City; C. P. Young, Boley; Atty. H. C. Hawkins, Oklahoma City; Dr. W. L. Haywood, Oklahoma City; W. D. Fuller, Langston; Zell Tatum, Oklahoma City; Dr. R. E. Wallace, Muskogee; Mrs. Maggie Daniels, Checotah; Miss Effie Bullock, Rosedale; Mrs. Addie Hill, Muskogee.

It was agreed at this conference to open state headquarters at Oklahoma City.

Dr. W. J. Tompkins, who is Regional Director for Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Nebraska and Iowa, was present together with representatives from the State Democratic Committee and they assured the workers that they would have all of the backing possible in putting over the program. All of the friends of the state, both white and colored, gave their unqualified endorsement.

From now on a vigorous campaign will be made to put the colored vote in the Smith column on the election day in November.

Steps have been taken to organize Smith-for-President Clubs in twenty-three counties by naming active workers in each of these counties, who in turn will organize a central county group, who will in turn carry the organization of Smith-for-President Clubs into every town and precinct in the county.

The following appointments have been made as county chairmen and workers: W. C. Rowse, Ada, Pototoc county; H. C. Clement, Langston, Logan county; Dr. H. W. Conrad, Guthrie, Logan county; Hon. J. C. Evans, Okmulgee, Okmulgee county; J. S. Wilson, Stroud, Lincoln county; Roosevelt Hill, Beggs, Creek county; N. J. Caesar, Shawnee, Pott. county; Wm. Callihan, Boley, Okfuskee county; Dr. W. S. Boyd, El Reno, Canadian county; Dr. G. W. Hill, Ardmore, Carter county; E. H. Dickerson, Chickasha, Grady county; Wfl R. Patterson, Hennessey, Kingfisher county; Mr. John Grant, Vernon, McIntosh county; Dr. W. A. Chandler, Wewoka, Seminole county; Prof. E. E. Weaver, McAlester, Pittsburg county; Prof. L. W. Smith, Purcell, McClain county; Dr. C. A. Griffin, Idabel, Choctaw county; Ralph A. Davis, Lawton, Commanche country; Dr. E. W. Williams, Altus, Jackson county; Prof. J. E. West, Claremore, Rogers county; Raymond Skelton, Ponca City, Kay county; Dr. A. E. Beatty, Bartlesville, Washington county; W. E. Ross, Ada; W. L. Jones, Boley; Prof. J. W. Sanford, Ardmore; J. H. Simmons, Drumright; Hon. C. E. Corbett, Muskogee; Prof. F. J. Hilburn, Chickasha; Dr. R. E. Wallace, Mrs. J. E. Guess, Okmulgee; Prof. Wm. Frazier, Wewoka; Miss Effie Bullock, Rosedale; Mrs. J. W. Perkins, Altus; Dr. Wm. Leefi Claremore; Prof. I. O. Garcia, Bartlesville; C. P. Young, Boley.

Believes Negro Should Remain In Republican Party

To the Editor, Journal and Guide:

Sir:—During these days of political activities, diabolical delusions, corrupt practices, daring encounters, death and destruction, such as never was before the franchise of the Negro is emboldened and is being sought by, may we say both friends and foes. As is said, 'every dog has its day and the cats, the night' may be [illegible] time is not yet. While the bear and the lion were in death grip over the carcass the fox looked on but when they lay utterly exhausted, Reynard had taken it away. This should serve as a smile to the Negro voter. He is, though secretly, being asked to align up with the Democratic party, a party as a rule which has no place or brief for him but as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Evolution, if may, has changed this routine to a certain extent but the axiom remains the same. The Negro's so-called rights ends where the Democrats begin, be it one half or all. The masses may never vote again, especially in the South, but the few that do are expected to vote the Democratic ticket. Should they rush in where angels fear to tread, "suspicious characters', are their stigma. The Democrats don't expect the Negro to vote that ticket, if so, they would not have disfranchised him. If they need and do get in office by his vote, 'No good', without it, 'Stand back.' To better illustrate; it is said that a lion, a bear and a fox quarreled over a carcass, the lion acting as arbiter divided the carcass into three parts. He claimed one part as his by right, the second as belonging to the king of beast, the third, touch it if you dare. The Republicans lets the Negro have what he may get, the Democrats takes away that he may seem to have. No Negro may be elected to an office in the South and if appointed to one can hs hold it unmolested. For that matter is it not the consensus of opinion that the Negro has passed or hasn't come for the Negro time to hold office anywhere on a party with the white man. Of two evils choose the lesser; the so-called lily-whites get the Federal offices, the Democrats wants and takes both Federal and state. It is needful and highly imperative that the Negro vote the National Republican ticket, alternative, but experience has taught that the hands has a tendency to leaven the whole lump.

—J. M. POWERS

TEXAS REPUBLICANS QUIESCENT

With the presidential, senatorial, congressional, state and county elections barely a month off, the Republican leaders in Texas have shown very little interest in the great political contest now engrossing the attention of the American electorate.

If Texas were a small state, making possible a whirlwind campaign in three or four weeks, there would be no cause for alarm at the present lethargy and quiescence of these party leaders; but Texas is the largest state in the union, and it requires considerably more time to effect a virile and functioning political or partisan organization in this state than it does in most of the American commonwealths.

The anti-Smith Democrats, or rather the Hoover-Democrats seem to be manifesting more interest in the election of Mr. Hoover than the regular Republican leaders of Texas who, up to hour of writing this editorial, have done little, if anything, to marshal the forces in this state favorable to the Hoover-Curtis presidential electors, and perfect and maintain the type of party organization so essential to party growth and success. 9-29-28

If Texas is to play an important part in the presidential race, it can not be accomplished by the Republican leaders sitting supinely by and depending upon the dissatisfied and disgruntled Democrats doing the work which the state G. O. P. leaders should, ought to and must do—that is, if the party wants to make a decent showing in Texas this year.

It is nonsense to ask Mr. Hoover and other outstanding Republican leaders to visit Texas and deliver speeches for the national ticket, when the Republican party leaders in the state are doing practically nothing for arousing interest in the campaign, nor in organizing their forces to register a record-breaking and record-making vote on Tuesday, November 6, 1928.

If one desires another person to take interest in his proposition and cause, the former must first show the proper concern and interest in his own venture or undertaking, before he can sincerely expect the other man to become interested in his proposition.

With some expenditure of energy and money, the Republican leaders of Texas can corral approximately 100,000 to 150,000 votes for the Hoover-Curtis ticket, if these state party leaders will become amenable to sane and sound advice for one time during their partisan careers.

Practically every state in the union has organized its forces and pitched its campaign in the presidential race, while the Republican party leaders in Texas seem to be engaged in the Alphonse-Gaston act.

Whether these Republican state leaders know it or not, the fact remains that every day which fails to note or record some organized movement effected in this direction, means the loss of votes for the Hoover-Curtis ticket; for people do not like to, neither will they follow men nor parties that fail to make a decent showing.

The Republican party leaders of Texas have been yelling themselves hoarse about building up a strong party and getting out a large vote for the presidential ticket, yet with the greatest opportunity in the history of the party in this state, these party leaders, for some reasons, do not seem the least concerned in trying to so coordinate and organize their forces as to poll a tremendous popular vote for their presidential ticket in the November general election.

Vote, if may, the National Republican ticket and of minute importance. In this we have no Federal Government when in the Republicans

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation.

Democratic

WILL TEST LEGALITY OF "WHITE DEMOCRAT" RULE

Movement to Disfranchise Negro in Spite of Decision of U. S. Supreme Court Draws Fire

DR. A. L. NIXON AGAIN LEADS FIGHT FOR RIGHTS

Democratic Executive Committee Enacts Law Barring Negro Voters From Ballot

EL PASO, Tex., June 27.— Not to be frustrated by the action taken at Austin Wednesday over-riding a decision of the United States Supreme Court, disfranchisement of Negroes in the state will be put to a test by Race citizens, it was announced here Saturday.

Attorney Fred C. Knollenberg state that he has been engaged by Race voters to test legality of the action of the State Democratic executive committee restricting the ballot in the primaries to white Democrats.

Attorney Knollenberg stated that a colored American would attempt to vote in the primaries July 28 and then if the ballot is refused, the matter would be taken to the supreme court.

Knollenburg will represent L. A. Nixon, Race physician who was not allowed to cast a ballot two years ago, and who succeeded in having the U. S. Supreme Court held the Texas primary law unconstitutional.

Delegates Launch Many Fights After Smith Nomination

Convention Coliseum.—In direct contrast to the recent session of the Republican National Convention, held at Kansas City, Mo., June 12-15, the Democratic National Convention, now in quadrennial meeting here, has been full of circus stunts, hippodrome acts, fights, riots and other wild disorders so characteristic of Dixie Democrats.

Many of the delegates, particularly from Southern states, seem to be both belligerent and bellicose, and fights have been staged with painful regularity; even some of the Democratic leaders engaging in fist fights and threatening to "shoot it out" in heated discussions before the conventional committees. Chief among these ready warriors is Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, who seems to possess some rather queer and odd notions about peace, order and constituted authority.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York had concluded his speech nominating Governor Alfred E. Smith for the presidency, at Wednesday night's session, bedlam and disorder broke loose and ran rampant. Fights, knockdowns, dragouts and near gun battles were so numerous that extra police officers had to be hurried into the convention hall to quell the Democratic rioters, many of whom had become potential mobocrats for the time being. Several of the battered and bruised Democratic defenders of religious tolerance and intolerance, who had attempted to settle the issue in a savage and semi-barbaric manner, soon realized the helplessness of such modus operandi, and the Houston peace officers finally subdued the belligerents.

If these Democrats will carry on like this in a mere convention trying to nominate presidential and vice-presidential standard-bearers, what could the country expect if such pugnacious politicians and sulphuric statesmen had charge of the national government?

The natives and visitors, who have been looking upon a Democratic national convention as an august assembly, have been sadly disappointed; for the meeting has been more of a circus or comedy than a national convention of a major political party.

Perhaps the presence of "Tex" Rickard, the famous Gotham fight promoter, has influenced the daring and dashing Democrats to start an elimination contest in order to compete in one of Rickard's "million dollar battles of the century." Just how many of these battling bourbons Rickard has signed up, has not been divulged as the anti-Smith and pro-Smith forces line up for the balloting, and the adoption of a compromise platform.

Though not engaged in these fisticuffs and barrel-house brawls, the 40 Texas delegates are literally at sea, with Governor Dan Moody, dry champion and peanut politician, in a very embarrasing situation.

Though Smith's nomination seems assured, the reaction of the dry and Protestant South to the candidacy of the wet and Catholic New York governor will be interesting to students of political economy.

There is much talk of placing Senator Joseph Robinson of Arkansas, permanent chairman of the convention, on the ticket as vice-presidential candidate; while supporters and adherents of other "favorite sons," seeing that Smith will land the presidential nomination, are boosting the cause of their several candidates for second place on the ticket.

The out-of-town crowd attending the convention has been a keen disappointment, and special traffic rules, adopted for the week, were abolished Tuesday by official order, after one of those Texas rains had almost washed away the convention hall.

AL SMITH IS NOT RIGHT ON NEGRO ?, HEFLIN SAYS

Political Power Distorted By Negro Disfranchisement; Southern Oligarchy, Dictator Of Nation, DuBois Says

HOUSTON, Tex., June 29.—A thousand word telegram addressed to A. H. Carmichael, chairman of the Alabama delegation by Tom Heflin, Tuesday included a fiery tirade against Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York.

In the attack on Gov. Smith, among other things, Heflin said, the Democratic party must not and will not, be used to further the interests of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and political machine in the United States." "Instead of surrendering the things that the Democratic party has always stood for and accepting Tammany as its leader, the party must repudiate Tammany and forever separate itself from the principles and practices of that corrupt institution."

Smith Attacked

Asserting that Gov. Smith's position on the Negro question, the anti-lynching bill, the eighteenth amendment and the immigration problem "is directly opposed to the things that are near and dear to the Democratic South," the Alabama Senator said in his judgment "the southern delegates who vote for him at any stage of the proceedings at Houston will be and should be discredited and repudiated by the people at home."

"Can the Democratic delegates from Alabama and other southern states support in the convention at any time Gov. Smith in the face of these astounding facts?". He asked.

JOURNAL
MILWAUKEE, WIS.
JUN 21 1928

Southern Negroes for Al, Is Report

For the first time in history southern negroes are going Democratic in a presidential campaign, according to Dr. William T. Amiger, president of the American Baptist Theological seminary of Nashville, Tenn. Dr. Amiger, who is recognized as a leader by the negro race, is attending the convention of the National Baptist Young People's union here.

"Ever since their political enfranchisement negroes have tended to vote the Republican ticket in the solid Democratic south," Dr. Amiger said, "but now, after close study, I feel safe in predicting a sensational swinging over to Gov. Al Smith, the prospective Democratic nominee.

"My people have always resented the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in the south and this year it looks as though they were going to have a chance to vote for a man who has fought the klan and who has been repeatedly attacked by the klan and such men as Senator Heflin.

"They like Smith for his tolerance and liberality and I believe that even though Smith is wet he is going to poll a large vote from drys who consider his anti-klan attitude more important than his stand on prohibition."

DEM. CONVENTION TICKET TAKERS WERE PUT IN CAGE

Strutted Proudly In The Streets But Occupied Wire Cage In Hall

The Houston Informer, the Negro weekly published by C. F. Richardson at Houston, Texas, sheds an interesting sidelight on the real status of the Negro Democrats who were in attendance at the recent National Democratic Convention, and about whom certain flamboyant claims have been made by or for Congressman Royal H. Weller from the 21st New York Congressional District.

Declaring that the "four or five 'colored Democrats' attending" were "accorded the most disgraceful and humiliating accommodations imaginable," the Informer says:

"The four or five 'colored Democrats' here from West Virginia, Illinois and Missouri, who are here trying to put up a 'brave front,' and look wise and act otherwise, are proudly walking around the streets and and convention hall with their 'ticket taker' badges on, but upon entering the convention hall these 'colored Democrats' are placed behind the cage with the local 'black animules,'"

And the Informer charges that some of the leading Negro citizens of Houston, who would not contribute towards entertainment of visiting Pythians and Calantheans, a bigger thing to colored Houston than the Democratic assemblage, had given freely to the democratic fund, but when they were ready to use the tickets admitting them to the hall, "these selfsame colored brethren and the female members of their families were caged in and set apart like lepers or criminals."

NEWS
RICHMOND, VA.
JUL 10 1928

TEXANS MASS TO BATTLE G. O. P. RACE EQUALITY

Democrats Say Election of Hoover Means Wiping Out Color Line

DALLAS, Tex. — (ANP) To forestall any possibility of a "Southern Landslide to Hoover" during the forthcoming presidential election, Democrats in this section have marshalled their forces and have already sounded the initial note reeking of race prejudice and the bugaboo of "Social Equality" in federal departments and public schools.

At a meeting held here Thursday, Democrats who have announced that they were going to support the candidacy of Herbert Hoover, the Republican nominee, were threatened with being read out of the Democratic party and were warned that Hoover's election would mean the breaking down of Southern traditions which includes Jim Crowism. Much stress was placed upon the elemination of segregation in the department of commerce, under Hoover as secretary and his persistency in granting Negroes representation on the flood commission.

National Committeeman Jed C. Adams of this city led the attack on the "Hoover Democrats" and declared:

"Those who decline to vote the democratic ticket will find themselves going into the party which has always been the enemy and oppressor of our people, whose nominee shortly before he was named as their standard bearer saw fit to issue an order requiring that whites and blacks in his department should occupy the same desks in Washington City.

"If the Republican party remains in power under existing conditions a sufficient length o ftime the great question which will agitate the minds of the people, at least of the South, in the coming years will b whether our Jim Crow laws shall be repealed; whether or not prohibition of the inter-marriage between races shall be repealed; in a word, I want to say to th Democrats of Texas, that in a little while it is entirely possible that there will be little color line drawn as far as your public schools are concerned and your children, if they attend the public schools, will attend only those where black and white alike are entitled by law to come."

NEGRO LEADERS TO WORK FOR SMITH

Club Formed Here to Support Democratic Candidate to Offer Services.

The Negro voters who recently formed a club to promote the candidacy of Governor Alfred E. Smith, of New York, for the presidency met last night in Haye's hall on North Second street, to complete the organization of the club and to plan the campaign throughout Virginia in behalf of the Democratic nominee.

The meeting was presided over by Dr. Allen E. Bowles, president of the club, and a number of new members were enrolled.

Reports were received from a number of Negro leaders, all of whom expressed themselves in sympathy with the object of the club and pledged their active supports in behalf of the movement.

A committee was appointed to confer with persons favorable to the Smith candidacy and ascerttain how the club can best serve.

The members of the committee are M. A. Norrell, Dr. L. A. Reid, Dr. Allen E. Bowles and C. A. Mckenzie.

JOURNAL
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
JUL 0 1928

Hoover Democrats

One group of dry Democrats will meet at Asheville, North Carolina, next week to talk about a possible third ticket. Other dry Democrats will attend a Chicago conference called for a similar purpose.

More practical, however, is the course of the Texans who, desiring to bolt the Houston ticket, look about them for no futile third party, but march openly into the Hoover camp. "Hoover Democrats," they call themselves, and an unbiased observer can scarcely discern political treason in either their label or their stand.

It was Governor ALFRED E. SMITH himself who, deliberately and forethoughtedly, chose to give the liquor issue a conspicuous place in the Democratic canvass. So he and his advisers cannot well criticize or condemn a bolt by Democrats who regard the continuance of prohibition as something even more important than the success of their party at the polls.

And if these bolters really desire to prevent the success of the Smith ticket, how much more sensible a full vote against that ticket, cast in the Republican column, than a half vote cast in a third column!

Nothing disgraceful about going over into the rival party to vote against a ticket that does not satisfy. Cleveland Republicans twice helped the Democrats to success. Gold Democrats generally voted for MCKINLEY, instead of throwing their ballots away on PALMER. And Wilson Republicans in California and other Western States certainly defeated HUGHES in 1916.

The argument for a third ticket is, of course, that white Southerners are deterred from voting for a Republican Presidential nominee through their traditional fear of Negro domination.

A foolish fear, an outdated fear, a vague hangover from the dark days of Reconstruction. If election of a Republican President and a Republican Congress really meant Negro domination in the South, then Negroes today would sit in the chairs of power in some of the Dixie Capitols, and would have been sitting there most of the time in the last fifty years. For in all but sixteen of those years Republican Presidents have occupied the White House.

Is it reasonable to suppose that a Republican President, elected with the aid of Southern white votes, would be less sympathetic toward the desires of Southern white voters, than a Republican President elected against the opposition of Southern whites?

Southern white fear of a Republican President is plumb foolish. Since the Reconstruction days, there has been a whole procession of Republican Presidents, but the Southern whites have had little or nothing at which to take offense in the official acts of those Presidents.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Democratic.

Gallatin, Tenn., Democrat-Sun
Monday, April 23, 1928

THOROUGH-GOING REPUBLICAN

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat, is a thorough-going Republican newspaper but finds cause for serious distress in the events that have recently occurred showing up appointment methods in selection of postamsters by the dominant party:

"Further light is seemingly needed on the case of Postmaster L. S. Peterson, Democrat, of Douglas, Ga., who murdered one of the appointees of his office and committed suicide, following an official investigation of his office resulting in his removal.

"He left writing in which he charged that the financial irregularties that apparently had caused his removal were due to a species of blackmail under which, out of a salary of $2700 a year, he had been compelled to contribute $2000 in five years to the campaign funds of the Negro Republican National Committeeman from the state. The Douglas office belongs to that class of offices supposed to be under full merit system protection and a man who had been its Postmaster for twelve years should have known his immunities and the safeguards he was entitled to invoke.

"Nevertheless we know that strange things happen in that part of the Union where Republican majorities are never cast and where the only Republican incumbents of public positions are appointees named from Washington when Republican administrations are in power. The restraints that would be felt in the presence of a considerable body of local party opinion, shared by at least some fraction of the representative citizenship, are lacking. Party funds in some amounts are probably needed, despite the one-sided election contests, and from time to time during the past two or three years charges have been made as to questionable and even coercive methods used in obtaining contributions to such funds from Postmasters and other United States appointees. It has been aserted that organized systems existed for collecting these funds in each of several rather large units or districts of the South and that little accounting of the money was made after it had been collected.

"With politics as it is in that section, probably there will be a problem, but a great improvement has been made in recent years and it should not stop now. That particular class of Southern delegates that often formed a disturbing and a purchasable element in Republican national conventions has been materially reduced in numbers and in influence. Great as have been the benefits elsewhere from the extension of the civil service standards to further and still further classes of postal employes, the benefits have been especially marked in the South, where one party sometimes lacked competent as well as really reputable citizens for preferment in not a few communities.

"Postmaster Peterson seems not a little at fault himself, but Postmaster General New should look into the tragic case. The Civil Service Commission has a particularly duty to perform. It should take precautions against political blackmail and make Postmasters generally understand that, if ever caught in such a tangle as that in which the desperate Mr Peterson, said he was caught, there is an authority on which they may call for protection.

"If the facts are as the man said they were, when he was about to die, they form a shocking scandal."

Newport News, Va., Times-Herald
Thursday, May 10, 1928

COLORED VOTERS SILENT AS TO THEIR TICKET

Inquiries Among Prominent Negroes Failed to Reveal any Hint of Names of Three Candidates Endorsed at Recent Mass Meeting of Colored Voters of City.

Efforts to ascertain the names of the three councilmanic candidates whom the negro voters will support in the election to be held here on June 12 proved ineffectual this morning.

The leaders in the colored community had nothing to say other than that the negro vote would go "solidly for three men, with party principles eliminated." They said: "We are going to cast hundreds of votes for the men whom we think will serve the city of Newport News to the best interests of all concerned, regardless of party affiliations."

At a rally held last night, attended by hundreds of the negro voters, the candidates were discussed and the announcement made that shortly before the election the solid colored vote would be placed behind three men. One rumor has it that they will vote for the Republican candidate, R. M. Motley, and the Independent, I. M. Goldberg, leaving the three Democrats "out in the cold." Another has it that the negroes will "go Democrat, to the man," casting their votes for the Democratic nominees, R. W. West, T. B. Jones and W. C. Stuart, Jr.

When asked this morning concerning the many and conflicting reports, one of the colored leaders said: "You can say on authority, that the colored vote is going to swing in the direction which is deemed the best for all and that the attitude of the 'black belt' will be formally announced about midnight of June 12, when the votes have been counted."

Richmond News Leader
Thursday, May 17, 1928

~~Negro Democrats~~ To Hold Convention

A convention of independent Democratic voters, called by Negro Democrats of Virginia, is slated to meet in Petersburg tonight at 7 P. M., and several hundred Richmond Negroes are expected to attend.

Among the measures that may be considered by the convention is the Byrd program, it is said. The convention also may be asked to voice an opinion on the forthcoming presidential election.

The meeting was called in connection with the state convention of the Negro Elks' organization now in session in Petersburg.

NEWS
RICHMOND, VA.
MAY 17 1928

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VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.
MAY 13 1928

NEGRO DEMOCRATS CALL VIRGINIA CONVENTION

Richmond, May 12.—(AP)—The News-Leader says today that Leon A. Reid, Negro dentist of Richmond, has issued a call for a Statewide convention of "independent voters" to be held at Petersburg, May 17, for the announced purpose of effecting an organization of independent Democratic voters, including Negroes.

Upwards of 200 Negroes from Richmond and the State at large, the News Leader says, are expected to attend. The meeting will be concurrent with the State convention of the Negro Elks in Petersburg.

The convention call is a Negro movement but white independents are invited to attend, it was said.

NEW YORK TIMES
MAY 20 1928

URGE SMITH CHOICE BY ACCLAMATION

Southerners Lead in Movement for New Yorker, but Success Is Not Likely.

REED A STUMBLING BLOCK

Washington Gives Governor 592 Certain Votes, Including Oregon's, With More to Switch.

254 DEFINITELY OPPOSED

Hoover's Negro Segregation Order Causes Prediction Tennessee Will Stay Democratic.

By RICHARD V. OULAHAN.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 19.—With the apparent victory of Governor Smith in the Oregon Democratic Presidential primary, thus adding ten delegates to the impressive following of which he is already assured in the Democratic National Convention, efforts were renewed today to bring about an arrangement by which he will be nominated by acclamation.

This movement is chiefly of Southern origin. The prospects are that it will not meet with success, but it is indicative of the very general acknowledgment that Governor Smith will be the party's candidate for President.

It is understood that some pressure is being brought to bear to induce Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, the runner-up in the Democratic contest, to withdraw and declare for Smith, but Senator Reed's attitude is such that he is not likely to yield. He holds, as he stated after Governor Smith's victory in the California primary and the withdrawal of Senator Thomas J. Walsh, that a good general does not surrender his army when "his skirmish line" is driven back. That seems to be his position today.

Early Nomination Predicted.

Then there is the bloc of State

delegations which is opposed to Smith because of his religion, although some of the leaders in this movement seek to give the impression that his wet views are the reason for the opposition. With these combined with the following of Senator Reed, there will be enough delegates to keep Governor Smith from getting the nomination on the first ballot, but the generality of political opinion is inclined to accord to Smith the prize in the very early stages of the voting for a Presidential choice, perhaps on the second ballot.

Smith's strength has an additional moral buttress in the desire of certain leading Southern Democrats to have the nomination go to him while they appear, on the surface, to be opposed to his candidacy. This public opposition is a concession to what they conceive to be the anti-Catholic sentiment of their constituencies.

They are convinced, however, that not only will Governor Smith be nominated but that he is the best man the Democrats can pick for a Presidential candidate. Their general view is that he is the only Democrat who will have more than a fair chance of becoming President.

Hoover's Negro Order Cited.

Great joy has been given to Democratic Senators and Representatives of this point of view by Secretary Hoover's order abolishing the practice of segregating negro from white employes in the Department of Commerce. In this connection the story is circulated that the order was due to the wish of President Coolidge, although no formal instructions from the President have been made public.

Segregation has also existed in the Treasury Department since William G. McAdoo was Secretary, and Secretary Mellon is credited with having managed to overcome the difficulties in the way of carrying the new departure into effect by calling in certain of the higher ranking colored employes of the department and seeking their views. The result, it is understood, was that these colored men indicated that they did not care to have any change made.

Why Secretary Hoover's order abolishing segregation in his department has brought such satisfaction to Southern Democrats in Congress is best understood by the private remark of a Senator.

"Bless the Lord," he said, "we can now go to our people when Al Smith is nominated to run against Hoover and say to them: 'Yes, Smith is a Tammany man, a Catholic and a wet, but would you rather not have him in the White House than a President who compels white men and white women to associate with negroes?' "

Predictions are being made that if Smith and Hoover are the contenders for the Presidency, the Hoover anti-segregation order will keep Tennessee in the Democratic column.

Smith Strength Appraised.

An appraisal of the Democratic pre-convention outlook, which takes an extremely conservative view as far as Smith is concerned, gives the following line-up of delegates at this time:

Votes already certain for Smith, 592.

Delegates not yet chosen, in which there are contests, 50.

Delegates classed as definitely anti-Smith, 254.

Delegates nominally opposed to Smith but not expected to stand out against him if he gains strength, 158.

Delegates chosen but claimed by Smith and anti-Smith forces, 46.

The State delegations which are listed by Smith's opponents as definitely opposed to his nomination—the so-called bitter-enders—are:

Alabama, 24 delegates; Florida, 12; Georgia, 28; Kentucky, 26; Mississippi, 20; Missouri, 36; South Carolina, 16; Tennessee, 24; Texas, 40; Utah, 2; Virginia, 24.

That this bitter-end contention will not stand up is apparent from the prevalence of second-choice sentiment for Smith in several of these delegations. If, for example, Representative Cordell Hull, for whom the Tennessee delegation will vote, should have a superior chance of being nominated for Vice President, it would be in order for some or most of the Tennessee delegates to vote for Smith.

Status of Smith Opposition.

The foregoing list of die-hard anti-Smith delegations does not include North Carolina, which is yet to choose its delegates. In that State the recognized organization is bitterly opposed to the nomination of the New York Governor.

Senator F. M. Simmons is the head of the organization, and has been for thirty years. His effort to prevent Governor Smith from obtaining the nomination is being resisted by many of the younger element in the party, who contend that it is about time for Senator Simmons to let others take command. Their opposition to his domination has been increased intensively since Governor Smith's recent vacation in their State.

On the present showing, the number of Smith opponents who will be delegates in the Houston convention will be in the neighborhood of 400. It takes 367 votes to prevent a nomination under the two-thirds rule. The Smith delegates in sight now, under the most conservative estimate made, are classified as follows:

Arizona	6	New York	90
California	26	North Dakota	10
Connecticut	14	Oregon	10
Delaware	6	Utah	6
Idaho	8	Vermont	8
Illinois	50	Pennsylvania	56
Iowa	26	Rhode Island	10
Louisiana	20	Washington	14
Maine	12	Wisconsin	26
Massachusetts	36	Wyoming	6
Michigan	30	Alaska	6
Minnesota	24	Dist. of Columbia	6
Montana	8	Hawaii	6
Nevada	6	Philippines	6
New Hampshire	8	Porto Rico	6
New Jersey	28	Canal Zone	6
New Mexico	6	Virgin Islands	6
		Total	592

Many Votes Ready to Switch.

This is an extremely conservative claim. The table gives Governor Smith 56 Pennsylvania votes, but, according to Joseph Guffey, Democratic National Committeeman of that State, he is assured of 69½ of the 76 votes of the Keystone delegation, and it may be accepted that 56 is entirely too low.

Maryland's sixteen delegates are certain to go to Smith after a complimentary ballot has been given to Governor Albert C. Ritchie. It is already apparent that there will be a break in the Nebraska delegation after a ballot has been cast for the State's favorite son, former Senator G. M. Hitchcok, with eight of the delegates certain to be in the Smith column and a good prospect that the others will join them.

The Kansas delegation may give a complimentary ballot to Representative William A. Ayres, but whether it does or does not the delegation will be behind Reed at the outset. There is much Smith sentiment in the delegation, however. No doubt is felt that many of the Missouri delegates will go to Smith if Senator Reed releases them.

The Ohio delegation is likewise unlisted in the Smith column, but a majority is for Smith. In the recent primary contest forty-seven of the forty-eight delegates were instructed to vote for former Senator Atlee Pomerene for first choice and one for Smith for first choice, the second choice of the entire delegation being George White, who was Chairman of the Democratic National Committee in the Cox-Harding campaign of 1920.

30 to 40 Likely in Ohio.

Unless there should appear to be a chance for Governor A. Vic Donahey for a dark horse nomination, at least thirty of the Ohio delegates will shift to Smith. Some estimates have it that there are forty out and out Smith supporters in the delegation.

There is controversy over how the uninstructed Arkansas delegation stands, but according to a canvass made at the time the delegates were chosen, from three-fourths to nine-tenths would like to vote for Smith. This estimate is denied by Reed supporters, who assert that not more than three of the eighteen in the delegation are for Smith.

That half of Colorado's twelve delegates will be in the Smith column is the belief of experienced Democratic politicians of that State.

George Brennan, head of the Chicago Democratic organization, has listed fifty-seven of the fifty-eight Illinois delegates chosen in April as for Smith, but it is being asserted that the remaining delegate will come into the Smith camp. In the list given above Smith is credited with only fifty delegates from Illinois.

Indiana Support Possible.

The thirty delegates from Indiana, instructed to vote for Evans Woolen for Presidential choice, are likely to stand out against Smith because of the fear of injecting the religious issue in a State where Ku Kluxism has been rampant, but it is significant that predictions are made by those acquainted with the Indiana situation that as many as twenty of the thirty Democratic delegates will break to Smith if he makes a near approach to the two-thirds vote necessary to the choice of a Presidential nominee.

It will be seen from these prospects that Governor Smith is assured of much greater strength than appears on paper. One of the greatest assets he has is the belief in the party that he has a better chance than any other Democrat to win the Presidency. This is having considerable effect, which is obvious among a good-sized segment of Southern Democratic politicians, who outwardly are opposed to having him nominated.

BOWING THE KNEE

THE CHIEF ARGUMENT of the Negro Democrat in New York has been the difference between Tammany Hall and the Southern Democracy. Statistics have been adduced to show that while the Southern Democrats were hostile to the Negro, Tammany Hall was consistently liberal in its patronage and appointments; that Tammany Hall was independent of the national Democracy, which is dominated by the South.

THIS ARGUMENT is losing force. The actions of Tammany in the past year have shown nothing but truckling to the South. No Northerner of equal prominence has made more numerous and propitiating visits to the South than Mayor Walker, and no one was more prominent than he at the dedication of the Robert E. Lee memorial in Georgia. A toddling descendant of Lee was made an aide of the Mayor wearing the uniform of the Confederate army, which spent four years trying to destroy the Union. It was announced in all the newspapers that no Negro delegates would be sent from New York to the Democratic convention at Houston. Last week a statement was published to the effect that District Attorney Banton, a Texas Protestant, was in line for the Democratic nomination for Governor of New York, to succeed Smith, should he get the nomination for President.

THIS LAST ITEM alone would be enough to show how far the New York Democrats have gone and how much further they are prepared to go in the hope of conciliating the South. For the most liberal city in the nation to be governed by a man from the most illiberal section of the country is an unpleasant prospect, not only for the Negro, but for all who believe in tolerance.

AS A GENERAL THING, in politics and elsewhere, concessions are made on both sides for the sake of harmony. The New York Democrats, on their side, have made open and repeated concessions. But the Southern Democrats have made none and do not intend to make any. With the convention at Houston only two months away, a Negro was lynched in Texas last week and no action was taken against the members of the mob. The present policy of Tammany is a striking case of tolerance bowing the knee of bigotry. It is the more humiliating because it is unnecessary. One can understand a Republican who caters to the South in the hope of breaking its political and cranial solidity. A Democrat does not need to, for the South will go Democratic no matter who heads the ticket.

Political- 1928.

Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

MANCHESTER
N. H.
ISSUE OF

NEGRO DELEGATE ROUSES TAMMANY

Southern Friends of Smith Warn Color Line Will Injure Chances

BY LEMUEL F. PARTON.

(Special Correspondent of Union Leader)
(Copyright, 1928, By The Consolidated Press Association)

NEW YORK, Feb. 20—There will be a quiet meeting of negro Democratic leaders in Harlem Tuesday to discuss the Tammany decision to include no negro in its delegation to the national Democratic convention at Houston. Negro publications have expressed resentment, recalling that a negro delegate was named four years ago, and asking why the color line has been drawn.

The incident is causing some embarrassment to Tammany leaders, as the Republicans have named a negro delegate to the Kansas City convention and have been at no pains whatever to conceal this fact from the Harlem voters.

Vote Is Considerable.

It is only within the last four or five years that the negro vote has figured noticeably in the Tammany lineup. In the 1924 campaign Governor Smith received a huge vote in the black metropolis, and Tammany, in its usual workmanlike manner, proceeded to consolidate its gains. Civil Service Commissioner Morton proved an efficient negro Democratic leader, and a large slice of Harlem was chalked up as dependable Tammany territory.

There are now nearly 250,000 negroes in Harlem and they have been gradually becoming politically articulate to a degree which has engaged the close attention of both Democratic and Republican leaders here. Both parties have made repeated friendly overtures and each has built its own Harlem organization.

It is understood here that the Tammany decision not to select a negro delegate was due to friends of Governor Smith in the South, who insisted that the governor's chances at Houston would be seriously impaired if a negro were sent to Houston. Judge George W. Olvany, Tammany leader, and Mayor James Walker are now in the South, the former in Florida, and the latter making a "good will" tour of various Southern cities. It is said here that Judge Olvany was greatly displeased when the negro delegate issue arose, but was unable to suggest any solution.

The Republicans announced today that Rev. Richard M. Bolden, pastor of the First Emanuel Independent church, has been named delegate to the Kansas City convention, from the twenty-first assembly district. Assemblyman Abraham Grenthal, delegated by a conference of Republican leaders to choose a delegate, said, after naming Rev. Mr. Bolden, that the negroes were entitled to a delegate, and that they were going to have one. He pointed out that the Republicans had elected two negroes to the board of aldermen, and insisted that they must look to the Republican party for their political rights. Dr. Paul A. Collins, negro delegate to the Madison Square Garden convention four years ago, said he had no information as to whether Tammany would select a negro this year.

Interesting Shifts.

Since the South began sending its negroes north and the North began sending its capital south, there have been various interesting shifts in sectional political alignments, which may be reflected in the present campaign. Various observers have prophesied that the flow of capital to the South would eventually wipe out the Mason and Dixon line, and extend through the South, instead of cleavage between the industrial East and the agrarian West. Up to now, the Northern Democracy had made rapid progress in taking over the incoming negroes, of Republican tradition, but the oncoming presidential campaign has complicated things considerably. Not only in New York, but in other cities the question of the political attitude toward the negro voter has arisen. George E. Brennan, Democratic leader of Chicago, also has been urged not to send a negro delegate to Houston.

Tammany's present embarrassment over the negro delegate issue comes at a time when the braves are trying to pacify indignant Irish leaders, who complain because the Houston delegation is predominantly non-Irish. Since the war, Tammany has had the task of working many new elements into its organization, and its enemies insist that the "new Tammany" wears a coat of many colors.

TIMES

Florence, Ala

FEB 16 1928

Saloon and Negro Suffrage Tammany's Offering

The corrupt and pernicious Tammany organization in New York is notoriously provincial and selfish in its political acts. It has never been loyal to the Democratic party in national affairs, but has repeatedly cast its votes as seemed most expedient for its immediate local interest.

In developing and maintaining its hold upon the political destinies of New York city it has in recent years found the thousands of new negro immigrants who have settled in the Harlem district of New York a fruitful source of additional political power and has turned these new voters to its own uses. To win the favor of the Harlem district it has appeared necessary to Tammany leaders to make overtures to these voters which have had the effect of winning them at the expense of antagonizing other sections of the country.

One of these overtures has been a series of threats of negro domination against the South and the enforcement of the spirit of the negro suffrage amendment of the federal constitution unless New York is let alone to make its own interpretation of the Eighteenth amendment. This may have been pleasing to local negro leaders in Harlem and may serve the local purpose of the Tammany organization, but it shows how far apart the political views of the South and the dominant Eastern organization which is putting forward Al. Smith as its candidate for the presidency.

In face of the Tammany attitude upon the negro suffrage question that organization has unlimited effrontery to ask the South to aid it in bringing about the nomination for the highest office in the land of its leader and political pet. With a record of advocacy of the open saloon and a wide open nation for liquor and of advocacy of universal negro suffrage Tammany is presumptionous to ask the South for support in its corrupt and malicious program.

It is a program to which the south will never surrender. The South wants no affiliation with an organization which stands for return of the open saloon and which advocates universal negro suffrage. It can never be brought to give endorsement to Al. Smith who is the outstanding Tammany figure in the eyes of the nation. Its political methods and political bent of mind are repulsive to all the better sentiments of the South.

This matter is a real and present issue in Alabama. This state is soon to select delegates to represent the Democratic party at the Houston national convention. Concerted efforts are being made to send delegates who will vote for Smith for president when they get there. The campaign so far has been covert and in most respects secret. It is indicated that the candidates who will vote for Smith will attempt to make their race for the delegation without announcing how they stand and giving the voters a fair opportunity to pass upon them. It is hoped to accomplish by this means what could not be accomplished in a fair and open campaign.

With this situation before them the voters have a duty of insisting that all candidates for places upon the Alabama delegation declare unequivocally whether they will vote for Smith and the carrying out of Tammany's hopes for an open saloon and negro suffrage or whether they will vote first, last and all the time against Al. Smith as the Democratic presidential nominee. There is now little question but that the Tammany cohorts have decided to make Alabama a central battleground to capture the first state on the national roll call and to enlist this state under the Al. Smith saloon banner. Voters must reach the solemn determination that it shall never be, and the first step they may properly take in guarding against it will be to demand of every candidate whether he is for Smith or against him. This must be a campaign of open declarations openly arrived at.

The Fourteenth is second with a total of 8,638, of which 5,779 are men and 2,859 are women, the largest women's registration in the city.

The total registration of Democrats in other wards follows: First ward 3,051, of which 1,965 are men and 1,086 women.

Second ward, 2,691; men 1,789; women 902.

Third ward, 8,321; men, 5,834; women, 2,487.

Fourth ward, 4,963; men 3,462; women 1,501.

Fifth ward, 5,913; men 4,414; women 1,499.

Sixth ward, 3,384; men, 2,430; women 954.

Seventh ward, 6,994; men, 5,309; women 1,685.

Eighth ward, 6,696; men 4,911; women 1,785.

Tenth ward, 4,799; men 3,140; women 1,659.

Eleventh ward, 5,240; men 3,580; women 1,660.

Twelfth ward, 6,984; men 4,702; women 2,282.

Thirteenth ward, 6,085; men 4,178; women 1,907.

Fifteenth ward, 4,157; men 2,879; women 1,278.

Sixteenth ward, 3,334; men 2,218; women 1,116.

Seventeenth ward, 4,417; men 3,177; women 1,240.

'Lily-White' Republican Defeated In Fight For U. S. Judgeship Place In Arkansas As Democrat Is Named

Wallace Townsend, 'Lily-White' Leader, Applicant For Bench, Is Exposed To President By Scipio A. Jones of Little Rock

By RIENZI B. LEMUS

Washington, D. C.—Scipio A. Jones, great lawyer and greater race man of Little Rock, Ark., labored not in vain here late last fall to block appointment of a 'lily-white' Republican as U. S. Judge for Arkansas. Pres. Coolidge, assisted by Senate Democrats, "lammed" the Arkansas "lilies" right in the eye when the President appointed to, and the Senate immediately confirmed for, the vacant Judgeship, Gov. John E. Martineau, Democrat, of Arkansas.

Judge Martineau is a friend of Secretary of Commerce Hoover, who seems to have discovered in the former governor an able executive during the period of last spring when the Arkansas and White Rivers flooded the place without regard to either namesake of state or color, and from the Negro viewpoint appointment is regarded as a significant victory—on the ground that even if Judge Martineau as governor was bad the "lily-white" Republican candidate was and is immeasurably worse.

"Lily-Whites" At Sea.

Arkansas Republicans are wholly "lily-white," but seem unable to account for President Coolidge's selection of a Democrat in preference to their leader, Wallace Townsend. This "reaction," however, is wholly pretended; for Scipio Jones, who fought Townsend's leadership, and exposed his methods of holding meetisgs, conventions, etc., of the "lily-whites" where Negroes were barred ipso facto, came to Washington early in last November and never left until he had thoroughly organized formidable opposition to Mr. Townsend's far-fetched candidacy.

Mr. Jones was forced to leave sooner than he intended to by illness, aggravated by the sudden death of his friend, Bishop I. N. Ross of the A. M. E. Church. Mr. Jones left Bishop Ross in Arkansas when he came to begin his ultimately successful fight against Townsend.

Jones Deserves The Credit.

The daily press attempts to give Secretary Hoover and Senator Robinson of Arkansas, Democratic leader of the Senate, all credit for the Martineau appointment. Insofar as the matter of selection goes this is probably making the place availab. ever, full credit cannot be Scipio Africanus Jones, who, in his submission to President Coolidge, after furnishing Townsend's un-American record in relation to a half-million Negro Americans of Arkansas, pointed out: "It is axiomatic that he who cannot do justice to his fellows, cannot administer justice between and among them."

Mr. Jones' great work in keeping out Townsend and thus paving the way for a Democratic judicial selection by a Republican President, closely parallels the naming of Federal Judge Jones, Democrat, of Alabama, by Booker T. Washington through President Roosevelt over a quarter of a century ago, and it is to be hoped that Judge Martineau, like the late Judge Jones, will never give reasonable cause of regret for the conditions precedent to his appointment.

Judge Martineau suceeds to the vacancy left by the death of Judge Trieber, whom Mr. Jones regarded as upright and just.

Mobile, Ala., Regist.

FEB 25 1928

THE RECORD OF A THREAT

On the editorial page of the New York Times of February 21, column two, the following quotation, taken from the statement of the campaign manager of a negro candidate for congress in the First Illinois district, is used:

The issue of paramount importance is not whether the Eighteenth Amendment should be enforced, but whether or not the necessary legislation shall be enacted to make the Fifteenth Amendment effective in spirit and letter. It is my firm conviction that lynching, peonage, jim-crow cars and disfranchising would shortly disappear if every citizen was protected in the exercise of his franchise. This right would not be denied if deprivation of representation in congress would be the unfailing penalty of such denial.

In the Montgomery Advertiser of February 14, in the course of editorial comment, the following statement is made

Senator William Cabell Bruce, of Maryland, has been represented in Alabama as one of those who have "threatened" the South. The fact is that Bruce, a Virginia-born Democrat, has gone no further than to twit his prohibitionist colleagues from the South by remarking upon their inconsistency in defending the practical nullification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments by ingenious legislative devices. . . . . Bruce is, of course, right and all that his dry, Southern colleagues can do when he twits them in this way is to splutter and turn purple with senseless rage. Dry senators from the Southern states have not appeared to advantage in their debates with Bruce on this question. Reason and Southern-made precedent are on his side.

In the Montgomery Advertiser of February 22, in the course of editorial comment on the clause of the Fourteenth Amendment which declares that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," the following statement is made:

We of the South did evade this clause in the Fourteenth Amendment and we have been repeatedly threatened with reprisals by means of a reduction of representation in congress on account of it.

Are the people of Alabama going to follow the leadership of a newspaper capable of uttering these libels against this state for the low purpose of aiding Al Smith and his liquor allies?

Are they going to join in this Tammany conspiracy to coerce the respectable people of this state, and of other states of the South, into swallowing a candidate for president of this republic wholly out of harmony with their opinions, sentiments and fundamental beliefs?

Are they going to forget the bitterness of black dangers thrust upon them in 1866, to follow an unwise leadership back to the muck and misery of the liquor wallow?

The Montgomery Advertiser has a right to pick its company; it can lay its ample jowl over on the cheek of the Tammany Tiger, if it likes, and join in all the efforts of men in Chicago and elsewhere who are seeking to alarm the South; but it is dreaming vain dreams if it thinks it can tempt the people of Alabama to follow it into these errors. The thoughtful men and women of Alabama will remain unmoved in the presence of these ugly threats of reprisals against this state and other states of the South, for always right and righteousness are unafraid.

TRIBUNE
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

MAR 25 1928

ONLY 3000 G.O.P. VOTES QUALIFY

Total Net Registration in City 97,713, Including All Parties

TOTAL DEMOCRATIC STRENGTH 94,389

Fewer Than 5,000 of Foreign Birth Found In Orleans

Fewer than 3,000 Republican voters have qualified in Orleans parish to participate in the general gubernatorial election April 17, according to a compilation made by C. S. Barnes, registrar of voters, at the request of James J. Bailey, secretary of state

The total net registration, including all parties in the city is 97,713, of which 69,053 are men and 28,660 women, showing a somewhat smaller registration of women under the new registration which opened January a year ago than in the old registration. The total Democratic registration is 94,389, divided as follows: 66,328 men and 28,061 women.

Of the 2,924 Republicans who registered, the colored Republicans outnumbered the whites by approximately 700. A total of 1,217 white Republicans registered as against 1,707 colored Republican voters.

Not One Socialist

There are a number of very interesting facts shown in the compilation which Registrar Barnes completed on Saturday. In the first place the report shows that there is not one Socialist registered in New Orleans, that is none who have stated their party affiliation as such.

The report shows there are 19 colored Democrats of which 18 are men and one woman.

Independents and others registered total 381.

Of the net total registration of 97,713, fewer than 5,000 are foreign born, the exact figures being 4,344 male foreign born and 640 female foreign born.

The compilation shows that only 187 persons out of the vast number who registered could not write their names and indicated their mark with an X. Of these 161 were men and 26 women.

Seventh Ward Leads

The largest number of Republicans registered is from the Seventh ward with a total of 514, both white and colored. The colored however outnumber the white Republicans in that ward, the total colored registration alone being 435.

The Fourteenth ward leads in the number of white Republicans registered with a total of 142 to 22 colored Republicans.

The First and Second wards have the smallest number of colored Republicans registered, the total for

the Four ward in the city, and the Four Six teenth, which has been showing a steady increase in registration in the last few years.

The total Democratic registration in the Ninth ward, leading the Third ward, which former in the Ninth is 8,722, of which 6,561 both the record as the banner men and 2,161 women.

The First ward being 26 and the Twelfth, 230; Fourteenth, 164; Second ward 80. The Republican Fifteenth, 114; registration in the other wards follows: Third, 219; Fourth, 213; Fifth, 91; Seventeenth, 79. The largest Democratic registration is in the Ninth ward, leading the Third ward, which former in the Ninth is 8,722, of which 6,561 both the record as the banner men and 2,161 women.

Sixth, 99; Eighth, 107; Ninth, 191; Tenth, 163; Eleventh, 191

Political - 1928.

Party Affiliation.

THE BATTLE IS ENDED BUT THE ISSUES CONTINUE ON

In a silent warfare of ballots, the registered voters of the several states declared in overwhelming numbers to bear the ills they have rather than fly to others they know not of, Tuesday, November sixth. It was a momentous decision. We worked and thought it would have been otherwise. We have no apologies to make for our position, or our defeat.

It is one of the most sacred privileges of this life, to hold opinions as the affairs of the nation, and to express and work for the adoption of leaders who shall enforce them as laws. Men and women value such a privilege all too lightly.

It holds the power over life, liberty and property, for politics is but the handmaid of economics.

The issues upon which we fought against the success of the winners, are as live and unsettled to-day, as when we first conceived them. We shall continue to harrow those who hold the reins and are responsible for the continuance of affairs.

The War amendments are still unenforced. We do not get the national recognition we should have. The men of our race who were treated so disgracefully by the party which they had served, have not been reinstated into favor. Our representative women still rest under the implied insult of the Ackerson letter. Nothing has been altered.

We congratulate Mr. Hoover upon his success. Loaded down with the gratitude which he must feel toward those groups which elected him upon race hatred and bigotry, he has before him no easy task to guide our country amidst the selfish aims of those who are organized to exert their will to power regardless of justice and the law.

We are not surprised at the break in the party allegiance of Florida, Virginia and Texas. Those states have come under the magic influence of Northern capital. They are the rich man's playground in winter, and the principles of the Republican party more than those of Governor Smith, appealed to them.

Governor Smith advocated reforms which would have benefited the people, the masses, and would have upset the privileges of vested interests, perhaps. Antagonism to such a program was inevitable. The people had the power of choice; they chose as wisely as the people always do, and we abide by the result in sincere loyalty to our country and belief in its great future.

Our heads may be bludgeoned, but they are unbowed and unashamed.

THE REVOLT IN HARLEM

WITH the organization of a Ferdinand Q. Morton Association in New York's Negro colony, the Harlem colored folk throw down the gauntlet to Tammany Hall. With 23,000 Negro votes in the upper Manhattan district, the boss of Tammany Hall has stated that they are not important. The Negroes are accordingly offended. Added to this insult is the injury they feel they have suffered at the hands of the Tammany machine by its failure to appoint a Negro to its inner council.

They want to take the control of the Democratic organization in Harlem out of the hands of Tammany Hall and put it into the hands of Negroes. This is right and proper. Tammany Hall has not treated Morton right. It has shorn him of much of his power. He used to dictate appointments but does so no longer. White men now have the power over the 200 jobs that go to the district. Certainly if Negroes are the controlling power in the district they should also control the patronage. This is the law of ward politics, state politics and national politics. Why should the law be ignored in a Negro district?

This holds true for other communities, too. Elsewhere than Harlem there are populous Negro districts where white men control the patronage and consequently control the district. It is an odious situation. There ought to be revolts in other places than Harlem against this practice. Since the future of the Negro in politics in this country lies largely in the black wards of our cities, we want to see to it that there at least the Negro gets all that is coming to him.

Democratic.

Morning Messenger
Sunday, October 22, 1928

500 Madisonville Negroes In Independent League for Smith

John Gipson, chairman of the Hopkins County Colored Wide Awake Independent Voters League said Monday that more than 500 negro voters of Madisonville had enrolled under the Al Smith banner and were supporting his candidacy for president. The league has established headquarters in West Center street, has elected a full set of officers numbering some of the most influential colored citizens and is prepared to carry on an active campaign for the democratic national ticket, A. J. Turner, secretary, said.

Turner said a great many colored women voters had enrolled in the league, a majority of them living in Madisonville, but a great many from other sections of the county. "They are coming into headquarters every day pledging their support to Governor Smith," the secretary said.

Efforts are being made to secure nationally known orators from Louisville and St. Louis with a view to opening a speaking campaign this week, according to John Gipson who said a message was sent Monday to democratic state headquarters asking that colored speakers be sent to Madisonville.

EVERY EVENING
WILMINGTON, DEL.

OCT 25 1928

NEGRO DEMOCRATS MEET THIS EVENING

Robert J. Nelson Sees 60 Per Cent of Colored People for Smith.

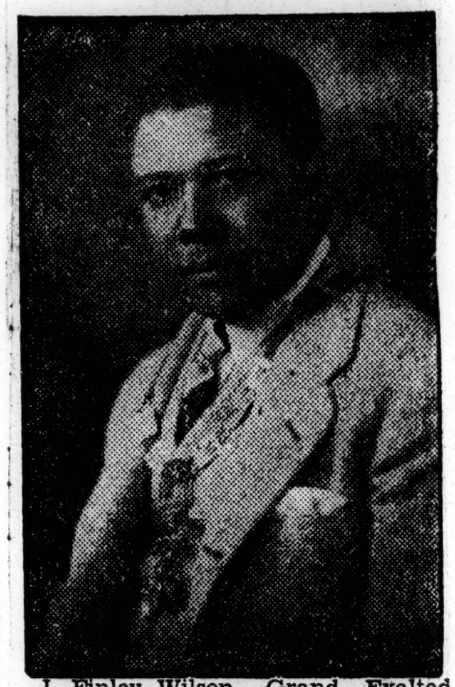
The "solid Republican" ranks of the Negroes of this city will be broken tonight at the National Theatre, when three of the leading colored orators in the country will take the platform for Democracy.

In the history of this city never has there been such interest manifested on the part of the colored citizens in the Democratic Party. Headed by Robert J. Nelson, regional director of the Middle Atlantic States, and business manager of the Washington Eagle, a Negro weekly, an organization has been effected throughout this state that must be reckoned with. He declared yesterday that 60 per cent of the Negroes will vote the Democratic ticket.

The principal speaker tonight will be the Rt. Reverend Reverdy C. Ransom, bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, who is heading the speakers' bureau among Negroes throughout the country. The bishop's activities in the present campaign, which are not in harmony with the position of the majority of his colleagues, have swung a large number of Negro voters on the Democratic side.

Another speaker will be J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler of the Colored Elks, who recently declared himself for Governor Smith. Mr. Wilson is a fine orator and is considered one of the most influential Negroes in the country. Julian D. Rainey, of Boston, national director of the activities among the colored group in the United States, will also speak. Robert J. Nelson will preside.

TO ADDRESS COLORED DEMOCRATIC RALLY



J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler of the Colored Elks, will deliver one of the addresses at a rally of colored Democrats in the National Theatre tonight.

EVERY EVENING
WILMINGTON, DEL.

OCT 18 1928

NEGROES URGED TO SUPPORT SMITH

Handbills Distributed in Sussex County by National Colored League.

(Special to Every Evening.)

Georgetown, Oct. 18.—The following is a handbill entitled, "An Appeal to Colored Voters of Sussex County," being distributed through Stanford Davis, colored official representative of national "Smith for President Colored League," in Sussex county:

"Being a member of the National Colored Voters, "Smith for President League," with headquarters in Washington and New York City, officially selected to represent the league here in Sussex county, I take great pleasure in saying that I am one of you and have your interest at heart; our civic cause is common. What harms me and what helps you helps me, and if ever unity was needed with the colored voters of Sussex county it is needed for the coming election day of November 6, to prove that

we are not political property to be bought and sold by dealing office seekers who pat you on the shoulders and tell you beautiful stories and deep down in their hearts hate you because you are poor, helpless and have a tint of Negro blood coursing through your veins.

"The Hon. Robert J. Nelson, regional director of the Middle Atlantic States for the League, is fighting the fight of his life for the recognition of your rights as American citizens.

"State Director Maurice Rouselle of Wilmington, is anxious to know of your political needs and ready to come at the faintest whisper to aid you and give you light; and I am here to plead your cause to them, laboring with you, to help fight down these conditions that exist to our discouragement and impede our progress as a struggling people.

"The issues that concern you are your civil rights and representation in Delaware. We have no time to be fighting anyone's religion; exercise your franchise to your best advantage. The Hon. P. S. du Pont believes to the fullest extent that Gov. Alfred E. Smith, of New York, is the ideal American for President. Shall we fight against our great benefactor who has given over $2,000,000 for modern schools to educate our children of Delaware with the best, the founder of a public school system that has startled the world, equal for all and partial to none, and be used as tools by the party of our forefathers we once loved, but which we must foresake if we rise?

"Go to the polls on election day and vote as men and women on principle for Alfred E. Smith, for president; Thomas F. Bayard, for senator; John M. Richardson for congressman and Dr. Wharton for governor."

Cooks With Eyes Shut 16 Hours to Pay Election Bet

FREDERICK, Md. — Nelson Howell, chef at the Frederick Hotel, cooked for "Al" Smith when he was traveling in the "Capitol Limited," the B. and O. train-de-luxe.

A Smith booster, he paid an election bet by cooking in a Tuxedo dinner outfit for 16 hours with his eyes closed.

NEW YORK TIMES
NOV 11 1928

OBSERVATIONS FROM TIMES WATCH-TOWERS

SOLID SOUTH IN FLUX

Defections From Smith Seen to Call for Realignment of Democrats.

NEW PARTY MAY BE BORN

Political Leaders Expect Industrial Growth of Region to Be Prime Factor in Developments.

By RICHARD V. OULAHAN.

Editorial Correspondence of THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 9.—Hardly had the results of the national election become known before comment of politicians and political observers in various parts of the country, but more pronouncedly in Southern States, took the slant that desertion of Governor Smith's candidacy by four of the ten States of the Democratic Solid South had laid the foundation for a new Democratic Party alignment or perhaps the formation of a new party.

This comment has not gone beyond the nebulous stage and may be due to nothing more than the enthusiasm of victory on the part of those Southern Democrats who bolted their party's national ticket. It is obvious also that Northern workers in Governor Smith's cause are deeply resentful of the Southern defection, and it is easily conceivable that this resentment may eventuate in a refusal of many Northern Democratic organizations to have any future dealings with their bolting Southern brethren, and thus further an inclination among the latter to engineer a new party deal.

That the organization of the Republican Party in the Solid South on a more substantial basis would not be without its benefit to the Democratic Party both in that section and nationally, in the view of many Democrats in Southern States, is another interesting aspect of the situation. The maintenance of the single party system in the South has been irksome to growing numbers of Southern Democrats. They feel that the domination of one party has worked in various ways to the detriment of their area, not only in politics but industrially.

Opinion exists among them that the existence of a second strong party in the South, either a Republican Party recast to suit Southern ideas or a new party which would attract Northerners, or an amalgamation of sympathetic elements obtained from both major parties, would work to the advantage of the whole country.

In other words, a good deal of sentiment exists among Southerners nominally loyal to the Democratic Party that an opposition party in the South, founded on principles and party organization attractive to them, would help the South in many ways. It is doubtful, however, that large numbers having that point of view would be sympathetic to bringing into such a party those Democratic politicians who bolted the Democratic national ticket this year because of opposition to Governor Smith on account of his wetness and his membership in the Catholic Church.

***

Racial and Dry Issues Present.

The bugaboo of possible negro domination has been employed effectively by Southern Democratic politicians in holding their fellow-citizens to their traditional Democratic allegiance, and this is, perhaps, the most compelling reason for having kept the South's vote solid for more than fifty years. But its influence among a considerable number of Southerners who are active and successful in the professions, commerce and industry, has been waning. A remark common to Southerners of that general class is that they vote for Republican Electors in Presidential elections and for Democartic candidates for Congressional and State offices.

In this early period following Tuesday's election, before the thoughts of politicians and those interested in political developments have had opportunity to be applied to the meaning of the heavy Democratic losses, there nevertheless is enough suggestion of new political alignments to justify the belief that something along that line will be undertaken out of sheer necessity.

While former Representative Upshaw of Georgia has not sufficient standing in his constituency to make his ideas of great value, it is evident that he is reflecting a fairly wide opinion of bolting Democratic Southerners in a statement which amounts to the contention that anti-Smith Democrats in the South can neither affiliate any longer with what he calls the "wet Tammany" Democrats of the North nor join the Republican Party. He proposes a new political alignment under some such name as the Constitutional Democratic Party.

This connotes, it is presumed, a party in the South which will be independent both of the Republican and Democratic Parties in local political contests and will amalgamate nationally with those organizations, political and otherwise, which are opposed to modifying the Volstead act. The Upshaw party would work hand and glove with the Anti-Saloon League, which Mr. Upshaw served as a paid lecturer.

"Let your conscience be your guide," he wrote to the Anti-Saloon League management in leaving to it the amount of compensation he should receive for furthering its endeavors.

***

Business Viewpoint Is Appearing.

It is conceived, however, that no new party would make much headway if based chiefly or almost entirely on adherence to prohibition, and, judging from what happened in the Presidential campaign, opposition to any Catholic candidate for public office. More substantial foundation for a new political organization in the South is found in the aspirations of those professional, business and industrial leaders and newspaper editors of Democratic affiliation, who feel that the one-party system is injurious to their section.

Men of that tendency in the ten States which comprise the Solid South hold that the hitherto unwavering adherence of these States to the Democratic Party has put the Solid South between the upper and nether millstones of politics. The Democratic Party as a national organization has seemed to take the position, some of them say, that because the South could be depended upon to support Democracy in any circumstances there was no occasion to cater to it, especially when it came to the distribution of favors, while the Republican Party has felt that the South hostility placed it outside the pale of consideration.

For these reasons and others, among them the fact that the tremendous strides made by the South in industry have built up a sympathy for the Republican Party in its high protection policy and its closeness to "big business," the foundation is there for building up a political party in the South which would affiliate either with the Republican Party nationally or, if a separate organization of anti-Smith Democrats is formed, with that wing of the Democratic Party which gave loyal support to Governor Smith's Presidential candidacy.

Politically, the traditionally Democratic South has been torn asunder by the apostasy of Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and Texas. In North Carolina, the most conspicuous Democratic power, Senator Furnifold M. Simmons, whose following is impressively large, has parted company with the Northern Democracy and especially with the Democratic organization in New York. Largely through his influence North Carolina gave its electoral vote to Hoover.

But it is not to be overlooked that many conspicuous North Carolina Democratic politicians, most of them former lieutenants of Simmons, declined to follow him in opposition to Governor Smith. Among them are Mr. Simmons's colleague, Senator Lee Overman, and the Governor of the State, Angus McLean, whose political fortunes were furthered by Senator Simmons's O. K. Another is Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy in President Wilson's Cabinet.

These men, while pronounced prohibitionists opposed to any modification of the Volstead act, went so far in advocacy of Governor Smith's election that it is difficult to conceive their return to leadership in any party organization headed by Mr. Simmons. Their inclination would be to maintain their affiliation with the Democratic organization of the North and West which worked valiantly against great odds for Governor Smith's election.

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Republican Action Anticipated.

In Florida, the foundation for a substantial Republican Party organization is afforded by the large numbers of Northern and Western Republicans who were attracted there by the real estate and building boom and have become permanent residents. In Texas, Governor Dan Moody and Senator Morris Sheppard, who upheld Governor Smith's candidacy but failed in their effort through the defection of anti-Smith Democrats led by Thomas B. Love and other chiefs of the McAdoo wing, are confronted by a movement to force them out of their party leadership. Moody was re-elected Governor on Tuesday, but was "scratched" by 60,000 Democrats who voted for the Hoover electors.

In Virginia, the Democratic Party organization, led by Governor Byrd and Senators Glass and Swanson, finds itself defeated by the insurgent element headed by Bishop James Cannon Jr. of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, whose influence may be such that many of the Democratic politicians who remained regular will be afraid to follow Byrd and the two Senators in State policies unless Bishop Cannon assents in each case.

That Mr. Hoover intends to take advantage of the situation produced in the South by his success there in Tuesday's election is well understood. But his plan of building up a substantial Republican organization in Southern States probably will not be to the liking of many active Southern Republican politicians. Some of these, whose interest in the party has seemed to be confined to getting Federal jobs for themselves and their friends, appear to be in for troublous times after Mr. Hoover becomes President. That he contemplates cleaning them out and substituting other men in their places, perhaps drawing from the ranks of Democratic business and industrial leaders who are inclined toward the national policies of the Republican party, is regarded as within the bounds of probability.

One of the reasons given for the reported widespread opposition to Mr. Hoover's candidacy among negroes was the belief that he wishes to do away with the so-called "black and tan" Republican organizations in the South and recognizes "lily white" organizations of his own forming. This would mean that negroes would have no part in Republican Party activities in States where the race question furnishes an acute issue.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

TRIBUNE-CAPITAL
DES MOINES, IA.

OCT 23 1928

THE NEGRO VOTE

BY CHARLES P. HOWARD, IN THE BYSTANDER.

The announcement was made through the press some days ago that 75 per cent of the Negroes of the country would vote the democratic ticket or that in substance and that the same was true locally. Of course nobody can estimate the per cent of any group that will vote either way. However, since the announcement I have attempted to check on the statement locally to determine its merits and find it to be grossly inaccurate. I have been present in approximately fifteen groups of twenty or more Negroes since this announcement. I have studied the conversation and asked for a showing of hands of persons who intend to vote for Al Smith and the largest number that I have found in any one group has been two, and a reasonable amount of discussion of the merits and demerits of the two parties will have its effect on the few half-hearted Smith supporters. After this check I am unable to estimate how many Negroes locally will vote for Smith, but am satisfied that if Smith is snowed under as badly by the other voters in Polk county as he will be by the colored voters he will be the worse beaten candidate that ever ran for the presidency. As to the truthfulness of this statement nationally, I have two mediums from which to draw. There comes to my desk weekly Negro newspapers from every section of America. After religiously studying the sentiment as therein expressed there can be no question but what sentiment throughout the country with reference to the Negroes' party affiliation this year will be overwhelmingly republican. I attended a meeting of Negro political leaders from every section of the country in Chicago during the latter part of August. In spite of the fact that it was almost a protest meeting, yet the sentiment was overwhelmingly republican after a deliberate discussion of the entire situation. I consider these two mediums truly indicative of Negro sentiment and they unquestionably pointed republican. This statement about 75 per cent of the Negroes voting the democratic ticket is simply whistling in the cemetery.

LOWELL, MASS.

Courier

OCT 23 1928

Massachusetts has more than 20,000 colored voters who, if any of them are inclined to go Democratic, ought to read Dr. W. E. B. Dubois's account of Governor Smith's present unwillingness to say a word for the Negro. It appears that Dr. Dubois and other prominent New York colored men have endeavored vainly in the past few weeks to get an expression of Mr. Smith's personal reaction toward the political rights of the Negro and toward appointment of qualified Negroes to public office. Probably because he already has troubles enough of his own in the South the Democratic candidate refuses to add to them by saying one little word favorable to his Negro fellow citizens, now very numerous and politically well organized in New York city. He is apparently willing, if necessary, to forfeit the whole black vote of Harlem rather than give offense to the sensibilities of the southern states. This may be good politics, for he will carry Gotham anyway, but it is not the mark of a fearless leader such as Governor Smith has sometimes been supposed to be. It incidentaly ought to entitle Mr. Hoover to get every last vote of a Massachusetts Negro.

Asheville, N. C., Times
Sunday, October 21, 1928

45,000 NEGRO VOTERS IN DEMOCRATIC CLUB

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Oct. 20.—(UP)—Democratic central regional headquarters here announced Saturday that "more than 45,000 negro voters in Missouri and Oklahoma have been enrolled in the 92 clubs of the Smith-for-President Colored League." Other similar organizations are being formed in Nebraska, Kentucky, and Tennessee, according to Dr. W. H. Thompkins, regional director of the League.

JOURNAL
Jersey City, N. J.

OCT 24 1928

Negro Dems to Meet Tonight

A mass meeting of colored Democrats is to be held tonight at Public School No. 29, Claremont and Rose avenues.

Among those on the list of speakers are Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom, Julian B. Raney, Professor B. Alexander, J. Leroy Jordan, John B. Davis, Mayor Frank Hague, U. S. Senator Edward I. Edwards, and Motor Vehicle Commissioner William L. Dill.

The meeting is under the auspices of the United Colored "Al. Smith For President" Club.

EVERY EVENING
WILMINGTON, DEL.

OCT 19 1928

COLORED DEMOCRATS TO RALLY AT LEWES

Lewes, Oct. 18.—A meeting of colored voters of Sussex county, interested in the success of the Democratic ticket on November 6, will be held here tomorrow evening in Robinson's Colesium.

John C. Clinton, colored, prominent Washington attorney, and candidate on the Democratic state ticket, will address the meeting.

N. Y. SUN

OCT 26 1928

Negro Weekly for Smith.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 26.—The Afro-American Weekly yesterday announced that it will support Gov. Smtih for President instead of Hoover because of the latter's acceptance of Ku Klux Klan support in the South. The paper circulates among negroes in the East from New York to the Carolinas.

JOURNAL
Jersey City, N. J.

OCT 26 1928

Independent Colored Democrats Organize

A new independent colored Democratic organization was organized by Samuel H. Branch, exalted ruler of the Bayonne Lodge of Colored Elks, who was honored with the presidency of the association. By working independently of the regular Democratic organization Branch and his followers feel that they will be able to obtain greater recognition for their people. Final plans for their activities on Election Day will be made at a meeting to be held Sunday afternoon in the Colored Elks' clubhouse.

While Branch and his followers have been affiliated with Mayor Daly's Democratic organization in the past, there was an indication that they may sever their relations with the present leadership, although they will support the Democratic candidates in November. Branch was given the right to repudiate the present leadership should he be of the opinion that such action would result beneficially to his people. He said yesterday that while certain promises made by the local leaders have not been kept he is hopeful that whatever differences exist soon will be rectified.

Democratic.

DISPATCH
COLUMBUS, O.

NOV 5 1928

A PORTSMOUTH COLORED VOTER'S VIEWS.

To the Editor of The Dispatch:

Sir: I notice that those colored voters who say they will vote the Democratic ticket this time claim that they have not been treated right by the Republican party. I do not know just what they mean by that. Is it a job they are talking about?

Al Smith and his clique are all tarred with the same stick as Jeff Davis and the rest of the rebels of the South. When I hear of a colored man or woman voting, or saying they are going to vote for a Democrat on a national issue it makes my blood boil. I have no patience with them at all. I have voted and worked for the Republican party my entire life and call it a privilege and duty. I know that the Democrats of the South hate our race as they hate a snake, and far be it from me to do one thing to advance their cause in any way. They would gladly put us in bondage again if they could.

Al Smith wants an Underwood tariff or something built on that line. What they want is booze and more booze to please the New Yorkers. The rest of the United States may be damned.

Now, go on colored man, and vote for Al Smith and then go jump into a pot of quick lime so you will be no more. I am ashamed of my race.

Walter Eubanks,
492 11th street, Portsmouth, Ohio.

JOURNAL
CHICAGO, ILL.

OCT 22 1928

NEGRO VOTE SPLIT AIDS AL

Predict Governor Will Run 50-50 with Hoover Here

By M. L. MUNIE

Deep-seated political rebellion in Chicago's "black belt" has the national, state and local republican leaders really worried for the first-time since the hearty segregation of negroes in the First, Second and Third wards became an established fact.

Gov. Al Smith's reputation for fair dealing with the great masses of negroes congregated in the Harlem district in New York city his appointment of negroes to important places in the state government, coupled with the friendly relations the democratic administration of New York city has established with the New York negro populace has inspired Chicago negroes in great numbers with a militant determination to vote for Al Smith for president.

Like the negro in the south, those who migrated north know that prohibition got its start in the southern states and was aimed at the negro only.

Resent "Lily White" Plans

Added to this grievance is the Hoover declaration that the republican party proposed to see that only the "lily white" element will have a voice in G. O. P. matters south of the Mason and Dixon line in the future. The work of eliminating the negro from national republican councils in the south began in the Kansas City convention which nominated Hoover. It has been carried forward in efforts to jail southern negro leaders in various states.

This is resented, especially by the younger and more educated colored men and women.

There is more outspoken support and enthusiasm for Al Smith in Chicago's "black belt" today than has even been felt for any democratic candidate for president. Predictions are freely made that Smith will split the negro vote fifty-fifty with Hoover on Nov. 6.

The "black belt" went for Len Small against Lou Emmerson in the G. O. P. governorship primary because Mr. Small gave the negroes substantial recognition and because he was backed by Mayor Thompson, who had just been elected over Mayor Dever practically by the solid negro vote.

Honored Thompson Leaders

Small put Ed Wright on the state commerce commission. When Wright stepped out on account of ill health and a quarrel with Mayor Thompson, Small put Oscar De Priest and Dan Jackson, Thompson leaders, on the same body, where they now are.

This situation is causing the democratic forces to make a determined effort in the "black belt" with a reasonable hope of cutting down the usual huge G. O. P. majority.

J. H. SCAMBLER NOW RECTOR

Succeeds Rev. A. E. Johnstone at Trinity in Belvidere

Announcement was made today of the appointment of Rev. John H. Scambler as rector of Trinity Episcopal church, Belvidere, succeeding Rev. A. E. Johnstone, who recently poined the Episcopal City Missions staff at Church of the Epiphany, Chicago. Rev. Mr. Scambler is a graduate of De Paul university, and the General Theological Seminary, New York.

HERALD

Selma, Ala

OCT 6 1928

THE RACE QUESTION.

The Manufacturers Record, the editor of which has recently come out in support of the Republican presidential ticket, admonishes the leaders of both parties in the south to refrain from raising the race issue during the campaign. The Record should make its appeal to northern not to southern leaders, to extremists in his party north of Mason and Dixon's line, not to those who have settled that question to their own satisfaction in the southern states within the terms of the federal consitution as interpreted by the highest court in the land. The journal should direct its admonitions to the Dyers and the Moses and others who are telling he Negroes of their section that they purpose in some manner to pass a law that will nullify all state laws limiting the privilege of the ballot and thereby enfranchise every black man in the south regardless of his qualifications.

Virginia settled the race question by constitutional enactment more than twenty-five years ago and all the rest of the southern states, including even Texas, we believe, have done likewise. Certain restrictions have been thrown around the suffrage privilege that make it impossible for the illiterate to register and therefore vote. There being more illiterate colored voters than white more of them suffered from the terms of this law. But the younger ones coming on are qualified to register and are gradually being absorbed into the electorate without being noticed as the process is slow. Not enough of them have thus far enrolled as voters to make them a factor in county elections even in the so-called black belt. That was the object of the law which was intended not to penalize him because of his race or color but to eliminate the illiterate and unfit from the exercise of a privilege that was harmful to the state and to society in general. There is nothing in the election law of any southern state that will eliminate any qualified man black or white, from the electorate and there is nothing in the law the requirements of which cannot be met.

When Representative Leonidas C. Dyer, of the twelfth Missouri district, declares that he proposes if possible to enfranchise those of the southern population who are not qualified to comply with the present election laws of Virginia, he is a nullifier of the spirit of the constitution at least which leaves the regulation of the suffrage privileges to the individual states. If he knew conditions in the south and the pleasant relations that have grown up between the races here since the Negro ceased to be the tool of intriguing white politicians who sought to ride into office on his back, and realized that there is no friction between the white and colored people and therefore no race question longer in the south, he might cease this palaver about enfranchising some millions of colored voters. The colored race is growing in intelligence and illiteracy among them is disappearing. They are acquiring homes and land and are becoming prosperous. Employment is open to them at every point it is open to white people. He is denied no inherent right nor any privilege he can meet. He is filling his place and showing especial adaptability in many lines. He competes with his white neighbor on an equal basis. He would be satisfied but for the meddlers of the north like Representative Dyer who does not understand either the social or political problems of the south. Therefore, this newspaper believes that appeals should go out to the northern Republicans whose dream is a shattered solid south as a political entity, to allow the two races solve their own problems without agitation. But the south for the present at least should not take any risks about this thing and should not grow careless about the situation. It has been openly threatened with the passage of the anti-lynching bill which Mr. Dyer asserts will require the literal enforcement of the fourteenth amendment. Those are the people who will if they can, revive the old antagonisms and race hatreds that happily have disappeared in the south.

AMERICAN

Robertsdale, Ala

NOV 3 1928

Democrats Value South's Vote Less Than Negro Vote

The National Democratic Committee has placed a mighty low estimate on the value of the South's vote as compared to that of the negro vote.

According to the New York Times last week Alabama was given $5,000 by the Democratic committee, Florida $5,000 and Mississippi only $1,165. At the same time the Smith-for-President Colored League was given another $15,000. The same colored league two weeks ago received $30,000.

The negro vote is worth $45,000 to the National Democratic Committee while the votes from the states of Alabama, Florida and Mississippi, three outstanding and important Southern states, are only valued altogether at a little over $10,000.

In other words, the vote of one member of the Smith-for-President Colored League is worth nine times the amount in money more than the vote of a Southern man in either Alabama or Florida, and forty-five times more than the vote of a man in Mississippi.

The Democratic National Committee has thus placed its estimation of the value of the Southern vote. How does it appeal to you?

EAGLE

Dothan, Ala

NOV 5 1928

A DEMOCRAT'S TEN REASONS

I am supporting Smith and Robinson:

1. Because I am a Southern man and can never support the Republican party that was born of hatred to the South, its institutions and its people, and that both reviled and persecuted the South and its people during the days of "reconstruction" in a viocious and criminal effort to "put the bottom rail on top" in the South.

2. Because I am a white man and can never support the "black and tan" party that is captained in the state by the negro, Ben Davis, and the malatto, Mamie Williams.

3. Because I know that in this race question the Republican leopard has never changed its spots, and I do not believe it ever will or ever can. Herbert Hoover, its candidate for President, in his effort to get negro votes in the Ohio primary, revoked the rate-segregation "order" in his Department, leaving white women to work under negro "bosses" and the two races to use indiscriminately the same closets and rest rooms. This was done the week before the Ohio primaries. Whatever may be the view of other Southern white men or white women, I cannot possibly bring myself to vote for the man who did it.

4. Because I can never support the party that sneers at and over-rides local self-government as an antiquated and exploded doctrine, and that continually and continuously aggrandizes federal power at the expense of the states.

5. Because I believe in honest and equal taxation and can never persuade myself to support the party of special interests and picked favorites.

6. Because I can never support the party that while professing devotion to all of the constitutional provisions "until they are changed" has undertaken and is now undertaking, in a secret and undrehanded way in this very contest to wage a campaign of prejudice and intolerance against the Democratic nominee because of the religious faith of that nominee.

7. Because I can never support the party, or its Cabinet officer, that for the past eight years has furnished to the country the most amazing spectacle of graft and corruption, of inefficiency and dis-honesty that ever disgraced American history.

8. Because I had infinitely rather support for President of the United States a publican under Harding and Coolidge; League of God, red-blooded American citizen, even if he did come up from poverty and obscurity, among Nations Man under Wilson, anti-League of Nations "the sidewalks of New York" than a 50 percent. man under Harding and Coolidge, internationalist Englishman, who has spent most of his life and capitalist all the time.

9. Because I had rather support an honest, sincere man like Al Smith even if I do not always agree with him, than a trimmer, a dodger, a twister and a coat-turner, like Herbert Hoover. Smith is the same man, yesterday, today and tomorrow. Hoover is Democratic under Wilson, Republican under Harding and Coolidge; League of Nations under Wilson, anti-League of Nations under Harding and Coolidge, internationalist and capitalist all the time.

10. Because old-fashioned Democracy as Jefferson taught it and as Jackson practiced it, is good enough for me. It is like "old-time religion," good enough for me. In all reverence, I pray God, fellow citizens, it may also be good enough for you.—Thomas W. Hardwick of Georgia.

HERALD

Suffolk, Va

OCT. 6 1928

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AMERICAN

Rockville, Ala

NOV 3 1928

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Bessemer, Ala

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1. Because I am a Southern man and can never support the Republican party that was born of hatred to the South, its institutions and its people, and that both reviled and persecuted the South and its people during the days of "reconstruction" in a viocious and criminal effort to "put the bottom rail on top" in the South.

2. Because I am a white man and can never support the "black and tan" party that is captained in the state by the negro, Ben Davis, and the malatto, Mamie Williams.

3. Because I know that in this race question the Republican leopard has never changed its spots, and I do not believe it ever will or ever can. Herbert Hoover, its candidate for President, in his effort to get negro votes in the Ohio primary, revoked the rate-segregation "order" in his Department, leaving white women to work under negro "bosses" and the two races to use indiscriminately the same closets and rest rooms. This was done the week before the Ohio primaries. Whatever may be the view of other Southern white men or white women, I cannot possibly bring myself to vote for the man who did it.

4. Because I can never support the party that sneers at and over-rides local self-government as an antiquated and exploded doctrine, and that continually and continuously aggrandizes federal power at the expense of the states.

5. Because I believe in honest and equal taxation and can never persuade myself to support the party of special interests and picked favorites.

6. Because I can never support the party that while professing devotion to all of the constitutional provisions "until they are changed" has undertaken and is now undertaking, in a secret and underhanded way in this very contest to wage a campaign of prejudice and intolerance against the Democratic nominee because of the religious faith of that nominee.

7. Because I can never support the party, or its Cabinet officer, that for the past eight years has furnished to the country the most amazing spectacle of graft and corruption, of inefficiency and dis-honesty that ever disgraced American history.

8. Because I had infinitely rather support for President of the United States a real honest-to-God, red-blooded American citizen, even if he did come up from poverty and obscurity, among "the sidewalks of New York" than a 50 percent. Englishman, who has spent most of his life and made all his fortune abroad.

9. Because I had rather support an honest, sincere man like Al Smith even if I do not always agree with him, than a trimmer, and a dodger, a twister and a coat-turner, like Herbert Hoover. Smith is the same man, yesterday, today and tomorrow. Hoover is Democratic under Wilson, Republican under Harding and Coolidge; League of Nations Man under Wilson, anti-League of Nations man under Harding and Coolidge, internationalist and capitalist all the time.

10. Because old-fashioned Democracy as Jefferson taught it and as Jackson practiced it, is good enough for me. It is like "old-time religion," it is good enough for me. In all reverence, I pray God, fellow citizens, it may also be good enough for you.—Thomas W. Hardwick of Georgia.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

Columbus, Ga., Dispatch
Friday, October 26, 1928

THIS IS PRETTY PIFFLE!

Early in this campaign, when Mrs. Marvin Williams made her appeal to the negro women of the W. C. T. U. to register and vote for Hoover, The Telegraph said that it would be the worst thing that could happen to the negro would be to drag him into the campaign—Macon Telegraph.

Could one imagine a more ridiculous expression than this—from a paper which has been accusing, belittling, besmirching and tongue lashing a woman like Mrs. Marvin Williams in connection with Ben Davis politcal activities in Georgia as long as the Macon Telegraph has been doing that thing? And when in this campaign did Mrs. Marvin Williams make her appeal to the negroes to register and vote against Tammany and Al Smith—except in the imagination of the Macon Telegraph? Mrs. Williams in the interest of betterment for the negro everywhere in Georgia, has for a long time done what she could to help the negro schools and churches by advancing the cause of temperance among them. That has been true of her long before ever she had to face the monstrous—perilous—abhorrent—democratic Smith and Tammany wet campaign for the presidency.

Somewhere—it will not be always—somewhere the man who writes that stuff in the editorial columns of the Macon Telegraph will have to pay for his folly. Retribution never fails. Sooner or later that man's meanness will engulf him. The law of compensation is inexorable! The man who stands up and drives at the voters in an effort to impose Smith and Tammany on them is going to pay for it in future. He thinks the bolters will pay for bolting—we have to see yet what a voter has to suffer for following the dictates of his own conscience in seeking to support the better man for the office. That's democracy—true democracy—was true democracy before ever Al Smith and Tammany rose to tell us what it is.

Let the Georgia voter keep in mind that the real sources of danger from the negro in politics is from the Smith and Tammany ticket. This section has the negro question settled. It can give no trouble if let alone. The negro when dragged back into politics by Al Smith and the Tammany political gangsters, is going to prove trouble all over again—and they are dragging the negro back—all over southern democrats against their protest—agains their better judgment—even to democratic regulars. The same party bosses in the south who are trying to force Georgians to follow the Tammany masters and their social equality practices in politics, know very well how impossible isthat thing in the south.

Remember, voter, Smith and Tammany are the real negro menace. The republican party has been forced in the past to take negro representation in the south, but Herbert Hoover has clared decks of all negro representation and the Georgia republican party today is wholly free from negro political contamination. It is the domination of the national democracy by Smith and Tammany that is forcing a dangerous negro admixture upon us. This is a social equality product that has always been the most obnoxious. If we follow Smith and Tammany, we may look for the wirst in the dragging of the negro into our national politics.

Southerners who represent us in Washington will be a thousand times embarrassed in having a Tammany negro put over them in the administration of the federal government if Smith is elected. This must not happen. A vote for Herbert Hoover this time is a vote in the direction of preventing it. We're for white supremacy—a fair deal for the negro here among us—but no negro pickaninny tootsie wootsie from Tammany's Harlem "negro heaven" can ever call a white woman "ma" and a negro man "pa" or a negro woman "ma" and a white man "pa" very long and get by with it—in the south—in Georgia—and we must steer clear of Smith and Tammany Hall if we are sure we care about these things. A vote for Smith means just that in November—that you endorse it—that you believe in it—that you are willing to give up a white man's country for social equality with anything that Smith and Tammany offer—and they offer negro social equality —practice it—believe in it—vote it regularly—and sneer at the southern white man who cannot swallow it—and smile!

Columbus, Ga., Times and News
Thursday, September 27, 1928.

"HOOVER DEMOCRATS"

Ben Davis, negro national committeeman of the Republican party in Georgia, is busy writing editorials in his Atlanta Independent in support of the Democratic party.

No, he is not in the pay of the Democratic party, nor is he willingly helping the party. He is the man who sells Republican patronage in Georgia at so much per postoffice, and who will be out of a paying job when Al Smith becomes president. Ben Davis is fighting to hold his job, and is helping to throw himself out of it.

But while he is in the fight, he is telling some facts which need to be told, and they are important facts because they cannot be disputed when they come from him—he speaks with authority. He is the big spokesman for the Republican party in Georgia. He knows what a Republican is, and he names a few of them in his Independent.

In the editorial columns of his paper he carries every issue this ticket:

"NATIONAL REPUBLICAN TICKET

For President: Herbert Hoover, of California.

For Vice-President: Charles Curtis, of Kansas.

Electors

At-large: Mrs. Mary Harris Armour, Eastman; Charles Adamson, Cedartown.

First District: Frank Durden, Savannah.

Second District, J. M. Patterson, Putney.

Third District: Charles E. Brown, Cordele.

Fourth District: Henry O. Lovvorn, Carrollton.

Fifth District: Mrs. Marvin Williams, Atlanta.

Sixth District: George S. Jones, Macon.

Seventh District: D. C. Cole, Marietta.

Eighth District: C. A. VerNooy, Athens.

Ninth District: W. A. Carlisle, Gainesville.

Tenth District: E. J. Forrester, Sparta.

Eleventh District: Dan T. Cowart, Waycross.

Twelfth District: J. H. Bush, Lumber City.

This is interesting matter, because it shows the colors some of our white friends are sailing under—white friends who call themselves "Hoover Democrats." Ben Davis brands them as part of the "National Republican Ticket," and they can't squirm that off.

And then Ben Davis goes on with his endorsement of the "National Republican Ticket" in these words:

The Democratic party is anti-negro and has been from its very incipiency.

It was and is the party of slavery and opposed the adoption of the thirteenth amendment, which abolished slavery. It opposed the adoption of the fourteenth amendment which made us citizens and clothed us with the right to vote and hold property, instead of being property and sold sold like cattle. It opposed the fifteenth amendment which promised us protection at the ballot box.

It has disfranchised us in every state by ingeniously designed unconstitutional amendments to state constitutions, and nullified every decision of the supreme court of the United States declaring these amendments null and void.

In every Democratic state in the Union the negro has been jim-crowed on the train, segregated where he lives, discriminated against in business, disfranchised and denied equal protecton of the law. In every Democratic state the negro is shut out of the Democratic primary by force or court injunction. He is told everywhere that the Democratic party is a white man's party and negroes are not wanted. If the World or any other negro wants to support the Democratic party in the light of this cratalog of crime against the race, we'll content ourselves to be one hundred per cent. Republican under Hoover-Curtis leadership.

In no state in the Union where the Republican party controls is there a jim-crow, disfranchising, or a segregating law. In no Republican state is there any separation of the races on public carriers, or shutting the door of political opportunity in the negro's face.

The Republican party enfranchised the negro. It voted for and passed the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the federal constitution which prohibited slavery, made the negro a free man, gave him the right to hold property instead of being a chattel, and placed the ballot in his hands to protect himself in the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We are one hundred per cent. Republican because there is not one line of discriminating legislation on the books of any state in the Union placed there by the Republican party. but on the contrary there is special legislation on the books of every Democratic state in the Union outlawing the black man's rights and put on there by the Democratic party over the protests and votes of Republicans.

Ben Davis is not only "100 per cent. Republican"—he is 100 per cent. negro as well. We are glad he is both.

NEGRO BISHOPS SUPPORT WHISKEY TRAFFIC AND TAMMANY HALL

It is to be seriously regretted that two of our Negro bishops have announced their intention of supporting the liquor ring and Tammany Hall corruption. The whiskey traffic is the most deadly foe to morality and destructive force to good health and prosperity in the world. It is destructive to both the moral and economic welfare of the people. It has destroyed more lives and created more poverty and woe among the people of the earth than all the wars recorded in history; and the man, or political party who encourages the sale of alcohol in any form, or strength, is a deadly foe

to Christian religion, and promoter of immorality and poverty among the people.

There could be no greater sin and disgrace perpetrated against the Church of God, than a bishop of the Protestant Church advocating the election of a candidate to preside over all the people, who believes in and agitates the sale of liquor in any form, and who supports the most corrupt political machine conceived for the promotion of vice, crime and immorality.

The church that fails to unfrock a bishop who is so immoral and corrupt in his conception of Christian leadership, lessens its usefulness, and destroys its power for good among the people.

It is reported that Bishop R. C. Ransom, of the A. M. E. Church, and Bishop G. C. Clemmons, of the A. M. E. Zion Church, are outspoken in their support of Governor Smith, the candidate of the whiskey interests and who is a creature and representative of Tammany Hall.

Nobody expected anything better of Bishop Ransom, for his record for doing the odd stunt, is familiar to the public; but many of us thought better of Bishop Clemmons. But there is just about as much filth and graft in the religious school, in which these oddities were trained, as there is in corrupt politics today. The world has but little more respect for the church than it has for the ordinary political party. The church has about condescended to the level of dirty politics, and many of those at the head of our Protestant churches are just as dirty, corruptible, ignorant and mercenary as the average ward-heeler. The people are beginning to judge the usefulness of the church by the rascals in high places who use their position in the church to fill their pockets with graft and stolen dollars.

Tammany Hall offers the Negro nothing in return for their support, except dives, dance halls, vice joints and protection in their avocation of gambling and running immoral joints. With this record, two of our bishops elect to support this institution of corruption.

Every Negro in this country who thinks, believes that these bishops and every other Negro who deserts the Republican Party for the Democratic Party, went over for a price, and none of us believe that they are actuated by a desire to better their race's condition, but for the one purpose, filling their own pockets with lousy dollars. Any preacher, or bishop who announces that his object was for the betterment of his people is a lie out of the whole cloth, and should be unfrocked that he may no longer misrepresent the House of God.

Ogletharpe, Ga., Citizen
Friday, September 28, 1928

AL SMITH'S RECORD AS VIEWED BY BEN DAVIS

From Bainbridge Post-Searchlight:

Ben Davis, a negro Republican National Committeeman for Georgia, is leading the fight for Hoover in this state, and allied with him are a number of white white men and women, who have heretofore been classed as Democrats. It is charitable to believe that these white men and women either are in ignorance regarding the history of the South, or have forgotten all the traditional standards of white supremacy, or it may be that some of them were born north of the Mason and Dixon line. It is to be hoped that white men and women raised in the South will remember history made by their forefathers which is dear to every true Southerner, and bear in mind the truth rather than accept the poisionous propaganda that is being spread throughout the South by agents of the Republican party. Ben Davis, in addition to his other political activities, as Editor of a negro paper known as the Independent. In this paper he prints the names of the republican candidates for electors, including those of two white women, Mrs. Mary Harris Armor and Mrs. Marvin Williams. It is safe to say that this is not pleasing to the great majority of Southern women and Southern men to see the names of respectable Southern women, paraded in a negro paper and endorsed as the favored candidates of a negro politician. Would to God that we could wipe this distressing incident off of the slate of Southern political history. In the same issue of his "Independent" Ben Davis makes some editorial comments that ought to be interesting to those who contemplate leaving the Democratic party and going over to the party of Ben Davis. He says: "We can never vote for the Democratic party as long as it stands for ignorance, meanness and race hatred. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic party. Al Smith is no better than the Democratic party. His record does not disclose a single favor that he has done for negroes in New York. As infamous and as wrong and cowardly as lily-whiteism is, it is no worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic party against the American negro."

This unsavory subject leaves a bad taste in a white Democratic mouth. It makes us doubt that there can be many Georgians who will join the party of en Davis rather than accept the counsel of one of the nation's greatest statesmen, Senator Walter F. George

Decatur County Democratic Club.

Swainsboro, Ga., Forest-Blade
Thursday, September 27, 1928

IS WHITE SUPREMACY IN DANGER?

(Metter Advertiser)

The argument of the few Al Smith supporters in this section — Metter especially—is that in the event Herbert Hoover is elected President of the United States the negro would eventually be put in power over white people. This is the poorest argument ever advanced, unless some of Al's negro lieutenants gain ground in the South as they have in New York City.

"If you vote for Herbert Hoover you will be supporting Ben Davis," is the cry of the supporters of the candidate who has laughed in the face of the Democratic Party for, lo these many years, and instead of accepting the platform at the convention held in Houston, Texas, he drew a platform of his own and called himself the nominee of the party whose organization—Tammany Hall — has fought from the day of Tilden down through the campaign of the Hon. John W. Davis.

With the announcement that Jack Johnson, negro, former heavyweight champion of the world, would stump the South in the interest of "Al Smith for President of the United States," is further proof of the statement made several weeks ago that there were Negro Al Smith Clubs being formed throughout the nation. Is white supremacy in danger if the Republican Party is victorious in November? Has white supremacy been in danger during the past eight years? White supremacy is NOT in danger, and those who are making such absurd statements know it is untrue; their only hope is that some poor, ignorant, little narrow-minded person will believe such 'bunk" and vote for Drinking Al in November.

If white supremacy is in danger in Georgia just because Ben Davis has been affiliated with the Republican Party, what about the black Municipal Civil Service Commissioner in New York city who has a white American-born woman as his private secretary? Is white supremacy in danger in New York? If Al Smith followers in this section do not know that such a condition exists in New York city today, just investigate for yourself. His name is Ferdinand Q. Morton, and his salary is $7,500 a year. Now laugh that off. The board of Civil Service Commissioners of which Morton is a part, is composed of three a Roman Catholic, Jew, and Negro.

Here's the line-up: Jack Johnson the husband of a white woman. Ferdinand Q. Morton whose private secretary is a white woman; Mrs. Moskovitz, a Russian Jew; J. J. Raskob, something besides an American citizen, and various others we could mention, who are conducting the campaign of liquor-loving Al.

We have always taken great pride in calling ourselves a Democrat until the party degraded itself to the extent of allowing Al Smith to be its standard-bearer, then and there we severed our relationship and cast our lot with the party who has as its standard-bearer one of America's most highly respected citizens, and one in whom the American people CAN and WILL put their trust.

Again, we ask the question, is white supremacy in danger? — (ADVERTISEMENT).

Elberton, Ga., Star
Friday, September 28, 1928

THE NEGRO NOT AN "ISSUE"

Depreciation by the Richmond News Leader, an ardent supporter of Governor Smith, of the "negro menace" in the South as a campaign issue is so sane and opportune that true friends of the South will hope other Southern editors will emphasize this point, regardless of their party affiliations. "The negro is not an 'issue' in this campaign," says the News Leader, and in that pronouncement it speaks truly.

In that period of Reconstruction, negro domiantion was unquestionably the most vital danger and issue in the South. Largely through the work of sterling Southern men and organizations that evil in time was eradicated, and never again, it seems safe to say, will the people of the United States permit recurrence of such frightful conditions. Times have changed and we have entered on a new era. That the issue was kept alive since, through the appointment of some negroes to Federal offices in the South, is unfortunate; but indications are strong, that this policy will be abandoned, because flatly it is "bad politics." Indeed, as is shown daily, the danger of unduly elevating the negro now rests in the Democratic national party, rather than the Republican.

Left to themselves, the white people and the negroes of the South will dwell together in amity and mutual benefit economically. This is a fact that the leaders of both great political parties must grasp, and thus refrain hereafter from pormoting the "race issue" or the "negro menace." In the heat of a political campaign of a few weeks duration they must be careful not to undo all that individuals and organizations have brought about in the creation of a spirit of harmony between the races in the Southern States.—Manufacturers Record.

BROOKLYN TIMES
OCT 4 1928

COLORED DEMOCRATS TO MEET

The Regular Colored Democratic Association of Kings County will hold a Smith-Robinson mass meeting in its headquarters, 905 Fulton st., tomorrow night. Local and State candidates will speak. Wesley L. Young, the veteran leader of the colored Democrats, who attended the convention at Rochester, will preside.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

ANTI-SMITH PAPER PROMISES BIG SENSATION

Republican State Chairman Part Owner Of Sheet That Will Denounce Negro

Sworn statement appearing in the October 5th issue of The Fellowship Forum, anti-Catholic and Ku Klux Klan organ, that R. H. Anderson, chairman of the Virginia Republican State Committee, is a stockholder in the company that publishes the Forum gives special interest and significance to the announcement appearing in the same issue of the Forum that its issue of October 20th will carry a "Sensational Expose of Al Smith and Negro Equality in New York." Negro Republicans everywhere will read the following announcement from the Forum with much interest and concern:

During the present campaign The Fellowship Forum has published some "warm" editions. Many special articles have played havoc with the prospects of Al Smith's election. One of the most damaging features released so far by this newspaper was the picture of F. Q. Morton, Tammany Negro boss. In this picture the Tammany Negro pet—Gov. Al Smith's political attache and sufficiently a personal associate of the governor to call him "Al"—was shown in his private office in New York City, dictating letters to his WHITE lady secretary—for which work Tammany allows him to reap a $7,500 a year salary.

But the really BIG story is yet to come!

After considerable research, THE ONE GREAT SENSATION OF THE CAMPAIGN—from the Tammany-Smith-Negro angle—is ready for release. Only a few minor details remain to be worked out on this story preparatory to its publication. The story itself will be supported by illustrations and documentary proof that will startle all WHITE voters in the country—especially WHITE DEMOCRATS of the South. For this startling article will be the clinching proof of Tammany Al Smith's catering to Negro voters on the grounds that he is the exponent of absolute equality—social, civil and political—of the White and Black races. This will not be any "hearsay" evidence—but documentary proof, proof both of Gov. Al Smith's appealing to Negro voters as the advocate of Negro equality, and Negro official-

Macon, Ga., News
Sunday, October 7, 1928

How to Annex Negro Vote in North Hard Problem for Smith

Organizers Busy, but Al Tries to Keep Facts From Southern Newspapers

Special to The News

NEW YORK, Oct. 6.—One of the most difficult of the problems of the Democratic presidential campaign managers this year is how to handle their active solicitation of negro votes in the North, without giving offense to the rank and file of white Democracy in the South.

The efforts thus far made to corral the colored votes in the great centers of population in the east, where the negroes constitute no small population factor, seem already to be having an unfavorable reaction south of the Mason and Dixon line.

But regardless of this, the Smith effort to capture the negro vote in the North continues with unabated zeal, although there is great anxiety to keep it out of Southern newspapers.

The line being taken by the Smith negro organizers is that, if elected, Governor Smith would "bring the South to a recognition of the error of its ways." Editorials in Smith negro newspapers hail him as "the greatest hope that has appeared on the political horizon since emancipation," and negro speakers are telling the voters of their race that "it is not the party, but the president that is in the White House" that counts.

At the same time, Democratic headquarters are taking no step to hinder the effort being made in the South to portray Republican Nominee Hoover as a foe of white supremacy. The plan apparently is to try to win the Northern negroes for Smith, because of Smith's record, and to turn Southern white Democrats away from Hoover because of allegations of Hoover's alleged unfriendliness to the negroes. This effort to ride two horses has thus far met with fair success, although of late there have been some evidences of Southern dissatisfaction at the attempt to corral Northern negroes for Smith.

The most conspicuous incident in this connection in the last month occurred when Senator Carter Glass, of Virginia, telegraphed National Chairman John J. Raskob to know whether it was true or not that Jack Johnson, famous negro prize fighter, is actively working for Gov. Smth among the negroes of the land.

Chairman Raskob telegraphed back that "Johnson is not connected with this committee in any capacity." While technically true, the Raskob reply was evasive in that it did not disclose that Jack Johnson is working ocally in Chicago for Governor Smith.

Last December the former heavyweight champion of the world was made a Democratic committeeman in the Second ward of Chicago. The theory of the Brennan group, which gave him his post, was that Johnson, one of the most famous negroes of all times, could do a great deal to organize Chicago's black people Democratically in the fashion in which Harlem negroes had been so successfully organized by Tammany Hall. Johnson accepted the position, and the next month made a statement in which he said that he was "glad to state that we are meeting with wonderful success" and that "members are coming in daliy glad for a chance to receive their long-delayed political justice." He continued with a tribute to Tammany Hall, in its connection with the negro, in these words:

"Knowing as they do the fair policy of Tammany Hall, they are throwing their loyal support to our organization, far beyond our most sanguine expectations. I shall in the future as in the past do my full duty to my country and my race."

Thus, while Chairman Raskob's denial to Senator Glass was technically true, it is being pointed out here that what Mr. Raskob denied was that Jack Johnson was an official of the Democratic national committee. In view of Johnson's colorful career, which includes many incidents other than his ring battles, Mr. Raskob's anxiety to deny his connection with the national committee is understandable. It will be remembered that for many years Jack Johnson was a fugitive from the United States because of charges in connection with the white slave trade, particularly involving a white mistress he had while prize ring champion in the United States.

An indication of the zealous efforts the Democrats are making to corral the negro votes is shown, it is pointed out here, in a financial statement of the Smith for President Colored league, with headquarters in New York city, as of September 1. This statement, filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives of Washington on September 12, showed that the Democratic national committee had already turned over $15,000 to pay the expenses thus far incurred by the national Smith negro organizers. Disbursements by the Smith for President Colored league in August alone amounted to $4,443.

This organization is headed by Ferdinand Q. Morton, most prominent of the negro Democratic bosses in New York city. Morton has been active throughout the country organizing units of the Smith for President Colored league wherever he can. Reputed to be the highest paid negro public official in the United States, he has been a Tammany appointee for many years, and at present is one of the three members of New York city's municipal civil service commission, at a salary of $7,500 per year.

Morton started out in New York as one of the numerous assistants on the staff of the local district attorney. Charles F. Murphy, successor of Richard Croker as Tammany boss, and the Tammany leader from 1903 until his death in 1924, discovered Morton's political ability and recognized him as the Tammany leader of the negroes in Harlem. This district, the so-called "negro paradise," is constituted by the Nineteenth assembly district and those adjoining it. Manhattan borough, which embraces Harlem, contains over 109,000 negroes, most of them in Harlem itself.

Since Murphey's death, Morton has had to fight harder to maintain his leadership of the negro Democrats of the state, because of attempts of certain minor Tammany Democrats to urge the negroes of each district to recognize the official Tammany leader of that district rather than any particular boss of their own race.

However, Morton has fought them all, and has managed to maintain his supremacy. He is still municipal civil service commissioner and is still the head of the United Negro Democracy of Harlem, an organization thirty years old, claiming a membership of about 30,000. The club recently has shown signs of prosperity, for it has lately moved from quarters on Seventh avenue with a shabby ground floor entrance to spacious rooms at 222 West 145th street. The entry here is a stairway, ending at the sidewalk and so richly fitted with brass rods and other ornaments that it might well be a companionway for a private yacht. The second story quarters, besides an assembly-and-ball room, present a ladies' room expensively and fervidly furnished, and a large private room or headquarters for Boss Morton, which, though not yet furnished, reveals walls, paneled and tinted, that promise much luxury.

Tammany has given recognition to negroes among New York city officialdom by many appointments other than that of Boss Morton. For instance, there is a negro deputy assistant district attorney, Thomas B. Dyett, by name. A partner or former partner of Dyett's Sylvanus H. Hart, is a state tax examiner.

Among other negro officials of New York are Wiliam H. Jackson, filing clerk of the board of aldermen; Harry Bragg, chief warrant clerk of New York city, and Cornelius W. McDougold, a member of the state's commission to revise the inheritance laws and a former special assistant attorney-general.

Harlem is likewise favored by a large and up-to-date armory, housing the 369th infantry regiment of the New York national guard. The atmosphere of this armory is surprisingly exclusive. A series of negro privates, corporals, etc., halt and delay the white visitor in his progress towards the office, say, of the regimental adjutant, a mulatto captain named Lucas. Successive explanations must be made to each subhost, and conversation with the captain when achieved, will be interrupted by another series of negroes. The captain, moreover, is curt and disobliging. The highest officers of the army and navy can be more readily interviewed at Washington, in fact, and may be relied upon to display far more courtesy than this captain of a negro militia regiment that has long resented the presence of whites among its officers.

But the Harlem negroes are not satisfied with their present military control of the district, nor with a great preponderance of negroes among the city policemen in the Harlem streets. Even white women, driving cars thereabout, are dependent upon the courtesy of negro traffic officers. The negroes have repeatedly secured the passage of legislation to a certain stage at Albany which, if successful, would enable them to elect their own municipal judges; and thus enable them to support, through a negro bench, the regulation and protection of the whites that remain in the district.

The fashion in which New York negroes are being appealed to in behalf of Gov. Smith is shown by a negro newspaper of that city. One of the arguments being made is that if Gov. Smith is elected he will "bring the South to a recognition of the error of its ways" in regard to the negro race.

This particular statement is contained in an editorial of the Negro World, published in New York City, in its issue of August 25 of the present year. It printed this perfervid appeal on the ground that Smith would bring a better deal to the negroes of the South. The editorial read, in part:

"Smith or Hoover. Between them the choice must be made. And it is the part of common sense in 1928 for the negro to make a choice. Hoover must be rejected. Then let us choose Smith, an excellent man, a man of understanding and large-heartedness and great

humanity; a man, as it seems, destined among other things to bring the South to a recognition of the error of its ways. Be sure and support Smith. He is the only hope—the greatest hope that has appeared on the political horizon since the emancipation."

But the Democratic national committee's efforts to attract negro voters to the Smith banners are by no means confined to New York City. In truth, the New York work is more notable only because it has been in progress for so many years under the careful direction of Tammany. Great store is being laid with expected gains on negro votes in Missouri, especially in view of the nomination for Congress in Missouri of a negro Democrat.

This man's name is Joseph L. McLemore. If he should be elected, which Missouri Democrats think possible, and which Smith headquarters here in New York think more than possible, McLemore will be the first negro to be elected to Congress for nearly thirty years. The negro Democratic nominee in the St. Louis district was formerly an employe at the United States capitol in Washington. He was appointed an elevator operator in that structure upon the recommendation of Representative L. C. Dyer, of St. Louis, the Republican incumbent of the congressional seat the negro Democrat is now seeking to win.

When McLemore was appointed an elevator operator, he was listed as a Republican. Some surprise has been expressed in Washington that the man who received his appointment at Representative Dyer's hands as a Republican should now be Democratic nominee for Congress and running against the man who secured him the job. McLemore got his Democratic leanings while finishing a law course at New York university seven years ago.

McLemore's nomination, however, is being stressed by negro speakers all over the country, who are on the stump for the Smith-Raskob ticket. It is expected by Democratic headquarters to have a powerful effect in lining up negroes for Smith not only in Missouri, but also in Kentucky, Ohio, Maryland and Tennessee—in fact, in all the border and Southern states in which the negroes vote.

McLemore has declared his confidence that he will defeat his white opponent. He says that his district—the Twelfth Missouri congressional district—has a 65 per cent negro vote, and that he will swing three-fourths of it, in addition to getting the votes of white Democrats. He likewise is confident that he can carry the negroes of his district over to Al Smith.

"Most of the Democratic vote is white. In the past the negroes here have been voting the Republican ticket, but this year Gov. Al Smith is going to be a big drawing power among the negroes, and many of those who formerly supported the Republican ticket are going to vote the Democratic ticket straight—from Smith on down.

"The trouble is, the negro has been too strong a Republican. As a result, the Republicans count the negro vote ahead of time and they don't do anything for him. In New York city the negroes vote Democratic and consequently the negro gets recognition there with an occasional office."

Nomination of a negro as Democratic candidate in St. Louis caused a great stir among politicians of all races in that city. Many negroes there believe that it will be a powerful factor in carrying Missouri for Smith. Here is the way Joseph E. Mitchell, editor of the St. Louis Argus, a negro newspaper, views it:

"A sentiment for Smith has developed among numerous colored Republicans, because of his attitude on prohibition. The thinking class in our race feels the negro has not received a square deal from Republican leaders." McLemore himself believes that "colored people are gradually awakening to the fact that Smith is one of the fairest men in the country," and added that "it is not the party, but the president that sits in the White House" that counts.

Another negro leader of St. Louis George B. Vashon by name, declared that one of the chief reasons for the negroes voting for Smith is that the negroes are principally wet.

The extent of the negro vote in the northern states is being pointed out by the negro papers of the North, and shows readily the anxiety of the Democratic, national committe to corral so many of these votes.

An article in the St. Louis Argus recently claimed that there are 5,583,500 negroes of voting age in the United States, and added that "there are a sufficient number in many of the pivotal and in some of the border states to determine the result in a close election."

It added this analysis of negro voting strength, based upon the 1920 federal census:

"New York, 142,544; New Jersey, 75,671; Pennsylvania, 191,226; Illinois, 128,090; Indiana, 53,935; Ohio, 126,940; Tennessee, 245,395; Kentucky, 143,881; Missouri, 121,328, and Maryland, 141,991.

"Of the total of 5,522,524 negro voters in 1920, 2,792,006 were men and 2,730,274 women.

"There are other states where the negro is by no means a negligible factor in politics. For example, there was a colored population of more than 149,000 in Oklahoma in 1920, and of these more than 76,000 had attained the voting age.

"Kansas had 79,725 negroes within her borders in 1920, and of the number 37,000 were entitled to vote. In New England the 1920 population of negroes was:

"Massachusetts, 45,466; Connecticut, 21,046; Rhode Island, 10,036; Vermont, 572; New Hampshire, 621, and Maine, 1,310."

Thus it is easy to see why the Democratic national committee is devoting so much energy and money to the task of organizing the negro vote in the United States. It is having more success at doing this than in keeping the fact quiet so far as the South is concerned. For the national committee headquarters are receiving an increasing number of demands from the South that these negro activities cease. Thus far they have sought to pacify these protesters by soft answers, but whether this method of answering queries from the South can continue sucessfully or not is another question.

Rocky Mt. News
DENVER, COLO.

OCT 3 1928

DENVER NEGROES FORM DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE

Organization of a Negro Democratic committee was perfected last night at a meeting in the Negro Democratic state headquarters, 718 E. 26th ave.

An executive committee was named, to include C. L. Lawson, Mrs. O. T. Jackson, Mrs. J. M. Anderson, Mrs. S. Caldwell, Mrs. Ruth Jones and Henry Hinkle.

The speakers' bureau will include Sanford Caldwell, Mrs. Mary Clinksdale, Mrs. Effie Walden, Mrs. Lovey Stone and Mrs. Irene Barbee. Dr. S. A. Huff presided at the meeting.

EVE. NEWS
DENVER, COLO.

OCT 3 1928

NEGROES ORGANIZE TO SUPPORT DEMOCRATS

Denver Negroes today will open a statewide campaign in behalf of the Democratic state and national tickets, following organization last night of an executive committee of Negro Democrats at 718 E. 26th ave. The committee comprises C. L. Lawson, Mrs. O. T. Jackson, Mrs. J. M. Anderson, Mrs. S. Caldwell, Mrs. Ruth Jones and Henry Hinkle. A speakers' bureau was also organized, composed of Sanford Caldwell, Mrs. Mary Clinksdale, Mrs. Effie Walden, Mrs. Lovey Stone and Mrs. Irene Barbee.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

OCT 6 1928

SMITH INDORSED BY NEGRO BODY

Association Hits Republicans as the "Grand Oil Party."

The Smith - Robinson - Roosevelt Democratic ticket will receive the support of the Negro race in Brooklyn at the polls on Nov. 6 because of the position of the head of the ticket on the issue of religious and racial intolerance, according to Walter Lofton, who scored the G. O. P. as the "Grand Oil Party" last night at a rally of the Regular Colored Democratic Association of Kings County.

More than 200 men and women attended the meeting, which was held at the county headquarters, 905 Fulton st. As a result of the work of Mrs. Margaret Quarles, the county body granted charters to four new Negro Democratic clubs. Two of the new groups are located in the 17th A. D.; one is in the 16th A. D., and the fourth organization is established in the 22d A. D.

Not Seeking Special Favors.

In supporting Governor Smith, the Negro race is not seeking any special favors but is insisting on the square deal in politics, Lofton said. Upon motion of Wesley L. Young, 76-year-old Democratic leader of the Negro forces in the county, the organization, which includes representatives of the 23 Assembly Districts in Brooklyn, indorsed the action of the Houston and Rochester conventions.

The issues of the campaign were discused by Charles H. Johnson, Mrs. Luti Power, a lawyer; George E. Hall of the National Colored Democratic Smith-Robinson League, Elmer Baker and William Lucas.

SMITH MEETINGS BEING HELD IN SEVERAL STATES

New York, Oct. 31—Large and enthusiastic meetings are being held in twenty-eight states under the auspices of the Smith-for-President Colored League. Never before in history have Negroes shown so friendly an interest in a Democratic Presidential nominee. Some of the country's leading orators are speaking for Governor Smith and are advancing convincing arguments why the New York Executive should be sent to the White House. Even G. O. P. managers can see thousands of colored voters have become Smith adherents.

Prominent among the speakers touring the country are: Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom, Civil Service Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton, J. Finley Wilson, Julian D. Bailey, Mrs. Bessye J. Bearden, Mrs. Ruth Whitehead Whaley, Thomas H. R. Clarke, Neval Thomas, Armond W. Scott, Jas. C. Thomas, the Rev. Noah W. Williams, the Rev. Charles Sumner Williams, Dr. C. C. Aller, the Rev. Spencer W. Carpenter, Dr. E. Duval Colley, the Rev. E. J. McCoo, W. Ellie Stewart, Dr. O. H. Sweet, the Rev. W. S. Williams, Edward H. Carrey, C. E. Kimbrough, Dr. William Worthy and Dr. Andrew H. Lattimore.

Negro Question Raised To Side-Track the Main Issues, Says This White Voter

To the Editor, Journal and Guide:

Sir,—Your article in Virginian Pilot interested me. Please give me space in your paper to say to your Negro readers and all who read that the Negro question in this Presidential Campaign is not taken seriously by persons of good common sense. All this propaganda is brought into the political campaign to side track, or evade, the truthful facts.

It is a deplorable disgrace that a city the size of Norfolk has not a newspaper who will be unbiased, and tell facts, and current events as they arise. They edit a one sided Campaign in all civic, and political questions.

Here is the whole truth to this campaign: We are at the "parting of the Ways." It is a battle of ballots to say whether the United States is to be run by "Tammany Tigers" or a harmless Donkey or an Elephant.

Tammany Hall was first organized by a lot of Irish immigrants. It dates back to 1789. It was a counter weight to the Society of Cincinnatti. Tammany is the patron saint of America. This order has always been Democratic, and political main spring of New York politics. They won in the first election of Greater New York. They have been active, spreading out politically from the beginning. All the immigration from Central Europe they have converted into their Kingdom because most all are Roman Catholics. Citizens in the United States do not all sleep with the coming of a great storm. Some do, and they are the class of citizens that the poor Negro is flaunted in their faces, as a warning to get their vote. When the Tammany Tiger is let loose, they will have their scalp torn off.

History repeats itself. All nations have needed leaders, since the day of "Joshua" with his battle with the Amorites. When the "Sun stand thou still" upon Gideon; and thou Moon in the Valley of Ajalon. There was no day like that before, or after it. Only for Joshua the history of the World would have read very differently. So will it be read quite differently for ages to come if Tammany wins out in this election. We can all take a back seat all who are not of their faith or political belief. It is a great question and a great many of our citizens do not understand its meaning, which is "Complete Political Control," Prohibition, Immigration driven to the tall timbers, and our nation flooded with the spewing of all the whole world. What a wild dance Tammany Tiger would have with a dance hall from Atlantic to Pacific, from Canadian borders to Gulf of Mexico. The American Negro is a faithful citizen. We can depend on him, but we cannot depend upon a population of citizens who owe allegiance to other nations whether political or religious.

Following the teaching of the lowly "Nazarene," Jesus, is the last thing that ever comes in their minds. It is not a question of serving God, according to their own belief. It is a question of serving the devil, and on the 6th day of November, we will sidetrack the devil with a battle of ballots.

I do know every voter in Northern states that is a Roman Catholic will vote for Smith. I do know that Protestants, all of no Church organization will vote for Hoover. I do know from living in northern states until ten years ago, and I am now 68 years of age, that the consistent inroads of Roman institutions of untaxed property have alarmed the citizens and tax payers. And I do know that they want taxpayers to pay for their Roman Catholic schools just as public schools; and I do know there were a whole lot of teachers fired out of public schools in Chicago for teaching Catholic Catechism in schools. I do know that their inroads of invasion have no limit.

I never heard a dissenting voice in the North about Negroes attending public schools. There are so few there it does not pay to have separate schools. We have compulsory education in the North. The Negro must go to schools such as are provided for them there. It's quite different in the South. It's the home of the Negro—and the South could not get along without them. Beautiful schools are provided for them.

despite all this political agitation, we are happy together. The Tammany Tiger will go back to his den to get a rest and a new start four years from now.

—ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND YOUNG
311 W. 26th St., Norfolk, Va.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation

Democratic.

THE NEGRO VOTERS IN REVOLT!

By KELLY MILLER, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Negro voters are bolting and revolting against traditional party lines as they have never done before. Negro Smith organizations, North, South, East and West, are about as numerous and as active as those for his Republican opponent. According to my personal observation and the best information I can secure, about three colored men out of five, when approached as to their preference, openly declare for Smith or remain noncommittal. If the Republican contingent is better organized and coordinated than the Democratic rivals, it is by reason of the fact that the Grand Old Party has built up a more competent staff of professional politicians who are adepts at the game. There is but one practical remedy for this restlessness and dissatisfaction, which the Republican party is not willing to apply. As long as the Grand Old Party ignores the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, flirts with lily whites and crucifies the Negro participants, it cannot expect that self-respecting Negroes will support its cause with enthusiasm and gladness. If Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens had been delegates to the Kansas City convention they would have walked out the moment the party refused to stress the human rights amendments. Every Negro delegate would have followed them. The race is left no positive reason for supporting the glorious party of the olden day. Its moral granduer has departed. Its only appeal to Negro support is comparative and negative.

If the colored votor bolts the Republican party whither will he go? The Democratic rival certainly does not offer anything better; and in some respects the prospect is decidedly worse. Shall the Negro, then, remain forever in the Republican party and allow himself to be reduced to a political nullity by his own acquiescence? Shall he espouse the Democratic cause with all of its past record of political unfriendliness? Or shall he, acting independently, support this or that party, either or neither, according to the dictates of the racial interest and welfare?

There are at least two million qualified or qualifiable Negro voters in the North and in the South. Herein lies a latent power of incalculable potentiality. How can this potential power be translated into dynamic energy? Certainly not by slavishly following the fortune of the Republican party which is gradually reducing the race to a political cypher. Certainly not by falling uninvited into the arms of the Democratic party before it has even exprssed penitence for its past sins. Where then is political wisdom to be found? To me the answer is plain and simple. Let the Negro voter support sound moral principles, on whichever side of the political line they may fall. I supported John W. Davis in the last election because he openly declared his opposition to the Ku Klux Klan, and stated with convincing candor that, elected, he would do the best of his ability to enforce the constitution of the United States. When asked if he intended to include the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, he answered in the emphatic affirmative. Mr. Coolidge on the other hand was silent on the Ku Klux Klan and inarticulate and inert on the human rights amendments to the constitution. I never did believe that Mr. Davis could be elected, but that did not affect the principles upon which he stood. The orthodox, patented, stamped and standardized Negro politicians, then as now, shouted until they were hoarse: "Long live Coolidge and the Republican party." They carried the day. Verily, verily, they have their reward.

In the present campaign, I can see but one essential principle that distinctifies the two parties and the two candidates—and that is the principle of prohibition. While I regret to say that the Republican party is not unequivocally committed to the moral principle of prohibition, yet the Democratic adversary stands for its immediate or ultimate destruction. Mr. Hoover believes that the noble experiment should be carried out constructively; Mr. Smith thinks that the experiment is vicious in principle, and should be frustrated without further trial. The Negro can justify his vote for Hoover on the ground of the constitution, law, order and temperance. A vote for Smith counts in the contrary direction. This he can do, with self-respect, notwithstanding Kansas City, Perry Howard and lily whites. He must never, however, give Mr. Hoover or the Republican party to understand that because he is voting the ticket he is insensible to the outrageous treatment received and receiving at their hands.

The colored press has commented widely upon my open letter to Mr. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, in which I urged that the movement of political revolt which he headed should vote for Hoover on the temperance issue, but hold the party's feet to the fire for its past and present transgressions. Some said that I argued for Smith and concluded for Hoover; others that I was carrying water on both shoulders—a rather delicate compliment to the performer's steadiness and poise. This I apprehend is far preferable to the attempt to carry water on one shoulder and beer on the other as the wet Negro Republican are essaying to do. Still others mistook open mindedness for double mindedness. The old line politician never did comprehend the moral significance of the utterance of the Christ. This applies only to the sharply contrasted issues of right and wrong, truth and error, righteousness and sin. Neither the Democrats or the Republicans are all right or all wrong on great public questions. There is a strange and confusing mixture of vices and virtues in both camps. The Kansas Republicans are dry, the New York Republicans are wet. Mr. Work strikes hard for the Negro vote in the North but soft peddles the fifteenth amendment in the South. The voter must select for himself the political or moral issues which he deems vital.

In my letter to Mr. Wilson, I drew up a partial bill of indictment against the Grand Old Party which I urged him to keep alive in the mind of the Negro voter and before the Republican rulers. The campaign season is the psychological moment for any aggrieved group to emphasize its wrongs. Those who seek his support will naturally by soft persuasion urge him to forget them until the issue is settled. "Help us win the war, and we will remedy your complaints after the victory is won." The gullible Negro has listened to this artful guile with amazing credulity for ten quadrenniums. It is with astounding effrontery to the Negro's intelligence that the same old trick is still resorted to. If the Negro consents to forget his grievances while the campaign is on, the winning party will surely ignore them when the campaign is over.

Thinks Race Still Indebted To Republican Party

To the Editor, Journal and Guide:

Sir:—Every now and then some would-be political mentor of the race rises up and with a rhetorical flourish declares that, "The Negro has paid in full the debt of gratitude which he owes to the party of Lincoln and Sumner for what it accomplished in the days of its pristine moral grandeur." Perhaps, but let's see.

In doing so I would not for one moment, as I said in a previous article, condone the political sins of the Republican party in its present day treatment of its Negro constituency. However, let us strike a balance.

Before doing so, as a preliminary to what I am about to say, I believe I state a fact which cannot be successfully contradicted, that those political preceptors, who spasmodically are in the habit of asserting that the Negro owes the Republican party nothing are either post-bellum Negroes, or are descendants of what was termed free Negroes during the slave period, or are those who never experienced the cruel wrongs of bondage and its "fetters gall."

If you can show me today an ex-slave who is bold enough to say that he owes the Republican party nothing; one who can recall "the torturing lash" of the brutal overseer, "which scamed his back with many a gash," then I'll show you something new under the sun, which on one occasion the wise man, Solomon, said there wasn't.

9-29-28

But let's get down to brass tacks. What is the record of the two major parties on slavery?

In 1840, when Martin Van Buren was renominated for the second term of the presidency by the Democratic party, owing to the fact that the Abolitionists were "perniciously active" in waging war on slavery at that time, the leaders of the parties felt compelled to incorporate as one of the principal planks in its platform a resolution denouncing the efforts of the Abolitionists "to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery." The herculean struggles between the forces of freedom and slavery and the platforms of the Democratic and Whig parties, respectively, the next few years following, showed the emergence of the dominant issue (slavery) which was to be definitely settled only by the stupendous blood-letting of the Civil War.

The first Republican National Convention was held at Philadelphia in June 1856. The outstanding plank in its first platform was that, "It is both the right and duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories slavery and polygamy—twin relics of barberism."

Four years later Abraham Lincoln was nominated by the Republican party for the presidency and elected. . From that time, on until he became a victim of an assassin's bullet, hostilities never ceased until the 4,000,000 bondsmen in this country were set free.

When Mr. Lincoln was re-elected in 1864, before entering upon his second term, the Democrats denounced the usurpations of power by the Republican administration and demanded that, "immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities."

When however, the slave oligarchy wouldn't assent to President Lincoln's overtures for peace, in substance he emphatically declared that he was willing, if it be God's will, for the war to continue until every drop of blood drawn from the back of a slave by the lash of the brutal overseer should be compensated for by the drenching of this land in blood.

You who are acquainted with the history of the conflict know the result.

My only apology for resurrecting a dead issue perhaps, and one not germane to those of the present campaign is that, we may keep the records straight as Kipling says:

"Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Less we forget, less we forget."

Furthermore, if there is any Negro who sincerely believes he has paid the last farthing of indebtedness to the Republican party, by what process of reasoning does he satisfy his conscience that he owes the National Democratic party anything, when he takes into account its consistent record of opposition to the political and civil rights of his race?

—CHARLES H. MOORE

Greensboro, North Carolina

Durham, Dec. Record
Wednesday, August 29, 1928

Negro Urges Race To Vote For Smith

Washington, D. C.—Assailing the treatment accorded by the republican organization to Perry Howard, of Mississippi, and Ben Davis, of Georgia, negroes, and until recently republican national committeemen, C. S. Cuney, negro leader and lawyer here, advised members of his race to turn to the democratic party.

Cuney's uncle, Wright Cuney, long was known as the "colored boss" in Texas, and was collector at the Port of Galveston. The younger Cuney always has voted the republican ticket.

Since the days of Roosevelt, Cuney argues, the negro race has lost such national recognition as the positions of auditor of the navy department, ministership to Haiti, register of the treasury, collector of customs at Charleston and many other positions of trust.

MAIL

SEP 1928

T. G. NUTTER DENIES SUPPORT OF SMITH

Says He Was Not Present at Negro Meeting

T. G. Nutter, Charleston Negro attorney has written a letter to the editor of the Charleston Gazette denying that he was present at a meeting of Negroes who will support Al Smith for president. The writer declares that he is for Hoover and states his reasons for being. His letter follows:

"The Editor
"The Charleston Gazette

"In your issue of Wednesday, September 12, an article appears under the caption "Negro Voters Turn To Smith." In this article it is stated that West Virginia colored citizens are being organized into a "Smith for President Colored League" which is to have its state headquarters at Charleston, and that among those present and who took active interest in the meeting was T. G. Nutter. The statement that I was present at the meeting was absolutely false and without foundation. I was not present. I passed the place where the meeting was being held and opened the door and waved my hand at Mr. Earl B. Dickerson, a fraternity brother, and passed on. I was not present for the good and sufficient reason that I am not in sympathy with the movement.

"I would not support Governor Smith under any circumstances for president of the United States for three good reasons. First, I believe that in Mr. Hoover there has been presented to the American voters one of the most constructive statesmen in the history of the nation, and that his election will best conserve the interest of the people in general.

"Second, I am absolutely opposed to anyone who is in favor of the modification of the prohibition amendment or the Volstead act, by increasing the alcoholic content as advocated by Governor Smith. My entire life has been a protest against strong drink. If you will examine my record as a member of the legislature, you will find that I voted for every law that attempted to strengthen the prohibition amendment and stamp out strong drink. In my judgment, the prohibition amendment is the most constructive piece of legislation ever placed upon the statute books in America. As grand chancellor of the Knights of Pythias of West Virginia for the last ten years, I have had an opportunity to visit practically every city, town, village and hollow in the state, and I have had a chance to witness the great good that has been done by the adoption of the prohibition amendment. I have noticed a wonderful change wrought for good in saving the boys and girls from the damnable effect of the saloon, and I would not support for president, or any other office, anyone who advocates a change in the prohibition amendment or the Volstead act. Instead of adding to the alcoholic content, if it were left to me, the percentage of the same would be absolutely nil.

"Third, I would not support Governor Smith because he has done absolutely nothing, during his four terms as governor of New York, that would justify any Negro in supporting him in preference to Mr. Hoover.

"I trust that you will give this article the same prominence as you did the article that represented my presence at said meeting."

DRIVE THEM OUT

The regulations governing party primaries in Georgia are said to justify the Democratic committee in excluding anti-Smith democratic candidates from the party ticket, and assuredly bolters ought to be such formally and officially as well as in fact—Valdosta Times

But that will not stop them. There isn't any power inside or outside the democratic party association of political bosses that can hold the democrats to the abhorrent thing offered in the Smith program—a thing separate and apart—entirely different from what the convention at Houston wrote into its platform. That was bad enough, but what the party nominee offers on his own responsibility—what he represents as the Tammany ticket head—is the limit.

If that is the democratic ideal and fundamental principle, then we are no democrat and will never be. We are in the hands of renegade republicans—Raskob, Dupont, Nicholas Murray Butler—if we support Smith. Hoover, who is a humanitarian first, a man with a clean record in public morals, the most competent statesman and leader the republicans have put forward in a quarter of a century, save Charles E. Hughes, will make this nation a far better chief executive. If we must take republicans, let us have the best of them—that's Hoover. Raskob, Dupont, Butler and their kind may tell Smith is great— and our party bosses, whip in hand, may seek to drive us into it, but it will not get them anywhere in the direction of holding the rank and file under subjection.

We know Al Smith and Tammany—have known them for years. We also know the fundamental democratic principles as taught by our forefathers. Our fight for the preservation of this republic and the ideals of good government shall be guided by conscience first. If that heaps upon us the anathemas of the party bosses, we cannot help it. We are regretful that it is so, but democrats who understand what is represented in the Smith and Tammany ticket have chosen to bear the stigma of it and still stick to the candidate who promises an escape from it.

We will continue to have the perfume of the negro squirted on us, but those who do not mean to be driven are prepared to face it and make the most of it. Georgia democrats—real, high-minded, courageous contenders for the right—will not swerve or relent—nor will they ever have cause to repent.

Nor will they be driven out of the democratic party. They will not take Smith and Tammany, but they will hold their grounds. A vote for Hoover in this election is a wise choice and will count far more than to stand aside.

HERALD

SEP 8 1928

Near Jacksonville, Fla., a Negro who had announced his intention to vote for Smith and Robinson was taken out by three white men and flogged. From another part of the country comes a story of Hoover speakers at a political meting who were pelted with eggs. Such demonstrations are inspired by the same spirit—narrowness with which it is impossible to argue, but which reminds us what small rooms with grated windows and steel doors are for.

CARMICHAEL MAKES IMPRESSIVE APPEAL

Covington Democrats Urged To Stand By Party And Southern Traditions

ANDALUSIA, ALA., Oct. 30.—(Special)—A. H. Carmichael, outstanding Democratic leader in Alabama, made a clarion call and unimpassioned but most impressive appeal, according to those who heard him, at the courthouse here yesterday. Five hundred Democratic men and women representing all sections of Covington County, were urged to take their stand with the party of their fathers which party has proven its friendship to the South and which has been the only means of maintaining white supremacy in a section toward which the Republican party for 60 years has shown a manifest enmity and hostility.

The meeting was presided over by T. A. Goodwin of Florala, chairman of the county Democratic executive committee, who called the meeting to order and in behalf of the Democrats of Covington County, expressed his thanks to Mr. Carmichael for bringing to Covington County his appeal for the support of the national ticket.

Oscar M. Dugger, editor of The Andalusia Star, introduced Mr. Carmichael, who began his speech in a conversational tone and throughout his address of an hour and a half he trusted more to the power of reason, sound logic and unimpassioned appeal than to any of the tricks of the orator, according to those present at the meeting.

No Negro in Houston Convention

His hearers listened with rapt attention as he discussed first the proceedings at Houston in the great convention which nominated Smith. He described the train in which he traveled, the welcome that the delegates received in this great cotton marketing city. He then described the convention, the decorations and the flags, and then, with a flourish of hand and a pause to invite the closest attention, he said, "and there was not a negro in all that assembly." This statement was roundly applauded.

He discussed prohibition and reviewed his own party record as a Democrat and a prohibitionist.

Was Author of First Dry Law

"I was the author of the first prohibition law which gave Alabama statewide prohibition," said Mr. Carmichael. "I opposed Gov. O'Neal who ran on a platform to bring back the sale of liquor in Alabama and I knew that his election would mean the return of the saloon. But when he got the nomination in the primary, I gave him my support in the election," said Mr. Carmichael. "I went as your delegate to Houston and fought to get the nomination for some other standard bearer. But it was a hopeless and futile fight. Smith was finally nominated. He could have been as easily nominated the first day as he was the third day. But there was no hurry. Orderly procedure was had and Smith won the nomination by an overwhelming majority and as such nominee is justly entitled to the vote of every Democrat who participated in the presidential primary in Alabama," continued Mr. Carmichael.

He discussed prohibition, the power question and Catholicism. On the question of water power, he said there is no division in the Tennessee Valley. "We are practically all for Smith up there because of his stand on the development of Muscle Shoals," said Mr. Carmichael.

Points Out Danger

He discussed the negro question and gave his views as a lawyer upon the probable threat to the South that is contained in the 14th and 15th Amendments and then read Congressman Dyer's speech showing what he has in mind as a means of breaking the solid South passage by Congress of the United States of a law which will mean the enfranchisement of 100,000 negroes in Alabama.

He appealed to the voters not to stray away and join the enemies of the South. He pleaded for a continuation in power of the party which has maintained white supremacy in Alabama.

COURIER
CAMDEN, N. J.
OCT 13 1928

COLORED SMITH CLUB FORMS IN BURLINGTON

Burlington, Oct. 13.—A Smith for President Club was organized here last night among the colored men. Hans Froelicher, Jr., of Moorestown, one of the county Democratic leaders, effected the organization.

A street parade headed by a colored band from Philadelphia preceded the organization. This is the first time in the history of Burlington politics that a colored Democratic club has been organized.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

F. Q. MORTON ASSOCIATION ORGANIZED

THE OBJECTS AND PURPOSES OF THIS ASSOCIATION ARE THE FOLLOWING:

TO TEACH COLORED CITIZENS THE VALUE AND POTENCY OF THE BALLOT AND THE NECESSITY FOR ITS INTELLIGENT USE.

TO CREATE, PROMOTE AND MAINTAIN INTEREST IN THE USE OF THE SUFFRAGE.

TO CONVINCE AND PERSUADE COLORED CITIZENS, PARTICULARLY THOSE RESIDING IN HARLEM, THAT THE INTEREST AND WELFARE OF OUR COMMUNITY IMPERATIVELY REQUIRE THAT THOSE WHO ARE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE SHALL REGISTER AND ENROLL IN A POLITICAL PARTY. MORE PARTICULARLY TO CONVINCE AND PERSUADE THEM THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, BEING THE DOMINANT ONE IN NEW YORK CITY, OUR INTEREST AND WELFARE REQUIRE THAT THE MAJORITY OF COLORED VOTERS BE ENROLLED IN THAT PARTY TO THE END THAT WE MAY CONTROL THE PARTY MACHINE IN THOSE DISTRICTS WHERE THE COLORED POPULATION PREPONDERATES.

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THAT THE NAME OF THE ASSOCIATION SHALL BE THE F. Q. MORTON ASSOCIATION.

Local Democrats Form Strong Organization of, by, and for Negroes

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Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton, a member of the Municipal Civil Service Commission, addressed the group of nearly one hundred representative Negoes.

The keynote of the address by Mr. Morton was the necessity of colored people registering and enrolling in the Democratic Party in order that Negroes can control the dominant political party in Harlem. Out of approximately three hundred thousand colored people in Harlem, less than one-twelfth of them vote, and hardly one-third of that number are enrolled Democrats.

Mr. Morton said that Judge Olvany decided only recently that no longer should colored people be represented by a leader of their own selection, but instead by the white District Leader. This decision was made despite Judge Olvany's promises to continue the policy of his predecessors, Mr. Croker and Mr. Murphy, and recognize the leader selected by our group.

Negroes, however, should support the Democratic ticket despite this drastic decision, because the standard bearer of democracy, Governor Al. E. Smith, is the candidate of fair play and tolerance, Mr. Morton said. Intolerance, religious and racial hatred are the opponents of Governor Smith and Negroes should ally themselves against them.

This organization is not only political, but civic and its objects and purposes strike at the foundation of our society. The right to vote is one thing, but the right to say who to vote for is another. Only by controlling the political machinery in our community can we do this, and that only by enrollment in the Democratic Party.

Dr. Godfrey Nurse made a motion to name the organization the F. Q. Morton Association. He approved of the objects and purposes, and urged the support of Gov. Smith by money as well as votes.

Dr. Matthew V. Boutte, Temporary Chairman of the Committee on Organization, in urging the support of the Association, stated that our failure to support our Negro leaders was cause for our failure to get anywhere politically.

Dr. Louis T. Wright suggested the necessity for Negroes whole-heartedly supporting the organization, so that they might demand protection in their community. He said for the past five (5) years, the community has been deteriorating, and we have no means of correcting the evil. We must exercise our rights intelligently. Enroll as Democrats in large numbers and demand what you want.

Mr. Sol Riley stated that tho inexperienced in politics he saw the necessity for an organization such as this for the purpose of taking care of the needs of the community. He said, "Without Negro leadership you can expect no measure of success. White men will not recognize the qualifications and fitness of individuals, but those seeking personal gain will be chosen to represent us." Cooperate with each other, build up a united organization and with that strength you can demand what you need.

Attorney Charles E. Toney urged support of the organization financially and by individual efforts obtain members. Seek to have Negroes enroll as Democrats and on Primary Day go to the polls and elect your leaders.

Attorney William F. Andrews said that this organization was the awakening of the Negro to his potential power and strength. We have been in no better position than our Southern brother, he said, because we have not voted intelligently.

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Dr. E. P. Roberts in supporting the movement expressed a doubt as to the sincerity of Judge Olvany in making his decision. He believed that a mistake was made and suggested a committee of representative citizens wait on him and urge the continuance of the former policy of Tammany Hall. It is his belief that that request will be granted.

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One of the most interesting characters present and a most enthusiastic supporter of the movement was Chief Edward E. Lee, Founder of and First Leader of the United Colored Democracy.

Among those present in addition to the above speakers were: Dr. Paul A. Collins, Mr. H. G. Bragg, Dr. H. B. Delany Jr., Mr. Howard Bearden, Dr. Wiley M. Wilson, Mr. Elmer Carter, Mr. Elmer Sawyer, Attorney Ralph H. Mizelle, Mr. Charles Payne, Mr. Burgess Holland, Dr. Farrow Allen, Mr. John C. Carey, Mr. W. K. Saunders, Dr. Allen B. Graves, Mr. Melville Frazier, Dr. Edward Lowry, Mr. Clifford Collwood, Mr. J. F. Hill, Mr. Roger Griffin, Dr. Valentine Thomas, Mr. Leon B. Crutcher.

Several other persons present spoke in approval of the project and urged all Negroes who had their community and the welfare of colored people at heart to join this organization.

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The next meeting will be Friday, October 5, at 9:00 o'clock p. m. Everyone is welcome.

Political - 1928.

Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

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OBSERVER

Hoboken - N.J.

SEP 22 1928

COLORED DEMOCRATS SAID TO BE SULKING

That there is much disaffection among the Negro Democrats of the state, and that many of them in the next week or so will organize Hoover clubs, was reported today by friends of Counselor Robert S. Hartgrove, colored lawyer of Jersey City, and foe of Mayor Frank Hague. The lawyer is one of the most active and earnest supporters of Civil Service Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton of New York, who is credited with being the leading negro Democrat in the United States.

Commissioner Morton had charge of the negro end of the campaign for Davis in 1924 and gathered around him many able colored men, including former assistant Attorney-General William H. Lewis of Boston. He has been shelved for the Smith campaign. Negroes throughout the state are watching for the next move that Hartgrove will make politically.

Causes for the disaffection among the negro voters, it is reported, are several. Among them is the action of the Democratic National Committee under the leadership of Chairman John J. Raskob in locating the Colored Democratic Bureau in a loft building at 142 West Forty-sixth street, New York, instead of in the main office of the committee in the General Motors Building. To the negroes this looks like a sort of "Jim Crow" arrangement in line with the separation of white and negro at the Houston convention. Then there is feeling over the selection of William Gaston, a white Massachusetts Democrat, instead of Commissioner Morton, as the head of this bureau. Gaston is said to be surrounding himself with colored assistants of a type that is not liked by the better element, Hartgrove's friends here say.

The action of Chairman Raskob in selecting Gaston and approving his policy in conducting the campaign among the colored voters of the country, it is reported, is the idea in the main of Judge George W. Olvaney, Tammany leader; Mayor Hague, John J. Hoey and Senator Pat Harrison, who have backed up Raskob. They believe that more can be gained by catering to the southern Democrats, who do not like to see colored voters active in politics, than b yconsidering the feelings of the millions of colored voters in the north. The disaffected negroes, it is claimed, will vote for Hoover and the Democratic National Committee in the nation or Mayor Hague in New Jersey will be powerless to stem the tide to Hoover, the disgruntled ones say.

GAZETTE

Charleston, W. Va.

SEP 16 1928

Beckley Negro Voters Form Al Smith Club

(Special to The Gazette)

BECKLEY, Sept. 15.—The "Smith For Presidnet Colored Club" was organized here last week by a large and enthusiastic gathering. At the initial meeting 175 charter members were enrolled who unanimously expressed their faith in the election of the Democratic Presidential candidate. An interesting program was provided and the following officers were elected:

Dr. P. E. Pannell, chairman; Roy CVlemens, vice-chairman; Prof. J. Q. Jefferson, secretary; Julian Norris, treasurer; S. N. Nichols, assistant secretary.

The following were chosen as the campaign committee: Boyd James, J. Phoenix, A. Goins, James Cox, Thomas R. Brown, E. D. Burgess, R. D. Pierce, John Smith, Ludy Duff, Sam Ethridge and Baxton Dun.

Reverend T. C. Glashen was elected chairman of the speakers' bureau of the club.

It was decided to hold the next meeting Monday night, September 17, at 8:30 o'clock at the Pioneer Realty Building.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
Thursday, September 20, 1928

NEGROES FOR AL, BOLTER ASSERTS

Alexander and Mrs. Armor Fulminate Against Smith

TAMMANY HALL BELABORED

An estimated audience of 2,000 persons in the municipal auditorium last night heard Gov. Al Smith, the "present" Democratic party, Tammany hall and liquor, all affiliated, it was said, sweepingly denounced. With that the state convention of so-called Hoover-Democrats came to a close.

The speakers were Hooper Alexander, recently nominated for the state legislature on the Democratic ticket, and Mrs. Mary Harris Armor, W. C. T. U. lecturer.

Tammany Hall and "the political manipulators of Al Smith," according to Mr. Alexander, "have secured the Catholic vote, and are now seeking the Negro vote. And I think they have succeeded."

"You'll find out before this thing is over, that every Negro in the United States will vote for Al Smith," was the "indictment."

The anti-Smith rally, an outgrowth of the day sessions which saw the formulation of "the Anti-Smith Democratic Party of Georgia," was held at the municipal auditorium. Barry Wright, attorney of Rome, Ga., and permanent chairman of the new party, presided, assisted by R. F. Burden and R. L. McKenney, of Macon.

Won't Attack Church, But—

After the song, The Tammany Cat, by Mrs. A. B. Cunyus, musical director of the state W. C. T. U., an introduction of Mr. Wright by Mr. Burden, Mr. Alexander was presented.

The latter declared the "propaganda" relative to the "failure of the prohibition law," "influenced by Al Smith," is "in violation of his oath of office."

He continued into a discussion of the "manipulations of Tammany Hall, which now controls the Democratic party," the Roman Catholic church and "liquor" newspapers.

"I have never undertaken to attack the Roman church," he began, "and I am not going to tonight. But I want to tell you a few facts.

"The Roman Catholic never departs from an announced doctrine, and the cardinal principle of the church is that the Pope is entitled to temporal power.

"While most people now know that the temporal rule of the Pope is impossible, the illiterate masses of New York believe it."

Quotes Mayor Walker

Mr. Alexander charged Mayor James Walker, of New York with declaring "that if Al Smith is elected he will take his orders from Rome," at a meeting June 4. Later his reference was worded: "Jimmie Walker said that he hoped to God if Al Smith was elected he will take his orders from the Pope of Rome." The quotation, he said, appeared in the New York press.

"Tammany Hall and "political manipulators" hold out "political and social equality" to the Negroes,(according to Mr. Alexander. Later he declared "they are succeeding" in getting the Negro vote, but that the Negroes are being fooled.

Mr. Alexander referred to Governor Smith's stand on prohibition as "infamous," and that his telegram to the Houston convention accepting the nomination for the presidency "violates a sacred pledge of the convention." The Democratic party has been made the "laughing stock of the world," he said.

He charged John J. Raskob, chairman of the Democratic national committee, with "attempting to starve the ministers of the South by asking the congregations to withhold their support," and cited it as an "example of Raskob's idea of religious freedom."

Can't Understand Loyalty

Mr. Alexander throughout paid his respects to the press, declaring that "newspapers not only suppress the facts, but distorting them." In closing, he said he "could not understand" both Senator Harris and Senator George "abandoning the people at this time." The speaker was given thunderous applause.

Mrs. Armor confined her discussion to the "wetness" of Governor Smith and the "rottenness" of Tammany Hall.

With reference to the Democratic nominee, Mrs. Armor declared that "if he doesn't get drunk, I don't see why not, unless he has anything up here (she tapped her head) to get drunk on." She added that "he takes seven or eight drinks a day."

"I am here on business for my King," Mrs. Amor opened.

"Put Decent Man In"

"We never had to apologize for Grover Cleveland; we never had to apologize for Woodrow Wilson; and we'll never have to apologive for Alfred Smith," she declared.

She asked the audience "to dig up every decent man or woman and get them to think Hoover, pray Hoover, speak Hoover . . . and put a decent man in the White House."

"Charlie" Curtis, she said, is dry in principle and act, "while Joe Robinson is willing to be the fish-bait for Al Smith."

Tammany Hall drew a lengthy denunciation. She closed her attack with: "I, a lady, would not tell to an assembly of women alone the dirty things I know about Tammany Hall." She appealed to "kill the Tammany Tiger."

Getting Out of Party

"Vote for Hoover, if you want to; vote for Al Smith if you want to, but you'll have to answer to God Almighty for it."

Mrs. Armor was given an ovation. Applause was enthusiastic throughout.

In a brief introductory address, Mr. Wright repeated his remarks of the earlier sessions relative to The Macon Telegraph, The Atlanta Constitution and ex-Senator Thomas W. Hardwick "owning the Democratic party."

"One thing is certain," he added, "if the Demorcratic party is owned by The Atlanta Constitution, The Macon Telegraph and Tom Hardwick, the quicker we get out of it and into another party, the better off we'll be."

Millen, Ga., News
Thursday, August 30, 1928

New York Times

That the Democratic anti-Smith movement in the South may make the question of negro voting more acute than for years in indicated by the activity of Texas negroes in trying to find a way in which to obtain political privileges. The theory behind Democratic white solidarity in the Southern states has always been the necessity of opening no space for the wedge of negro voting. Now that the "solid South" is threatened by Bishop Cannon and his associates, many negroes naturally see a possible opportunity to gain support in their desire to participate in primaries and elections.

The Texas negroes asked for an injunction against the Democratic Party committees so that they might vote in the Democratic primaries. They had been barred by the committee under private powers (which the court sustained) to fix the qualifications for party membership. The court agreed that the committee is in no sense a government agency, and that the Texas statute conferring upon it the right to make memmership qualifications is unsound. But as a political agency its rights are clear, thought the court, and, even though the negroes promised to abide by the decision of the primary and support Democratic nominees. the opinion sustained the act of the committee in barring them from participation.

This is one of the devices whereby negroes are stopped at the first barrier, and it is a very effective barrier, because Democratic primaries in states like Texas are virtually elections, since a primary certificate is usually equivalent to election itself. State literacy statutes and other tests effectively prevent most negroes from voting in the South, but after the primary is seld without them the right to vote is of little value. That is why they addressed themselves to the primary. This election, however, is national, and if negroes could obtain the vote and support the Republicans, they could easily carry several Southern states. They are looking more and more to the evangelical clergymen and laymen, and to the militant drys, to help them in getting to the polls, since there would be no more effective way to defeat Governor Smith than to carry Southern states for Mr. Hoover.

The probability is—and that is what is behind much of the confidence in Southern Democratic victory expressed at headquarters here by Senator Harrison, of Mississippi—that the rising negro activity will bring out a large white vote and checkmate any possible danger. However, the fifteenth amendment may be in for a real test in the next few years.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

A QUEER SOUTHERN ALLIANCE.

Postmaster General Harry S. New has informed the Brookhart Senate Committee that an impartial investigation made by his department has revealed an alliance between white Democrats and colored Republicans of the South who have a common interest in bartering Federal offices.

One Postmaster, one white Democrat, was discharged for helping a colored Republican fleece an applicant for the job of rural carrier. All would have gone well had the applicant passed the Civil Service test. But he failed and then demanded back his $350. Prominent Democrats sought the reinstatement of the Georgia Postmaster, described as a "good Democrat." But Mr. New told members of the Committee: "I saw no difference between the white man with the halo of respectability and the Negro—a poor farmer."

Secretary New presented a list of Post Office appointments in Georgia to show that sixty-two per cent. were made after consultation with Democratic members of Congress.

It is a common talk that some sort of a working agreement existed between Senator Pat Harrison and Perry W. Howard, Negro Republican National Committeeman, in which the Senior Senator from Mississippi enjoys the prerogative of selecting Postmasters in Mississippi with the sanction of Howard.

As Postmaster New frankly told Chairman Brookhart and colleagues, both parties in the South have been guilty of assessing Federal office holders on one pretext or another. And he might have added that despite all we hear in the North about fiery race-hating Southern politicians, they are not so anti-Negroid and prejudiced behind closed doors and when political plums are in sight.

The Age does not condone the bartering of public office and gladly welcomes the present investigation. But we take exception to the zeal displayed by the Attorney General's office at Washington in directing most of its attention to Georgia and Mississippi where Negroes dominate the Republican Party. Texas, South Carolina, Florida and other Southern States where white men are National Committeemen are not above reproach and suspicion.

As is usually the case, in these sporadic waves of moral and political reform it is the Negro race which gets much of the undesirable publicity. If the Brookhart Committee and the Attorney General's Office are bent on getting the truth, they should such permit fair-minded men as Secretary New tell all they know. We venture to predict that the valuable information secured will show that both white and colored, Republicans and Democrats, are guilty of many of the practices complained of in the South and are tarred with the same stick.

A QUIET AFTERMATH

SINCE the adjournment of the national conventions of the two major political parties, things are as quiet and as free of dissention as a picnic of the descendants of Erin's Isle or an initiation on a Saturday night by the Sons and Daughters of the Rising Moon. Nothing much seems to have happened or is happening. Radio broadcasting stations have been released from the strangle-hold of political high-binders as well as spell-binders and restored to the catch-as-catch-can embraces of jazz, light and airy gibberish, and static.

All is quiet except that Mrs. Clem, recalcitrant, vocal and rebellious, has walked out of feminine democracy and, like Lucifer, dragged many of the angels with her to dry land. Mr. Clem Shavers, internationally known incidentally as the ex-chairman was so embarrassed by the deflection of his spouse that he too was forced to retire from the limelight into the twilight between suns, and because of sundry requests of wrathful wet sons of Soottocracy.

Josephus, like the Daniels that he is, dares to take a stand in the Tiger's den, unafraid. McAdoo has donned the silencer, the Bishop's Cannon seems to have been spiked. He still struggles to keep his powder dry in a wet cause. Senator Jim, a reed shaken by the wind plumb out of the presidential plum tree, still breathes imprecations against the elephant. Carter Glass has returned to Virginia and his gas-blowing.

Upshaw, unable to upset the donkey, subsides. Heflin hides out. Senator Simmons of the Tar Heel state, who made signs before he could talk, ditto's on the dotted line. Blease for once, ceases to bleat.

Al has resumed his petting of the Boy Scouts and patronage of the newsboys in the hope they will be old enough to vote by the time a United (?) democracy unites. Blind Senator Gore is busy writing the campaign literature of his party in which will be included postscripts to his famous "Kissing in the Dark" epic at Houston and in which he will show, though blind, how southern democrats, for centuries, have been forcibly kissing dusky women in the dark and why they yet persist in it. Democracy was fully demonstrated when the Afro-Americans were made the caged favorites at Houston.

Burnished republican delegates at Kansas City, with the "you first my dear Alphonso" air, obligingly boot each other out to make room for lily whites. The Chicago Tribune, besoaked and besotted by contact with wet bed-fellows, shouts with liquored breath for Al, while endeavoring to make its wobbly, unsteady legs pilot itself aboard the dry republican band wagon. Nicholas Murray buts his soaked high brow against Borah's dry plank, only to discover that he is a goat on the horns of a political dilema for his pains.

The quiet, however, is only the calm before the stormy campaign of the early fall.

News-Gazette
Thursday, July 12, 1928

EDITORIALLY SPEAKING

"You expressed my position exactly in your statement last week about supporting Al Smith as the head of the Democratic ticket for president. I do not agree with him on the prohibition question and I wish he was a protestant but I cannot swallow Ben Davis, the negro boss of the Republican party in Georgia." Thus spoke a citizen of Lamar county and he represents many another citizen perhaps in the present campaign. If there was a respectable Republican party in Georgia and the south the situation would be entirely different but as long as the Republican party ignores the white people of the south and caters to the negroes there will be few white people voting the Republican ticket.

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"Stop my paper. I don't want no paper that advocates Al Smith," and this is the reaction of another citizen, equally entitled to his opinion and of exercising his pleasure in the matter of casting his vote. In the beginning of the campaign it is just as well for everybody to recognize the rights of others in choosing their own course and following it to the end. The choosing, however, should be without prejudice, intolerance and after a fair consideration of all the facts obtainable. Grant to other people the same right you ask for yourself.

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Al Smith is a catholic, and so is Senator Curtis, the republican candidate for vice president, or he has been, and Hoover, the republican candidate for president, was married by a catholic priest. So that's that whatever that is.

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If the old saying that a "bad beginning makes a good ending" this year will have to get a real hustle on it, particularly for the farmers, as they have had an unusually bad time of it so far. Of course, it can so end and it is worth hoping and working that it may.

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Senator Walter F. George made a good impression on the country through his candidacy for the democratic nomination for president and all Georgians have reason to be proud of the vote he obtained at the Houston convention.

The Political Complex of the South

The brightest minds of the South admit that one-party government is the chief handicap in the development of the South's resources, industrially, economically and commercially—that if the South could free itself from the state of moral cowardice and intellectual slavery it has fallen into, as a legacy from slavery, in fifty years, the hub of business in this country would switch from the North to the South.

There is no greater check on development and businesss, or the natural resources of a country, than political and economic slavery. In that country or section of country where two parties exist and all the people are permitted to think and act according to the dictations of their conscience without fear of molestation from any source that country or section is richest in wealth—material and immaterial.

It is the common consensus of opinion in every section of our country that two-party government is better than one-party government. The best men and journals in the South confess it, but neither of them have the moral courage to move in that direction. When the South is asked why it does not free itself from the body of death that retards its progress and development, it invariably answers, "The Negro is the Jonah. What the South needs is two white political parties." This answer is both unfair and dishonest. The Negro is not the complex. The complex is the South's unwillingness to give the Negro a square deal—to give him a man's chance in the struggle for the top.

The crux of this question is, the white man's prejudice. Two parties would grow in the South and act as a check one upon the other, as they do in every other section of this country, if the white man had enough faith in his own ability to survive in the struggle of the fittest under the constitution.

Two political parties in the South is an economic necessity, and it is the white man in the way of their development and growth and not the Negro. If the Negro was permitted to exercise the ballot in the South, without fear of bodily harm, he would build up an opposition party in the South that would have to be reckoned with in the making of government policies.

If the personnel of two parties in the South must be white, why don't the white people divide into two parties as they do in Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Nevada and Arizona? There are more white people in Georgia than there are in either group of states.

No, it is not a question of principle, but one of race prejudice. And political questions, like all other questions, must be settled right, if settled at all, or they will not be settled when you think you have them settled. If you do not settle them right they will up like "Banquo's Ghost" to plague you.

If the Southern white man is waiting for the day to come when he can have two white parties in the South and the Negro is as completely excluded from participation in parties as he is now excluded by the white primary, he'll wait always. He'll wait until Judgment Day—such a day will never come, and he had just as well continue to throw principle overboard and line up on racial lines.

Government should be as clean of race prejudice as it is of religious prejudice. Neither of these spirits of bigotry and intolerance should be permitted to pollute the springs of free government.

The inexhaustible resources of the South will never be developed if their development depends upon race parties, and the South will continue to grow poorer and poorer in wealth, intelligence and statesmanship.

Talk is not going to bring the millennium about —nothing but the confession of our sins and a policy of equal and exact justice to all and special privileges to none will do the job.

The milk in the coconut is the South's prejudice and not the Negro's presence. An awakened conscience some day is going to rise up in the South and free the Negro from political bondage and economic slavery. It is just as true now in politics as it was in slavery, when Lincoln said, "This government can not long endure, half free and half slave." Freedom must in the fitness of things come to all of the people or we all will die slaves and the principles of free government perish from the face of the earth.

The truth of this two-party proposition is no new philosophy. It is the same old story of the unwillingness of a part of the people to give the other part of the people the rights and privileges under the law they arrogate unto themselves—and there lies the ever-present crux. And until the South learns and practices the principles of the Golden Rule, her resources will remain undeveloped, her schools in poverty and her people bringing up the rear of the material progress of America.

Political - 1928.

Party Affiliation.

General

Is the Bolt a Real Bolt?

The South is unusually and unnecessarily alarmed in apprehension of an organized bolt from the Democratic ticket in November. We do not believe that the bolt is any more than skin deep—and will soon adjust itself without serious deflection from either party.

The South is as solidly Democratic as the Negro is Republican, and has no more reason to remain solid than the Negro has to vote the Democratic ticket as long as the Democratic party stands for race hatred and political intolerance.

Upon the surface there is a threatening volcano in the body pent up that is likely to erupt any moment; but the alarmists have not taken into consideration the one fundamental, that the South's race prejudice and political intolerance are much stronger than its wisdom and statesmanship; and when these two forces engage in conflict one against the other, wisdom usually yields to prejudice.

The bolt is largely imaginary and propagated to mislead and divert the attention of the people from the real issue.

Before the conventions you could near nothing except an uprising in the corn belt against the Republican party, and if the Republicans nominated Hoover the Middlewest would go over, body and boots, to the Democratic party.

The Republican party did that very thing, and you hear nothing of a bolt in the corn belt or a deflection of Republicans from the Republican party to the Democratic party.

Since the conventions the bolting talk has been most turbulent in "Dixie," but, as it did in the Middlewest, it will soon adjust itself and on election day the Republicans will carry the Middlewest by their usual majorities.

The causes underlying the unrest in the West are quite different from the causes underlying the unrest in the South. The causes in the West are purely economic, but the causes in the South are racial and intolerance. When better crops and better prices for farm products are in sight, the West has no further troubles and soon settles down to normalcy.

But the South has its ever home-made race problem. It is not a question of abundant crops, better prices for farm produce or a living wage for labor, but how can we keep the Negro from voting and how can we starve him by shuting every door of gainful employment in his face? How can we keep him out of office and disfranchise him or reduce him to a peon or serf?

You cannot take the South at its word; hence the bolt is not dangerous, and the demagogues who preach white supremacy to frighten men from voting according to their consciences know it. "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak, and in the struggle for the mastery of the man the flesh usually overcomes."

The South, like Ephram of old, on election day will be found joined to its idols. Then the South is afflicted with a press that is not intelligent enough to differentiate between a principle of government and a Negro's rights.

In spite of all the bolt talk you hear now, on election day you will find the South at Tammany Hall's table voting for rum, Romanism, Tammany graft and unrestricted immigration. If great churchmen like Bishop Candler straddle the fence on a moral question, what can you expect of the average "cracker" who loves his yard dog better than he does a Negro?

The South makes no appeal to reason, but to race prejudice, religious bigotry and political intolerance. White supremacy is the merest rot, but the common weapon of the Southern politician and demagogue.

Much of the daily press in the South is a disgrace to Christian civilization and we wonder how long the white people in Dixie will be held in moral cowardice and intellectual slavery by the squeak of the blanton demagogue, who tells them that the paramount issue in the impending campaign is white supremacy. That if they vote for Hoover they'll have Negro postmasters, judges and complete Negro domination. We wonder if there is a white person in Georgia fool enough to believe such infamous nonsense?

At present there is not a federal officeholder in the state of color above clerk carrier in the post office, not a single Negro employee in the department of justice, revenue or customs service above a janitor; in the state service not a Negro employee above a porter, at the state capitol or county court house. In our city government Negroes are not allowed to drive a trash cart or motor vehicles belonging to the city. What more supreme white supremacy can be than is today? Georgia has had less than a half a dozen postmasters in fifty years and not a single presidential appointment in the federal service since McKinley's day, 32 years ago.

Yet the Atlanta Constitution, Macon Telegraph and a little branch of country weeklies bleat every day if you vote for Hoover you'll overthrow white supremacy and set up Negro domination to plague and insult our women.

The demagogue who preaches this inflammatory rot is an undesirable citizen, and a fit subject for the mad-house, and the poor, misguided creatures who believe it are to be pitied and ought to have a guardian.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TO WIN

The two major political parties have selected their strongest men for the presidential campaign this campaign year. Each side is apparently as well satisfied with its selection as it could be. These are two strong but different personalities opposing each other. There are also two platforms vaguely worded on the questions that absorb public interest, and thousands of suggestions as to why one or the other should be defeated. Notification ceremonies will take the center of the stage in the month of August and then, perhaps, one will hear something about why one or the other should be elected. The difficulty has been to develop an issue and it looks now as though the Republicans must depend on the personality of their candidate. Truly, the Republicans have a record of unprecedented prosperity and the Democrats have a candidate of unprecedented personality. It is true also that the record of Mr. Hoover for service has no parallel; with him the knack of getting things done amounts almost to a habit and the range of his services covers a field of national and international achievement. The record of Mr. Smith, while it does not cover such a variety of activities, is an intensely interesting one and cannot be gainsaid. Stripped of the uncertainty of the feeling that might arise from agitation of the prohibition question or other would-be issues trying to get started, there is a record of achievement by the individual and a record of achievement by the party to be selected, on the one hand, and the record of achievement by the individual and a record of party failures on the other hand to be selected by the American voter. The hard-headed man of means and affairs will ponder well before doing anything to affect a change and jeopardize his business interests. Whether he is a Democrat or a Republican personalities mean but little as compared with records for success.

There are thousands who feel that a candidate's attitude toward the prohibition question is a sufficient guarantee for national popularity because to them, it appears that prohibition is nationally unpopular. There are other thousands who for different other reasons have attitudes unusual to themselves and who find themselves watching for an opportunity or the issue of some controlling sentiment on which to make up their minds. Then, there is the growing weakness of the Democratic party since the World War as shown by the results of the 1920 and 1924 elections. Whether the small electoral vote was a result of the weakness of the candidates or of dissatisfaction with the party's management of the government is not so much a question when it is remembered that the standard bearers each had as much to their credit in the way of personality and record for service as the party's present candidate.

Remembering, too, that the Republican party in the 1924 campaign had a third party split and a dynamic progressive wing, and that the party carried the country with the exception of the ten states known as the Solid South and one other state in 1920 and the Solid South and two other states in 1924, its chances for success in this campaign are emphasized by its united strength and its opponent's divided weakness. So far the eastern States, nominally Republican strongholds, are refusing to get excited about agricultural measures for relief, believing that they have a chance to get a better law. The state of New York also is nationally Republican and has fallen into the Democratic column in recent national campaign years only when there was a split in the Republicans.

Mr. Smith's fighting chance to win must appear only when he turns the trick of the country and adds New York to the already conceded Solid South, if the Solid South may be still conceded. Following this feat, he must bag at least the border states and take a good slice of New England and something in the West that has not been in the Democratic column, at least, since before the war.

The assumption that large cities will materially increase the chances of the Democratic candidate is more of a feeling or a hope expressed for psychological effect on the urban population by those large dailies supporting the Democratic candidate. If the assumption carries the inference that large cities may hope to continue to defy the prohibition regulations and increase the traffic, it may be remembered that there is more organized opposition to the traffic in wines in large cities than elsewhere and that the hope of pandering to the vanity of the urban population will likely be offset by industrial considerations influenced by large financial interests.

The 114 electoral votes of the Solid South with the addition of the border states and the state of New York would leave their Democrats yet the task of winning several normal Republican states in a year when party solidarity in the Republican ranks is firmer than it has been for years and the division in the Democratic ranks is threatened in territory that has never been in dispute. The Republican party therefore will be continued in power except the Democrats perform a political miracle, the like of which has not been performed in many, many years.

Political - 1928.

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Essential Party Differences

AN EDITORIAL

ASK THE AVERAGE MAN what is the essential difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties, and he will say, "The Republicans are the party of big business and the Democrats are the party of the common men." Another will tell you that the Republicans are for a high tariff and the Democrats are for a low tariff. The average Negro, of course, will say that the Republicans freed the Negro from slavery and the Democrats tried to keep him in slavery.

ALL THESE REPLIES are true enough, but they give results rather than causes. They do not touch the essential difference, the line of cleavage that separated these parties before either of them was known by its present name. The Republican party, as such, was born in 1856, with John C. Fremont as its candidate, and dedicated to the destruction of slavery. But the elements of which it was composed, the Whigs, Free-Soilers and Federalists, date from the beginning of the nation. The Democratic party became associated with the perpetuation of slavery, but it had its real beginning in the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

THAT CONVENTION met to draw up a constitution for the new nation which had just won its freedom from England. The Revolutionary War, ending in 1783, had left the country a group of states scattered along the Atlantic seaboard, with different and often conflicting interests, customs and ambitions. They had nothing in common except the fact that they had banded together against England, and when the danger was over they separated again. The Articles of Confederation, under which they had been united during the Revolution, were not strong enough to hold them together. Thus there was no central power.

CONGRESS had no power to compel obedience: in case of war it could only ask the states to furnish troops, which the states would do only if they felt like it. Congress could not even raise money by taxation; any state with impunity could refuse to contribute money to the Government. There was no central law or authority. Thus the financial credit of the nation sank to nothing; the Continental, as the Government dollar was called, was worth two and a half cents. That is the origin of the expression "Not worth a Continental."

IN MASSACHUSETTS a thousand veterans of the Revolution, angered because the money paid them was worth nothing, and seeing their farms and cattle taken away to satisfy debts, formed an army under the leadership of Daniel Shay and drove the judges out of the court houses. This rebellion, which was finally put down, so alarmed Washington and other leaders that they decided to convene at Philadelphia and organize a government that would save the country from chaos.

AT THIS CONVENTION arose the questions that agitate the nation to this day. More than once the meeting was on the point of breaking up, and delegates had put on their hats to go home. The first and greatest fight that came up was over the question of sovereignty. Which was to be the stronger, the Federal Government or the state governments? The delegates from South Carolina contended that men from a distant state like Massachusetts could not make laws governing South Carolina, and vice versa. Washington, who presided, was worried at their implacable attitude, and it looked as if there were to be no United States. But after long wrangling the decision was made that in all things pertaining to the nation as a whole the central power should be supreme, and that the states should be allowed to govern their local affairs. But no state was to pass a law, even in its own affairs, that contradicted the Federal law. For instance, New York cannot have a law forbidding women to vote in New York City elections, for the federal law gives women the right to vote in all elections.

THAT WAS THE REAL BEGINNING of the Republican party—the necessity for a strong central government. The struggle, however, was not ended, and it is not ended today. The trouble came when the Government tried to apply that provision of the Constitution. Some states complained when their private interests were hurt by laws passed for the good of the whole nation.

WHEN THE FIRST TARIFF BILL was passed in 1861 to protect American manufacturers from ruinous European competition, the South objected bitterly. As the South had slave labor, it could produce goods as cheaply as Europe, which gave it a great advantage over the North, and enabled it to deal profitably with Europe. The passing of the tariff bill meant that the South, along with the rest of the nation, would have to pay higher prices for European goods and thus lose its trading advantage. South Carolina refused to let the customs officers collect the tariff, and openly nullified the tariff bill. Andrew Jackson, then President, threatened to send troops to South Carolina and hang John C. Calhoun, the leader, higher than Haman. South Carolina said she would secede from the Union, that any state had the right to leave a Union whose laws were unjust and oppressive to her. That was the famous doctrine of states' rights, to which the Democratic party has adhered ever since.

THE STATES' RIGHTS DOCTRINE, having its economic roots in slavery, naturally came to stand for the defense and perpetuation of slavery, and the Democratic party was, of course, the pro-slavery party. After slavery was abolished the Democratic party clung to its old creed, and it still argues for states' rights. The more power the states have, the more chance will the South have to work its will in local affairs, especially with regard to the Negro. If the question of peonage, for instance, were left to the states instead of the Federal power, the victims of peonage would have no redress.

THUS, coming down through American history, we see the essential difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties. The Republicans hold to the idea of a strong central government as a necessary condition for national unity and stability; the Democrats want strong state governments with ever lessening responsibility to the central government. The Democrats want liberty; the Republicans, in the words of Daniel Webster, want liberty and union, now and forever.

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Political - 928 General

Party Affiliation.

AGAINST NEGRO DOMINATION

Webber Wilson's political courage and conviction led him to lead the fight in Congress against the domination of political patronage in Mississippi by a group of negroes. While others stood silent over this outrage, Webber Wilson took the floor of the House and delivered an indictment against the corruption in Federal patronage in Mississippi that brought consternation into the ranks of those negro republican leaders who, Wilson charged, have sold offices in Mississippi "like bales of cotton upon the open market."

Another outstanding work of Webber Wilson in Congress was his bill to prohibit obscene magazines from using the mails or other means of transportation in getting their lewd and lascivious publications distributed.

This fight brought Wilson the support of thousands of women's clubs throughout the United States, and especially in Mississippi.

One of the statements in his speech in Congress on this matter shows the high ideals for which he stands and for which he fights:

"Preachers have preached against this great evil, and have preached well; the good people have prayed against it, and have prayed with fervor; writers have written against the curs, and there has ben logic in their sentences; and some have even wept before the altar, and their tears have been sincere. But, gentlemen, the day has come when we should do something more than preach or weep. The tears and the arguments and the agitations should be crystallized into effective legislative action, and the iron hand of the law should take hold of this great evil and throttle it and hurl it back into hell whence it came. This deadly incubus has been hovering over our country for a long time. Like the upas tree, it has been breathing forth the breath of moral death and carrying in concentration the soul-destroying essence of hell itself.

"Let us start this movement to preserve and to protect the highest and best interests of our people by setting up this national board of magazine censorship, and then let those in authority on the board drive from our Christian land every salacious, indecent magazine, even as Jesus drove from His Father's houses those who sought to defile it."

Party Authority and Regularity the Only Issue Involved

There is but one issue involved in the settlement of the selection of the National Committeeman in Georgia, and that one issue is, whether the delegates elected and instructed to the National Convention to vote for a certain nominee have the right to disregard their instructions, and vote independently of the expressed wishes of their constituents who selected them, for a consideration, or otherwise.

First. If the people are supreme, and the state sovereign, the delegates are the chosen representatives of the state and the people and are bound to carry out the expressed will of the people at the time of their election.

Second. But, if the delegates are greater than the people who created and instructed them to carry out their expressed wishes, then the delegates have a perfect right to disregard their instructions, and vote as they please, for a consideration, or otherwise.

Independent 6-28-28

The rules of the National Convention, at the time of the selection of the delegates from our state to the National Convention, provided, "If nominations be not made in accordance with law, instructions by State and District Conventions to delegates to the National Convention shall be obeyed and if not obeyed, may be made operative by a vote of the National Convention."

Athens, Ga.

Now, if this rule means anything, it means that delegates when instructed to vote for a certain person for national committeeman, they must obey these instructions, and if they do not obey, then it is the duty of the National Convention to make the instructions operative.

The facts in the Georgia case are as follows: At the State convention the delegates and alternates were instructed unequivocably and unanimously to vote for B. J. Davis, for National Committeeman, and Mrs. Sarah Watson King, for National Committeewoman. These instructions were voted unanimously, with two exceptions—Clark Grier, of Washington, D. C., and J. L. Grant, of McIntosh County, voting no.

In eleven of the twelve districts, instructions, or endorsements, and in a majority of the districts specific instructions, were voted instructing the delegates and alternates to vote for B. J. Davis for National Committeeman at the National Convention in Kansas City, June 12, 1928. These instructions were binding, and the delegates had no discretion in the matter but to carry out the will of the people, as expressed at the time of their election. They were bound in spite of their own personal dislike of the nominee, or any other consideration that may have been offered them to vote contrarywise. So, the only question for the National Committee to decide, is, whether party integrity and party authority shall be maintained, or whether insurgency and corruption shall dominate the Republican Party in America.

If the National Committee licenses delegates to do as they please, and violate their instructions by deciding the Georgia and Wisconsin cases against the regulars, they will let down the gap for all kinds of corruption, duplicity, and double-dealing in future conventions. If a state instructs its delegates to support a certain candidate for President, National Committeeman, or otherwise, and the Committee, under its rules, does not compel those who are inclined to disregard the expressed wishes of their constituents to follow their instructions, they will open up the greatest flood gate for corruption imaginable. The mercernaries would accept money from one candidate, or his friends under instructions, and would go to the national convention, to which they had been elected, and disregard their instructions by selling out to the highest bidder. Thus, it would be impossible to maintain any kind of ethics in the selection of delegates.

In the case of Georgia, nothing has been discovered since the delegates were elected and instructed for National Committeeman that in any way affects the character, or usefulness of the nominee. When the insurgents' move first started against the party nominee, it was based entirely upon a money consideration. It was argued by the leaders that the National Committeeman had received certain sums of money, and had not divided it among the boys, but when it was disclosed that he had not received any great sum, they began other tactics, even charging that the National Committeeman was responsible for the suicide at Douglas, Ga., and that the organization in the state was corrupt, and that the delegates, though instructed, had become righteously indignant, and decided that the best interest of the Party was to join the Democrats in their efforts to put out the present National Cmmitteeman; put in a white man, if they could; and, if not, put in a Negro who would take his orders from a white man, and who would have no voice of his own.

But all of this is collateral, and is not germain to the issue. The issue is clear-cut and clean—one of party integrity, authority, and regularity. Are the people, themselves, supreme, or are their chosen representatives supreme. Has a delegate, elected by the people, the right to set aside the people's exprssed will, and do as he pleases for money, or otherwise We believe, as Senator Lodge ruled in the 1920 Convention, that the state is sovereign, and when their will is expressed, their representatives must carry it out. We believe, as the rules for the election of a National Committeeman provide, that when delegates are instructed, they shall carry out their instructions, and if they refuse to obey them, that the convention itself, may vote them operative.

DUBLIN
GA.
ISSUE OF
JUN 8 - 1928

A REAL DISTINCTION

The old controversy about the South setting aside the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments and New oYrk nullifying the Eighteenth amendment is trumped up again and again by the wets as a sweet morsel.

This has been answered both by Senator Glass ,of Virginia, and Senator George, of Georgia. As a matter of fact, the especial object of attack is the white primary in the Southern States, where none but Democrats are supposed to vote and where, as a rule, the negro vote is conspicuously absent.

The Supreme Court of the United States, as we understand it, has reviewed this particular point and has decided that the states have the right to make their own regulations and to provide their own primaries. The State Supreme Court has also reviewed the prohibition law and declared it the law of the land, and of course ought to be respected.

It seems to us that there is a great difference in the two positions. The South in recent presidential primaries has declared for prohibition; that is, has elected delegates in favor of a dry candidate. This includes the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas. The preferential elections have left no doubt about this; in other words, as The Savannah Press said some time ago, "The South stands for certain things and means what it says."

The retort has been made in answer to the verdict of the South that the states of this section have nullified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, while they are hostile to the state which has nullified the Eighteenth. One short-sighted pape rin Georgia has asked the question: "Are they less sacred than the Eighteenth?"

This has been answered very fully by various democratic states. The South stands for the la wof the aind, it is unnecessary to enumerate the other things it stands for. This is one principle it seems for which the South stands in spite of the efforts of certain opponents of prohibition to make it appear otherwise.—Savannah Press.

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Independent
6-28-28
Atlanta, Ga.

DUBLIN
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Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

General.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN NOVEMBER

Perhaps, it is not necessary to wait to see what the Democratic platform will be to make sound predictions of Republican success. The Republican platform is written. Its candidates are selected with a view to giving assurance that the planks are firm and its sentiment is genuine.

The Democratic platform cannot raise a vital issue not already disposed of. The name of Hoover has stood for fair, honest and efficient administration for the past decade.

Reporter

There is a record of achievement behind the man and a record of achievement behind the administration to which he will succeed if elected. There are unchallenged records of progress in internal improvement, conservation of national resources, commercial, industrial and financial expansion. These are the basic effects of administrative accomplishments. They largely eliminate the element of chance in the succession of government policies when the policies have been successful.

6-30-28

An administration that had carried these policies to success must find itself in the favor of citizens of all parties whatever their differences on less important issues might be. And the probability of making a good thing worse by a change of policies is always increased in the minds of those whose profits are based on these policies and whose experiences have taught them the expensive lessons suffered in the process of adjustment as well as the high probability for failure coming from untried hands.

Birmingham Ala.

Republican success at the polls in November is predicted on the basis of better conditions than have prevailed for either party in the last two decades. Besides the phenomenally sound success of the party in the last eight years and the high character efficiency and universal popularity of the candidates, there is the weakness of the opposing party by reason of the poor selection of issues and the support of questionably unpopular policies in the past, coupled with this the foremost candidate of the Democratic Party, and, perhaps, the best one, has caused the party to be openly committed to a policy of doubtful popularity and raised questions on which internal divisions alone would make party success improbable without any other handicaps.

In the face of its own fine record and strong candidate and the weak opposition, the possibilities for Republican Party success in November are better than they have been in two decades past and the Republican majority will either be one of the largest in history or the vote will be considerably smaller than it should be on account of the cock-sure feeling of the Republican voter for success or the vote-for-nobody feeling of the Democrats who will not vote for their own candidate and feel that they cannot afford to vote for any other.

LET'S KEEP THE RECORD STRAIGHT

I have always tried to refrain from newspaper controversies but an article appearing in the Savannah Morning News of last Sunday's edition, written by Dr. B. W. S. Daniels, of Savannah, was so contrary to fact that I am forced to take issue.

Dr. Daniels

6-24-28

The National Convention, in many respects, was one of the greatest ever held.

Atlanta

As many know, the First Congressional District of Georgia had two factions: The James-Lemon faction and the Scott-Daniel faction. I represented the Lemon faction and Daniel the Scott faction.

Upon our arrival in Kansas City, I was informed by Colonel Walden that Daniels wanted to compromise on half vote. After some reluctance I agreed to do so purely for reasons of harmony. Daniels then pledged his word to support Hoover as the nominee for President and B. J. Davis for National Committeeman. We also made a tentative agreement relative to the district organization. Chairman Butler of the National Committee ruled that such an agreement was not binding; anyway, ere the cock crowed thrice Daniels had broken his pledge. So we now have two separate and distinct district organizations. Which of these that shall be regarded as regular remains to be seen. I feel perfectly safe as to the outcome as the Lemon faction is the one that is now recognized by the state organization.

As to the National Committeeman, I am not sure just how the vote would have stood had the roll been called, as three of our delegates promised to support both Davis and Watson, conspicuous among these three was Daniels The National Convention seeing this unsettled condition, by a vote of more than two to one referred it to the National Committee, who in turn referred it to an executive committee. Ben Davis is by far the most capable man that we have for the pasition, and there should not be, and I do not believe there will be, any question as to whether or not he will be retained.

After the convention was over Daniels told Dr. Harris, in the presence of several, including myself, that he and the other two doubtful brethren would have certainly supported Davis. If this was true, Davis would have won easily.

I make this statement because I believe the people are entitled to the facts, not conditions, as some would like to have them be.

Signed: William James.

DES MOINES

IOWA

Cor. Ed.

JUN 16 1928

Negroes at Kansas City

BY JAMES B. MORRIS IN THE BYSTANDER.

All the big Negroes are here; Perry Howard and Ben Davis, national committeemen; Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Boaze, national committeewomen; Oscar DePriest, congressional nominee from Chicago; J. John R. Hawkins and hundreds of lesser light too numerous to mention. Charles Howard has been pretty busy among the gang and has succeeded in landing a place on resolution committee from our group which is asking that the platform committee include an honest-to-goodness-plank on the enforcement of civil rights amendments. John Thompson and his son, Nelson are here moving among friends. Negro newspapermen are to be entertained by the press of Kansas City Friday night.

I had to meet DePriest not only because he is the republican nominee for congress but also because as a delegate from his home state he is a real worker, high up in party circles, has real influence and knows the game of politics. You can't beat that combination and I am convinced that he will make a creditable showing in congress.

There are lots of Negro delegates from the south entirely too many frock coats. Mencken says that they are decreasing at each convention. I hope the day will soon come when there will be none. The average fellow looks upon these Negro delegates as purchasable influence. 'Tis true of some of them; 'tis true of some of the white but as a matter of fact the southern Negro delegates seek patronage and influence for their friends and some cash in return for the support of a cause the same as a northern white delegate.

The Iowa group re-elected Senator Rawson as its national committeeman. A finer thing could not have been done. Senator Rawson is well liked, works well with the powers that be and takes care of his constituents at home. No Iowan has been kept out of the convention if either Senator Rawson or P. R. Baldridge knew about it.

While this is my first national convention, I can realize that Negroes are playing stronger roles in the delegations from the northern and border states. It means much.

I cannot close this article without saying a word for Kansas City. There are lots of Negroes here and they are doing big things. The Kansas City Call is remodeling its plant, installing new equipment and has a splendid corps of workers on the job. The American has a fine plant also. Negroes are pretty well employed over a wide range of vocations and do well. It does a fellow good to see them.

Greensboro, Ga., Herald-Journal
Friday, June 8, 1928

Hoover came to Atlanta, breakfasted with Ben Davis. He passed through Savannah and was met by the fat, negro committeewoman, to whom Hoover bowed and scraped. Hoover paid Ben Davis over $2,000 and now, of course, the Georgia negroes are for Hoover.

Political 1928.

Party Affiliation.

General.

BANNER
NASHVILLE, TENN.

NEGRO POLITICAL CLUB ORGANIZED

An independent nonpartisan club of Nashville Negroes was organized Friday at the Whitfield Grocery Company, 1122 Cedar street, when the club enrolled a large number of Negroes who have registered and paid their poll tax.

After permanent organiaztion was effected, the name selected was Nonpartisan Civic Welfare and Registration Club, and the object and purpose of the club was stated by Dr. J. W. Whitfield "that voters who pay poll tax and register are American citizens, while those failing to do so may be considered as aliens, supporting neither school nor government.

"That the poll tax helps to eliminate ignorance and that the outstanding object of the club is to point out to the large number of colored men and women who fail to register or vote that they not only disfranchise themselves, but also hinder the cause of education, better schools and good government.

"That thousands of dollars are lost annually to the school fund of the state by failure of enforcement for payment of poll tax. That those exempted by age from poll tax should register and vote, thereby demonstrating their civic pride in citizenship."

The following officers were elected: Louis K. Thomas, president; William McGee, first vice president; S. J. Tennor, second vice president; H. E. Cole, secretary; Dr. J. W. Whitfield, chairman of the publicity department the Rev. A. L. Pinkston, chaplain and Dr. L. A. Bowman, treasurer. The meeting was adjourned to meet Monday night.

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Press

SEP 5 1928

VOTERS ORGANIZED

Negro Women of North Side Effect Non-Partisan Organization.

At the Tabernacle Baptist church, Buena Vista st., North Side Negro women voters met last night to perfect a temporary organization under the auspices of the women's auxiliary of the Federation of Citizens of Pittsburgh and Allegheny county.

The organization is non-partisan and decided to invite speakers of both major parties to address its meetings. Mrs. W. M. Gaudy was elected chairman.

RAISING OF RACIAL ISSUE DENOUNCED BY SOUTHERNERS

Manufacturers' Record Admonishes the Party Leaders to Refrain From Use of Race Issue

Baltimore, Md., Oct. 18.—Political leaders in the South, irrespective of party, are admonished to refrain from further raising the race issue, in an editorial appearing in the Manufacturers' Record, published in this city by Col. Richard H. Edmonds. The Record agrees with the Richmond News-Leader that "the Negro is not an issue in this campaign," and expresses the hope that the newspapers on both sides will emphasize this fact in the interest of the general welfare.

Independent

10-18-28

The following quotations from the editorial set forth the Record's view:

Atlanta, Ga.

"Deprecation by the Richmond News-Leader, an ardent supporter of Governor Smith, of the 'Negro menace' in the South as a campaign issue is so sane and opportune that true friends of the South will hope other Southern editors will emphasize this point, regardless of their party affiliations. 'The Negro is not an "issue" in this campaign,' says the News-Leader, and in that pronouncement it speaks truly.

"Left to themselves, the white people and the Negroes of the South will dwell together in amity and mutual benefit economically. This is a fact that the leaders of both great political parties must grasp, and thus refrain hereafter from promoting the 'race issue' or the 'Negro menace.' In the heat of a political campaign of a few weeks duration they must be careful not to undo all that individuals and organizations have brought about in the creation of a spirit of harmony between the races in the Southern states."

Negro In Cabinet If Smith Is Electetd Says K. K. K. Paper

Therefore All Democrats Are Urged To Vote Against New Yorker

What Will Negroes Say About This?

Let Thoughtful Negroes Who Care, Read This.

New York, Sept. 19.—Disclosures that the Ku Klux Klan, Lily White Republicans and bolting Southern Democrats are using the Negro in their propaganda to discredit Alfred E. Smith have aroused widespread resentment among colored Americans irrespective of party affiliation. Conclusive proof that a plot exists to jointly vilify the Governor and egroes is apparent on every hand.

9-22-28

A pamphlet is being circulated which reads that a Negro occupies a position of Civil Service Commissioner under Tammany Hall, and that if Smith is elected "this Negor will be made a member of Smith's cabinet.

In big headlines charging Governor Smith of catering to the Negro, the Fellowship Forum, national organ of the Ku Klux Klan, said in a recent issue.

"In addition to Negro fraternities, the Negro press is coming to the aid of Al Smith. The signs are unmistakable. All the un-American and anti-American elements are flocking to the banner to which they naturally belong. In the meantime, the friends of American institutions continue to rally to the Hoover standards."

Senator Tydings of Maryland, Chairman of the Democratic Speakers Bureau, has received word that Negroes in Easton, Md., were being hired to ride in automobiles on the sides of which ae displayed streamers bearing the words, "Al Smith."

At Foley, Ala., a preacher by the name of Showt, recently speaking at a Ku Klux Klan fish-fry, declared that Governor Smith's stenographer was a Negro wench and that Smith had placed thousands of Negroes on the pay-roll in New York State.

"White Supremacy as Practiced by Tammany" is the caption over a four column cut appearing on the first page of the Fellowship Journal of September 15, in which Civil Service Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton is shown dictating a letter to a white stenographer. Under the picture is another capion—$7500 a Yea Tammany Negro Boss anad White Secretary."

The Sensational Weekly, another Ku Klux, Lily White organ published in Ramer, Ala, has the following headlines on the first page of its issue of September 1: "Tammany Hall in all its Hideousness—Made up of Crooks, Murderers, Thugs, Bums, Bootleggers, White-slavers, Nigger-lovers, Niggers, Gamblers, Counterfiters, Foreigners, Hi-jackers, Pimps, Catholic Church and Al Smith."

"Al Smith the Negro Lover" is the heading of a one page advertising appearing in the Luverne, Alabama Journal and News, which goes to tell of white and black children being indiscriminately mixed in public schools of New York with Negro teachers in large numbers teaching white as well as colored pupils. Tammany Hall is held directly responsible for these "unspeakable conditions' and Al Smith is spoken of as owing his entire career to Tammany Hall.

These unwarranted scurrilous attacks against Lily-Whiteism and Ku Kluxism and making many votes for the Democratic candidate for President.

NEW YORK
Illustrated News

OCT 28 1928

COLORED VOTE AN ELECTION ENIGMA

BOTH PARTIES PUZZLED OVER NEW ATTITUDE

By ORVILLE WELSH.

For the first time since the colored section of our population has been voting, its attitude is genuinely in doubt in a presidential campaign.

The colored vote in the northern and border states always has been Republican, because a Republican administration freed the slaves. In the deep south, of course, very few colored persons exercise the franchise.

In a number of northern and border states the colored vote has been the deciding factor in state and presidential elections. In other words the Republican margin frequently was less than the colored vote.

The number of colored voters in the northern states is listed as follows: Illinois 100,000, Indiana 50,000, Ohio 65,000, Pennsylvania 100,000, Massachusetts 30,000, Delaware 15,000, New York 125,000, New Jersey 50,000, Connecticut 10,000, Maryland 60,000. Only in New York, under the guidance of Tammany Hall, have these got in the habit of voting Democratic.

This year, however, there is a fairly widespread revolt against the Republicans among the colored people, though no one can forecast how deep. Leaders of the race are disappointed in the recognition shown them by the recent Republican administrations, and angry at the G. O. P. failure to take federal action against lynchings and against non-enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments in the south.

Needs Solid Vote.

Add to this the colored citizen's hatred of the Ku Klux Klan, which is opposing the Democratic national ticket, and it is apparent why the Republicans have some reason to be worried this year.

There is also the indictment of Perry Howard, assistant U. S. attorney general, for trafficking in federal patronage in the south, and the displacement of Ben J. Davis as national committeeman from Georgia. Both these colored politicians—Howard long has been Republican committeeman in Mississippi—had delivered their delegates to Hoover at the Kansas City convention. Colored people were friendly then toward Hoover because he had abolished segregation in the commerce department.

But at Elizabethton, Tenn., Hoover made a statement about appointing the best qualified citizens to public office, which was interpreted throughout the south as meaning that whites only would get the federal jobs in the south under a Hoover administration. This, coupled with a general purging of the Republican state organizations and electoral tickets in Dixie of the colored politicians during this campaign at least, undoubtedly has gained Hoover much white support, but correspondingly shaken his colored adherents.

And Hoover, to carry the border states, needs the solid colored vote as well as white Democratic converts.

Clarence Darrow, recognized as a friend of the colored people, has advised them to vote Democratic this year. Their political consciousness has been accentuated by the certainty of having a colored congressman—Oscar De Priest, regular Republican candidate to succeed the late Martin Madden of Chicago. In Missouri the Democrats have nominated a colored man for congress.

Editors of colored papers queried by THE NEWS differ widely on the extent of the defection from the Republicans, depending possibly on the sympathies of the editors and the policy of their papers. According to James E. Washington, editor of the Western World, published in Memphis, the vast majority of the 90,000 colored vote of Tennessee will go for Hoover unless Robert R. Church, unquestioned colored leader of the state, remains inactive in the campaign. "In which case, the intensive campaign the Smith people are making will give them an even break." Church was offended by the attitude of the Republican national managers during the Hoover visit to Elizabethton.

But the Nashville Globe reports no noticeable defection from the Republicans, and can't see Smith getting more than a 15 per cent. break. Both these Tennessee papers are listed as independent politically.

In Kentucky William Warley, editor of the Louisville News, independent, predicts 25,000 colored votes for Smith out of a total possible 120,000 in the state.

Conflicting Views.

Smith will get 30 to 45 per cent. of the colored votes in Maryland, according to the Baltimore Afro-American, independent, which adds: "Hoover's lily white policy in the south, his liaison with the Klan and Coolidgean silence on campaign issues have lost him colored votes."

On the other hand, W. T. Andrews, editor of the Baltimore Herald - Commonwealth, Republican, says that Hoover will receive 60,000 of the 70,000 colored votes in Maryland.

Z. H. Bagby, editor of the Gary Sun, estimates from a survey that Smith will get 65 per cent. of the 50,000 colored votes in Indiana. In a close election, such as is expected in Indiana this year, that percentage might cost the Republicans the state.

Election day will show which of these opposing estimates is correct.

Oscar De Priest

Perry Howard

De Priest is the regular Republican candidate to succeed the late Martin Madden of Chicago in Congress. Perry Howard is the colored assistant U. S. attorney general who was indicted for trafficking in federal patronage in the south.

SOME MORE FACTS

Last week the Defender gave its readers some pertinent facts on the present political situation. Without attempting to instruct those who read this newspaper because they wish to be informed on subjects which affect them most as to how they shall vote, the Defender has pointed out to them the main issues by which every intelligent voter should govern himself. It is a service which a newspaper must render to its readers if it is to hold the confidence they place in it. It is a duty that devolves upon a newspaper by virtue of its position which makes it possible for the newspaper to come into possession of facts that are not always available to the general public.

In the last issue of the Defender, the two political parties were discussed at length. The object was to make known some facts concerning our governmental machines and the manner in which they operate. It was pointed out that time has served to alter the Republican and Democratic parties to such an extent that there is hardly a difference between the one of today and the other of yesterday, and vice versa. What the Democratic party stood for 40 years ago the Republican party stands for today, and what made the Republican party famous two score years ago characterizes the Democratic party of today.

How this state of affairs came about can be explained only by an astute student of our American society—that this is the state of affairs can hardly be disputed by the most careless politician.

We as a group are unique in America. While overtures are being made by both the Republicans and Democrats to every other group, racial or national, in this country, we remain the football of both. It is either cocksureness that prompted the Republican organization to open its campaign to drive us out of the party, or it was the great contempt for our feelings in the matter. On the other hand, the Democrats have remained Democrats throughout the campaign. That is, they have followed for the most part the pattern which our own attitude toward them justified, and which we have expected them to follow.

Again, the campaign is now in its last stages. Both the Democratic and Republican candidates have been in the South. But it was the Republican candidate who handed out the choice morsel to southern bigots by the declaration that the Republican party and the southerners to whom he was speaking had the same ideals and aspirations, while the Democratic candidate, almost at the same time, was paying tribute to Abraham Lincoln at his shrine and praying for the wisdom that guided that great Republican. He was also denouncing the Ku Klux Klan, a group that thus far has done its utmost on behalf of the Republican candidate.

The things which we have pointed out should be superficial were it not for the fact that we are so deeply concerned. Tariff, labor and prohibition are issues that will be met by either party as 118,000,000 Americans shall dictate. But the racial issue must be pushed by us and by us alone if it is to be considered. When a candidate for the presidency of the United States decides to insult and humiliate us before election, we should know what to expect if he is elected.

Facts are facts, and cannot be successfully refuted. The Defender operates on the theory that if its readers know these facts they will act for their best interest. We want our readers to weigh every act and deed well—study every issue carefully—balance the one party against the other and accept the one with less "lily-whiteism," bigotry, chicanery, intolerance and Kluxism, which are the things most inimical to our welfare. We must vote whether we care to or not, and whether we vote to our own interests depends entirely upon whether we vote sanely or sentimentally!

The Manufacturers' Record means what James Weldon Johnson said some years ago — that a "gentlemen's agreement" exists between the democratic and republican parties (and if Mr. Johnson were wide awake he would include the socialist party) —a "gentlemen's agreement" under which it is pledged that all capitalist political parties will silently co-operate to suppress every issue raised by the Negro masses against their oppression, double exploitation, segregation, lynching and disenfranchisement. This "gentlemen's agreement" tacitly includes the "reform" parties of capitalism, for in 1924 the LaFollette party followed the unwritten law in suppressing William Pickens, the Negro leader who came to appeal to its convention, and remained silent on the issues of life and death to the Negro masses. And now the socialist party which boasts of inheriting the remnants of the LaFollette movement, while putting up a few Negro speakers as a "store front," carefully abstains from demanding full social equality for the Negro masses.

And so, as far as these capitalist and these "reform" parties, which also support "American (Jim Crow) Institutions," are concerned, it is true that "the Negro is not an issue in this campaign."

But—look beyond these parties of capitalism, and you see the **Communist** candidate for president of the United States arrested at Wilmington while his running mate, candidate for vice-president is forcibly ejected from his meeting hall at Houston and threatened by a posse of would-be kidnappers or lynchers in Arizona—because the party of **these** candidates fights for a certain position on the Negro issue!

So what the Manufacturers' Record means is:

The Negro would not be an issue in this campaign except in-so-far as the Communists make the Negro an issue.

Never since the last gun was fired in the Civil War has the Negro had a political party as his champion—until the Communist Party came on the scene. To the ruling class of Texas, Arizona and Delaware, the "Negro menace" has become a reality just to the extent that the Communist Party has penetrated the South. That is why Foster is attacked by the police in Wilmington and Gitlow is attacked by police and "posses" in Texas and Arizona. The "Negro menace" becomes identified with the **Communist** "menace." The Workers (Communist) Party, being the revolutionary working class party, cannot but be also the party of the Negro masses. So the Southern ruling class press is screaming that the Workers (Communist) Party is "the Nigger Party." And we accept the honor with joy.

The ruling white bourgeoisie of the South wants "the white people and the Negroes" to be "left to themselves," so that they "will dwell together in amity and mutual benefit economically." But this "amity" means disenfranchisement and slavery and lynching, and the "mutual benefit economically" means the one-sided benefit of the idle exploiters and the beastly exploitation of the Negro workers and tenant farmers. By "the spirit of harmony between the races," the Southern aristocrats mean the spirit of slavery on the part of the Negro masses and the spirit of the arrogant parasite on the part of the white employers and bankers, the ruling class.

But for the Workers (Communist) Party the Negro would **not** be a recognized issue in this campaign. But the Workers (Communist) Party, as the party of the working class, takes up the battle for the Negro masses—and forces the issue into the campaign.

The "Negro issue" has already played a tremendous part in the history of this country, and it will play a still bigger part in the future liberation of the working class. The toiling masses, black and white, will march together through their struggles and, fighting fearlessly as equal comrades, will defeat the ruling class.

The Workers (Communist) Party is the common party of Negro and white workers alike. It alone can unite them and lead them to victory.

NEGROES PROTEST BIAS IN CAMPAIGN

'Unfair' Treatment This Year Worst Since Civil War, Their Leaders Say.

LIST HARMFUL UTTERANCES

Appeal Issued by Colored People's Association Calls for Public Repudiation of Prejudice.

A protest against race prejudice, which it is charged, has been injected into the Presidential campaign by both the Republican and Democratic parties, was made yesterday in an appeal, issued by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for a public repudiation "of this campaign of racial hatred." The appeal is signed by leading negroes throughout the country, headed by Robert R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute; W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of The Crisis, and Dr. John Hope, President of Morehouse College.

The signers of the appeal include Republicans, Democrats and Socialists. All are "united in the solemn conviction that in the Presidential campaign of 1928, more than in previous campaigns since the Civil War, the American negro is being treated in a manner which is unfair and discouraging." The appeal warns that, "bad as religious hatred and evil personal gossip are, they have not the seeds of evil and disaster that lie in continued unlimited and unrestrained appeal to race prejudice."

The statement characterizes as "an appeal to the lowest and most primitive of human motives" the "emphasis of racial contempt and hatred which is being made in this campaign. Among the objectionable utterances of "partisans of the leading candidates" are listed the following:

"That negro voters should not be appealed to, or their support welcomed by the advocates of just causes.

"That colored persons should not hold office, no matter what their character may be nor how well they do their work nor how competently they satisfy their constituents.

"That the contact of white people and black people in government, in business, and in daily life, in common effort and cooperation, calls for explanation and apology.

"That the honesty and integrity of party organization depend on the complete removal of all negroes from voice and authority.

"That the appointment of a public official is an act which concerns only white citizens, and that colored citizens should have neither voice nor consideration in such appointments."

Let The South Beware

IT must be apparent by this time to thoughtful leaders of the South that the intolerances and prejudices both religious and racial which afflict their section have a stranglehold upon its throat, retarding its physical and spiritual development in the affairs of the Nation and the world. It is apparent to thoughtful Southern leaders who have been permitted a measure of world contact and observation that they have never been able satisfactorily to explain to enlightened Christendom these prejudices and intolerances, and for harboring them their section is embarrassed and abashed before the bar of civilized mankind.

Let the South be reminded that Northern politicians who are putting out racial rancor in this political campaign do so in relation to their estimate of the South's intelligence and social principles, believing that it is the only kind of political pap that matters in this section. They know that it is political garbage of ancient vintage, but they also understand that it is a sort of political garbage relished among the masses in the South.

Circumstances have so framed it that for many years to come much of the material development of this section will be contingent upon the peaceful relations of our dual raciality. For that reason, if no other, Southerners as a matter of self interest are morally bound to fight the racial bugaboo among themselves and to resist as impudence any attempt of Northern politicians to kick it into their territory as a political football, to stampede them into renewed racial hate with further arrests of material growth.

Political — 1928

General.

Party Affiliation

ABSENCE OF PARTY FACTOR IN GEORGIA POLITICS DEPLORED

Millard Reese Scores Lack of Partisan Unity in Address to State Bar Association.

Savannah, Ga., May 31.—(AP)—Lack of party government in Georgia has brought about a political situation in which personalities so far overshadow principles that "the election of a governor settles nothing and means nothing so far as the law-making bodies are concerned," members of the Georgia Bar association were told here today by Millard Reese, Brunswick, president.

Speaking before the annual lawyers gathering on "The Relativity of Law," the speaker termed the state of Georgia "a striking illustration of a state without party government."

"There no longer seem to be issues in Georgia, only personalities," he said. "A race for governor is between or among men who cherish the personal ambition to have the recognition and honor the office carries with it.

"A candidate makes the race as a personal undertaking, and not because he has been called as the representative of a group standing for certain principles. It follows that the election of governor settles nothing and means nothing so far as the law-making bodies are concerned.

"There is nothing akin to responsible leadership in either branch of the legislature. The only leadership is self-asserted and is developed by sheer force of personality, which, of course, may be aided by experience gained by long service.

"Pet Measure" Tactics.

"Every member of each branch is a free-lance, and may propose whatever he may care to in the way of legislation, knowing that if he can make himself popular enough or useful enough, can assist enough other members in getting through their pet measures, he has a good chance of getting his own pet measure or measures passed.

"From time to time loosely organized blocks may develop, for instance among the members who have state-supported institutions in their respective communities. But after these have cooperated on the particular measure or measures which bring them together, their community of interest ceases. There is no organized party to take a position on any question of general interest or importance, to see that measures are well considered and are drafted by competent persons and if passed would effect the purpose intended, and to see that any bill offered without the sanction and approval of the party leaders never comes up for passage.

"On the other hand there is no organized opposition, always objecting and protesting, to see that full discussion is had on every important measure, to raise the question of its wisdom, to point out its defects, to show that its probable consequences are not those claimed by its advocates.

"I have known the Georgia legislature fairly well for about 20 years. It is a body of representative men, of more than average intelligence and of better than average character—a cross-section of the state's better citizenry. When I consider the severe handicaps under which it works, I give it as my calm and deliberate opinion that the wonder is that it accomplishes as much of real value as it does."

The speaker declared the opinion that the failure of state legislatures to enact needed laws in reform of legal procedure is due in large part to the indifference of lawyer-members of the assemblies, whose interest in such reform, he said, is not generally as keen as that manifested by private parties in measures touching their interests.

With reference to poorly prepared laws he said "Loosely drawn, poorly expressed, inaptly stated, awkwardly framed statutes and decisions are responsible for no little confusion in our laws."

Dealing with the merits and demerits of the jury system, the speaker declared that "with all its faults and weaknesses—and it has many—the jury system is the best approach to a solution that has been found." One refinement suggested was that of doing away with the general verdict in civil cases, and substitution of the plan of framing questions for the jury to answer, under simple instructions, with the judge applying the law to the facts so found.

Discussing further the merits and faults of the jury system, the speaker declared:

"In small places improper elements, arising from personal, family or business relations between parties and their counsel on the one hand, and jurors on the other, find their way into the jury box and are bound to continue so to do. In the larger places, aye, even in the nation's capital, worse things occur. Oil-man Sinclair, on trial for conspiring with former Cabinet Member Fall to defraud their government, and charged with having besmirched the executive arm of the government, proceeds through Detective Burns to practice espionage upon his peers serving as jurors in his case, apparently with the intention of debauching the judicial arm of the government through his bribe-giving.

"My words are carefully considered and weighed when I say that I never have known of a more superlative instance of arrogant insolence, of a more outrageous flaunting of contempt toward the government and the courts of the United States than Sinclair and his hirelings have been guilty of.

"But in spite of such occurrences I still believe that the system of jury trial, weak and defective as it is, is the best system yet devised or suggested for the settling of disputed facts in a large proportion of cases."

Believes Laws Are Just.

In conclusion, Mr. Reese said:

"A growing country such as America has been since colonial days could not have made the wonderful strides in peaceful pursuits of all kinds that have been made if her system of jurisprudence had been fundamentally bad. A growing state such as the state of Georgia has been since the dawn of the new day after the dark night of war and the darker night of reconstruction, could not have shown the quickening response to progress and civic improvement that has been shown if her system of law was fundamentally defective, or if her administration of law was weak or vicious.

"That there are inherent defects and deficiencies in man's conception of law, in his enactment of law, in his construction of law and in his administration of law, necessarily is true; that many curable defects and deficiencies and excrescences exist all of us who know are ready to concede, but it also is true that upon the whole our laws are wise and our administration of law is fair and just."

A brief business program in the morning and a boat ride down the Savannah river to the Atlantic ocean in the afternoon and evening, featured the opening program today of the three day session of the association. Announcement was made of more than fifty new members who have been elected to the association.

Tomorrow's session will be featured by discussion of the report on the incorporation of the bar, which will be explained by Judge Orville Park of Macon. Joseph A. Crook, of Savannah, will lead the opposition to making the bar a self governing body. A vote on adoption or rejection will be taken after the discussion.

Reports of standing committees and addresses by Judge Edgar E. Pomeroy, Fulton superior court; Hon. Marcus W. Beck, presiding justice of the Georgia superior court; and Judge Roscoe Luke, of the court of appeals, also will be heard. Hon. Finis J. Garrett, minority leader of the house, will make the principal address at the annual banquet which will be inaugurated tomorrow night.

THE PEOPLE MAKE THE ISSUES

Whoever says that one party is going to fight out the 1928 campaign with tariff as the issue, forgets that the people are going to talk about just what suits them—prohibition, farm aid, Nicaragua or anything else that pleases them, except tariff. Once upon a time, "infant industries" was a potent political battle cry. But with the United States lending money abroad "infant industries" is to laugh. Even the democratic platform could be used by the republicans, so much are the two parties committed to protection today. Call 5-13-28

But Nicaragua rises to shame the American conscience; liquor will not down and stay down; farmers are sure they get too little return; these are issues and no convenience of party managers is going to shift the people away from them. It is this sort of insistence on matters that interest which we keep urging on Negroes. We share all the general issues, of course. And then we have the special ones. No one else will fight our battles. We must fight them ourselves. By hook or crook, we must get what we want talked about. If the talking does not lead to anything we have lost nothing. On the other hand, if we ever get what we want, it must first be talked about.

Negroes who are so fearful that they will be counted race conscious if they speak out, need to look about at other people. The farmer speaks for the farmer, and does not care a hoot if transportation and manufacturing are content. A certain self-interest is expected and understood. Now, when issues in the 1928 campaign are flux, is our time.

REPUBLICANISM VS. DEMOCRACY

This is presidential year, and the two great parties, the Republican and the Democrat, have held session and selected their standard bearers for the November election. They have written the party platform and the outstanding planks in each one is said to be on the liquar question as defined by the Eighteenth Amendment, but no matter what the party leaders may say, and political heads may write, this great nation of ours has come to the point where the Constitution is to be properly interpreted.

At last there is to be a decision, not on the issue of religious tolerance, neither whether this country should be wet or dry, BUT the most vital question in the world that has never yet been properly settled, which is whether this great nation is a strong and potential central government with each state subordinate to the sovereignty of the Union, or whether the states are sovereign unto themselves. It is a clearly defined issue upon "STATE RIGHTS," and the Republican party, according to its principles, could not do otherwise than stand for the full enforcement of the law according to the Constitution and its amendments, while the Democrats, in making the campaign upon a wet issue, are simply following out the principles of their party, the rights of each state to deal with the conditions within its own borders and make laws to govern the same without interference from the Union.

We are again facing the same situation that confronted us in the election of Abraham Lincoln, and the same issues are before the voters of this great country, and if Al Smith, nominee of the Democratic party, is elected to the office of Chief Executive of this nation, it will be upon the votes cast by a majority of the American voters, who will by a casting of such ballots declare themselves in favor of states' rights.

The Republican party must again save the Union in order to save themselves, and it is up to the leaders to lay down a campaign in such a manner that it will inspire the confidence of all of its old adherents and supporters to the point that when Herbert Hoover is elected he will become the president of all the people and utilize his good office for the full enforcement of the Constitution and its nineteen amendments.

CONSTITUTION
ATLANTA, GA.

JUL 17 1928

White Republican Leader Attacking Negro Leadership Holds Democrats Responsible

Cedartown, Ga., July 16.—(Special.)—Charles Adamson, prominent cotton mill manufacturer of Cedartown, who for the past several years has been conspicuously identified with the movement to establish a white republican party in Georgia, in a statement just issued deals sharply with the present republican organization in Georgia headed by Ben Davis and praises Senator Harris and Senator George for what they have done in the effort to stop "the bleeding of postmasters, rural carriers and other federal appointees."

He terms the fear of negro domination, however, a "bugaboo" and calls for a break in the democratic party ranks to Mr. Hoover and the republican organization.

Mr. Adamson says.

"For nearly 40 years I have been working for the building of Cedartown and for Georgia.

"Living in Georgia has taught me, as nothing before, to be a citizen of the United States of North America, and not merely a party man or a citizen of any particular state.

"I am much opposed to any unfit set of men having the distribution of the patronage of any state (for instance Tammany in New York). Furthermore, there is no man living in Georgia today, or for that matter in any southern state, who has the slightest fear of negro domination. Out of 44,144 votes cast in Georgia at the time of Harding's election there were only 1,700 colored votes.

"With the white primary, the grandfather's clause, etc., etc., the negro, be he republican, democratic or independent, is practically disfranchised in the southern states and it is my belief that he is used simply as a straw man to overcome the growing discontent within the democratic party and the rules of that party by showing the picture of Henry Lincoln Johnson or Ben Davis, with the question: 'Would you vote for a negro?'

"Party rules made 60 or 65 years ago were probably necessary at that time but not now. These rules have resulted in keeping the dominant party in the southern states in power with the consequent detriment to the growth of their states, particularly Georgia.

Today there is a minimum of votes at a general election and a nomination in a white primary is tantamount to an election.

"I attended a state convention of the republican party about eight years ago. We had permission to hold our meeting in the house of representatives in Atlanta. The bulk of the delegates were in the hall at 10 o'clock waiting for the meeting at high noon.

"The doorkeeper had instructions not to allow anyone to enter who did not present his credentials as a properly elected delegate. The police came and ordered the doors opened to the public, with the result that 200 or 300 colored men of Atlanta, headed by Henry Lincoln Johnson, came in singing and raising Cain. The orders to open the doors to the public could only have been given under direction of the state authorities—as they were.

"At another state convention of the republican party Ben Davis had two city policemen stationed at the gate, the entrance to the hall where the meeting was to be held, with instructions not to let anyone in who did not present a blue ticket issued by Ben Davis. Could he have made these policemen obey his orders without orders to the policemen from the city authorities?

"It was the democratic state and city authorities that gave these orders in both cases which came under my own personal observation.

"Why persist in holding up the negro bugaboo to the public of Georgia when he is to all intents and purposes disfranchised?

"Senator Harris and Senator George are doing magnificent work in stopping the bleeding of postmasters, rural carriers and other federal appointees.

"In doing this they are helping to clean up the so-called republican state committee for which they have my unqualified thanks.

"The Atlanta Constitution of July 10 states that the indexed cards of John Martin showed that the money paid by postmasters went into the state republican treasury. The testimony which I heard, I respectfully submit, did not say this. It went to pay salaries to Ben Davis, John Martin and others.

"I again quote from The Constitution: 'Davis being asked by Senator Harris how much money he had sent to the republican national committee, replied that he had sent none; all his funds were disbursed in the state,' I say to himself, Martin and others, as Martin testified.

"With the exception of the four-year periods, when a republican or democratic convention is to be held, the so-called republican state committee of Georgia does not function—excepting to make postmasters, rural carriers and other federal appointees of the government contribute, if possible, to furnish salaries for whoever is supposed to be the distributors of federal patronage.

"I maintain and insist that the democrats back these men as before stated for the purpose of making believe that the republican party is under the domination of the negro and thereby preventing any break in the democratic ranks.

"Lastly, since the republican convention in Kansas City, there is no republican national committeeman, white or colored, and no national committeewoman, white or colored. Since that convention there is no chairman of the so-called central committee. The only possible officer remaining is the so-called treasurer, and he won't last much longer to enjoy the emoluments of the office after the members of the investigating committee or any one of them reach Washington.

"Therefore, let the coming campaign be conducted without straw figures to knock down or without rancor or animosity. Let us consider only what is best for our state and our beloved country."

Thinks Negro Will Get Social Equality if Democrats Bolt

The following letter taken from the Birmingham News of July 8th, indicates the optimism prevalent in the East where the few Hoover supporters believe that if he is elected the negroes of the South will immediately be placed on social equality with the whites. The letter follows:

A LETTER TO THE REV. DR. PATTERSON

Editor of the Birmingham News:

The following letter has been mailed to the Rev. L. D. Patterson, of Birmingham by G. W. Gaines of Brooklyn N. Y.:

Rev. L. D. Patterson, Pastor South Avondale Methodist Church, South Birmingham, Ala.:

Reverend Sir—It was with a deep feeling of gratification that I read in the press dispatches last week that you, along with many of your Southern brethren of the ministry, have decided to cast off the yoke of Democracy and vote for the Hon. Herbert Hoover for president of the United States. This step will prove the opening wedge in establishing equality for the people of all classes in the South, which will be brought about by breaking what is called the solid South.

I assume that this has all been figured out to a mathematical nicety. And it bespeaks much for the splendid Christian character of you and your Christian associates that you have the courage to openly advocate this step. Of course you understand that I refer to the 15th and 14th amndments of the constitution, so long flouted by the people of your section.

The breaking of the solid South, of course, will pave the way for a strict enforcement of these two amendments, thus insuring civil and political equality for the people of the colored race. They will at least be accorded equal rights in hotels, restaurants, railway coaches, street cars, theaters, churches, in business life and in professions.

It is glorious to reflect that when this shall have been accomplished we shall have taken one more step toward the coming of the millennium.

G. W. GAINES.

Brooklyn, N. Y. July 3, 1928.

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation.

General

Friday, August 17, 1928

NEGROES PLAN TO HAVE OWN PARTY TICKET

Republicans And Democrats Scrap Over Large Colored Vote.

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SAN FRANCISCO, Aug 16.—Another unique note was added to this campaign this week when it became known here that in all probability a "negro race ticket" for president and vice president of the United States would be named next week in Chicago by a convention representing almost half a million colored men and women. The delegates to the convention are expected to number more than three thousand.

The organization which they will represent is the Independent Order of Elks, one of the two great fraternal orders existing among colored people.

The Grand Attorney of the Independent Order of Elks, now contemplating this entry into national politics by the negro race as a race, is the nationally known character, Perry Howard. Howard is Republican national committeeman from the state of Mississippi. He has been an assistant attorney general of the United States. He is under suspension from that post because of having been federally indicted in Mississippi on charges of selling federal offices.

His indictment has been widely attacked in the negro press on the ground of "discrimination." White men, it is said, who are equally guilty of selling federal offices have remained "unmolested" while Howard, being a negro, has been "persecuted." Therefore, Howard as "grand attorney" of the Independent Order of Elks will be portrayed to the convention at Chicago as a "race martyr."

850,000 Negro Voters

The Howard affair is one of hundreds—or even thousands—of incidents and situations which have been currently exploited in the negro press and in the negro pulpit as alleged proofs of "intolerable hostility" to the negro by political parties.

The total number of negro voters—who not merely exist but who actually voted—in the close and doubtful states of New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and Oklahoma is responsibly estimated this year to exceed eight hundred and fifty thousand. In each of the states the colored ballot is a conceivably decisive factor.

In these circumstances unprecedented efforts are being made by both Republicans and Democrats to gain or regain possession of that factor and to prevent the formation of a special independent "negro race party."

A new "negro national democratic league" has been organized which has penetrated even into Arkansas where at Little Rock not long ago a local branch of two hundred and fifty negroes was formed to support Governor Smith's candidacy. William McDonald (more distinctively known as "gooseneck Bill") a veteran negro leader of Republicanism in Texas, has announced his defection from Hoover and his transfer of his allegiance to Smith.

Dispute Rages

Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom of the Afro-American Methodist Episcopal Church has preached to the effect that "Smith is more promising to the negroes than Hoover." John J. Raskob, chairman of the Democratic national committee, has authorized earnest Democratic speaking campaigns in negro quarters. Ferdinand N. Morton, a negro member of the New York City civil service commission has traversed many states expounding in detail the recognition given to negroes in New York municipal offices by Tammany Hall.

The Republicans are countering by asserting that the recognition given to negroes in New York City by Tammany Hall has not been duplicated by Governor Smith in the state capitol at Albany. They allege that Smith himself at Albany has given to negroes no recognition at all. They also dwell upon the chicken wired cage in which negro spectators in the gallery of the Democratic national convention at Houston were "segregated," and "Jim Crowed." Their tone is pitched on the general theme of a recent editorial in the "Herald and Commonwealth," of Baltimore, a negro weekly which declares that Smith would turn the negro over to the Robinsons, the Bleases, the Heflins and the other demagogues of the South who delight to bellow "nigger" on the floor of the United States Senate.

With both parties thus determined to capture the negro vote of the northern states and of the border states, it remains to be seen if the negroes who will meet in Chicago next week will be able to escape long enough to establish a party of their own.

The "National Negro Party" Scare

Midsummer in Presidential Campaign years is always the full season for political alarmists and scare-crows. It is the full tide of opportunity for all those who think themselves out to batter their way in. This is true of every group and of every faction of every group. This is part of our political system. It is the warp and woof of political finesse and strategy. Every community and every state has its political lunatics, striving might and main to disrupt the established order of things. We must differentiate between those who have a rightful claim for consideration to represent causes which demand a hearing, who have in their hearts the wrongs of people that must be redressed. The need of colored people this country over, within the Republican party, within the Democratic party, the Socialist party and the Communist party is to speak out loud and bold and demand a square deal not only in the division of the spoils but even in the deal itself. Unless they can be satisfied that their parties are proceeding under the proper principles and are cognizant of their cause, they have no hope when the issue is settled at election that this issue will be settled right. We are at a loss to understand the occasion for the threatened bolt of J. Finley Wilson and his following among the Order of Elks. Exalted Ruler Wilson we can assure his many friends has not been left out of the equation. The vital service that he can and must render to the Republican party has all along been recognized. Fearless and progressive and popular as is no other fraternal leader of his race, his is a force to be reckoned with and respected. We do not believe that Mr. Wilson gave the ultimatum to the National Republican Committee as it has been stated that he must either run the campaign among colored people or nothing. Mr. Wilson's convictions are far too strong as to the necessity of the Democratic party being routed in November. He is too well aware of the danger that lies in Democratic success to attempt to throw a monkey wrench in the brakes of his race's and his country's progress at this time. We cannot believe that in the wildest dreams he could conceive of a National Negro Party with himself nominated as President and with other alleged disgruntled leaders as candidates for minor political offices could either be effective strategy or common sense procedure. The need now is for all leaders as well as laymen to unite in a solid militant phalanx to move forward along progressive lines to the end that the Republican Party when elected must appreciate the vital help their race has rendered and must accept their program for a square deal as entitled not only to respect but adoption. We are no less insistent that the party respect the claims of those whom Mr. Wilson represents than he is, that those claims be respected. In the race's discord lies its danger, in the union lies its peace and progress.

POLITICAL PERPLEXITIES

Republicans will spend quite as much in an effort to hold the Northern Negro vote. One thing at least is certain: Negroes are experiencing a change of political faith. They are neither adhering religiously to the Republican Party, as of yore, nor are they rushing head first into the Democratic Party. They are beginning to see politics more realistically and to demand concrete rewards rather than vague promises. It is this critical attitude that is proving rather perplexing to the general staffs of both parties; and it is precisely this spirit of independence that may win greater consideration for Negroes everywhere. No politician can say exactly how any section, except the bigotry belts of the far South, is going to vote this year, nor can he swear that any person, black or white, will vote thus and so. With this wave of political independence among the voters of the country, it is rather unfortunate that the opportunity for expression on real issues of vital importance to the future of the nation is lost in vague talk of Wet and Dry.

FOR the first time in many years the leaders of the two dominant political parties are confronted with many perplexities. Not a day passes but reports drift in telling of the desertion of this or that notable personage to the opposite political group. Each day newspapers bring reports of disaffection in territory which has hitherto been considered "solid" for either the Democrats or the Republicans. The staffs of both Hoover managers are making a pendence to dent in the Solid South while the Smith men, alarmed over the everywhere possibility of losing some of the border states, pour more money except the and propaganda into that section than is customary. The farm year, nor belt, an erstwhile Republican stronghold, is sounding the drums vote thus of revolt, while promises of a large Republican vote come from sweeping the disgruntled "Dry" districts of Virginia, North Carolina that the and Texas. Nobody seems to be "staying put," and it is this portance wave of political independence and insurgency that is perplexing the master minds of the two old parties.

Nor is this spirit of revolt restricted only to white citizens. Sufficient insurgency has been manifested by Negroes to cause the Democratic Party to spend large sums to swing black citizens over to Smith, the Democrats are making a greater effort than ever before to win the support of Northern Negroes. There are, on the other hand, evidences that the

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General

Friday, August 17, 1928

NEGROES PLAN TO HAVE OWN PARTY TICKET

Republicans And Democrats Scrap Over Large Colored Vote.

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SAN FRANCISCO, Aug 16.—Another unique note was added to this campaign this week when it became known here that in all probability a "negro race ticket" for president and vice president of the United States would be named next week in Chicago by a convention representing almost half a million colored men and women. The delegates to the convention are expected to number more than three thousand.

The organization which they will represent is the Independent Order of Elks, one of the two great fraternal orders existing among colored people.

The Grand Attorney of the Independent Order of Elks, now contemplating this entry into national politics by the negro race as a race, is the nationally known character, Perry Howard. Howard is Republican national committeeman from the state of Mississippi. He has been an assistant attorney general of the United States. He is under suspension from that post because of having been federally indicted in Mississippi on charges of selling federal offices.

His indictment has been widely attacked in the negro press on the ground of "discrimination." White men, it is said, who are equally guilty of selling federal offices have remained "unmolested" while Howard, being a negro, has been "persecuted." Therefore, Howard as "grand attorney" of the Independent Order of Elks will be portrayed to the convention at Chicago as a "race martyr."

850,000 Negro Voters

The Howard affair is one of hundreds—or even thousands—of incidents and situations which have been currently exploited in the negro press and in the negro pulpit as alleged proofs of "intolerable hostility" to the negro by political parties.

The total number of negro voters—who not merely exist but who actually voted—in the close and doubtful states of New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and Oklahoma is responsibly estimated this year to exceed eight hundred and fifty thousand. In each of the states the colored ballot is a conceivably decisive factor.

In these circumstances unprecedented efforts are being made by both Republicans and Democrats to gain or regain possession of that factor and to prevent the formation of a special independent "negro race party."

A new "negro national democratic league" has been organized which has penetrated even into Arkansas where at Little Rock not long ago a local branch of two hundred and fifty negroes was formed to support Governor Smith's candidacy. William McDonald (more distinctively known as "gooseneck Bill") a veteran negro leader of Republicanism in Texas, has announced his defection from Hoover and his transfer of his allegiance to Smith.

Dispute Rages

Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom of the Afro-American Methodist Episcopal Church has preached to the effect that "Smith is more promising to the negroes than Hoover." John J. Raskob, chairman of the Democratic national committee, has authorized earnest Democratic speaking campaigns in negro quarters. Ferdinand N. Morton, a negro member of the New York City civil service commission has traversed many states expounding in detail the recognition given to negroes in New York municipal offices by Tammany Hall.

The Republicans are countering by asserting that the recognition given to negroes in New York City by Tammany Hall has not been duplicated by Governor Smith in the state capitol at Albany. They allege that Smith himself at Albany has given to negroes no recognition at all. They also dwell upon the chicken wired cage in which negro spectators in the gallery of the Democratic national convention at Houston were "segregated," and "Jim Crowed." Their tone is pitched on the general theme of a recent editorial in the "Herald and Commonwealth," of Baltimore, a negro weekly which declares that Smith would turn the negro over to the Robinsons, the Bleases, the Heflins and the other demagogues of the South who delight to bellow "nigger" on the floor of the United States Senate.

With both parties thus determined to capture the negro vote of the northern states and of the border states, it remains to be seen if the negroes who will meet in Chicago next week will be able to escape long enough to establish a party of their own.

The "National Negro Party" Scare

Midsummer in Presidential Campaign years is always the full season for political alarmists and scare-crows. It is the full tide of opportunity for all those who think themselves out to batter their way in. This is true of every group and of every faction of every group. This is part of our political system. It is the warp and woof of political finesse and strategy. Every community and every state has its political lunatics striving might and main to disrupt the established order of things. We must differentiate between those who have a rightful claim for consideration to represent causes which demand a hearing, who have in their hearts the wrongs of people that must be redressed. The need of colored people this country over, within the Republican party, within the Democratic party, the Socialist party and the Communist party is to speak out loud and bold and demand a square deal not only in the division of the spoils but even in the deal itself. Unless they can be satisfied that their parties are proceeding under the proper principles and are cognizant of their cause, they have no hope when the issue is settled at election that this issue will be settled right. We are at a loss to understand the occasion for the threatened bolt of J. Finley Wilson and his following among the Order of Elks. Exalted Ruler Wilson we can assure his many friends has not been left out of the equation. The vital service that he can and must render to the Republican party has all along been recognized. Fearless and progressive and popular as is no other fraternal leader of his race, his is a force to be reckoned with and respected. We do not believe that Mr. Wilson gave the ultimatum to the National Republican Committee as it has been stated that he must either run the campaign among colored people or nothing. Mr. Wilson's convictions are far too strong as to the necessity of the Democratic party being routed in November. He is too well aware of the danger that lies in Democratic success to attempt to throw a monkey wrench in the brakes of his race's and his country's progress at this time. We cannot believe that in the wildest dreams he could conceive of a National Negro Party with himself nominated as President and with other alleged disgruntled leaders as candidates for minor political offices could either be effective strategy or common sense procedure. The need now is for all leaders as well as laymen to unite in a solid militant phalanx to move forward along progressive lines to the end that the Republican Party when elected must appreciate the vital help their race has rendered and must accept their program for a square deal as entitled not only to respect but adoption. We are no less insistent that the party respect the claims of those whom Mr. Wilson represents that he is, that those claims be respected. In the race's discord lies its danger, in the union lies its peace and progress.

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Nor is this spirit of revolt restricted only to white citizens. Sufficient insurgency has been manifested by Negroes to cause the Democratic Party to spend large sums to swing black citizens over to Smith, the Democrats are making a greater effort than ever before to win the support of Northern Negroes. There are, on the other hand, evidences that the Republicans will spend quite as much in an effort to hold the Northern Negro vote. One thing at least is certain: Negroes

ONE NECESSARY POLITICAL STEP

THE country is in the midst of one of its greatest political campaigns and Negro voters, in the excitement of the main struggle between Smith and Hoover, are apt to forget that for them there are more important considerations Whether the Democrats or Republicans direct the administration of the country for the next four years is admittedly important, but electing Negro Congressmen from New York, Chicago and St. Louis is much more so. Whatever party gets control of the Federal Government, there are likely to be a few minor appointments given to Negroes prominent in this campaign on either side, none of which can possibly approximate a Congressman in importance. Our group is badly in need of sincere champions and spokesmen in Congress. The white men who have come from districts largely populated by Negroes have, even in the best of cases, only half-heartedly spoken up for the black man. And when they have done so there has often been a suspicion that the expressions have found their source in cold calculation rather than in warm sympathy bred of knowledge and understanding.

So the one necessary political step of Negroes in this campaign, where possible, is to support some Negro candidate for Congress, no matter on what party ticket he is running. As was stated, it is a simple matter for Negroes to do this in St. Louis, Chicago and New York. It is also not unlikely that in some other communities Negroes hold the balance of power and by unifying their forces may be able to dictate nominations, at least for aldermanic and state legislative offices. Naturally this cannot be done unless Negroes vote. Wherever they can vote, what excuse is there for them if they do not vote? If Negroes were as zealous about voting in political campaigns as they are in fraternal meetings and conventions, there would probably be three or four times more Negroes than there are in the various state legislatures and at least three Negroes in Congress.

This accordingly introduces consideration of the Negro woman voter. It will be readily conceded that she has not taken full advantage of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution. There are tens of thousands of Negro women in the North, East and West who are now eligible to vote. but do not vote. Here is a job for the women's clubs and fraternities. Voting is not merely a right; it is a duty and a solemn one at that. It is easy to see what effect the entrance in force of Negro women into politics would have in spurring up the non-voting males of our group. With the full force of all male and female voters of our group, in every sizeable community where they are permitted to vote, behind some Negro candidate, we ought to have a much greater representation politically after the next election. It must always be kept in mind that one black man in a legislative chamber is worth a half dozen friendly whites, and exceeds the value of ten tons of propaganda.

THE POLITICAL DILEMMA.

From reports the country over the Negro faces conditions that have no parallel in his existence as citizens. Shall he support the Republicans or the Democrats is the question that is receiving his most thoughtful attention. It is a fact that all the advantages he possesses as citizens have come from Republicans, while all the laws which seek to humiliate and set him apart as a pariah have come from the Democrats. But the advantages given came from the Republicans of another day. The only difference between the present day Republican and Democrat is the one is hypocritical and the other open.

Politically the Democrats owe the Negro nothing and if he gets nothing from its, nothing is lost. On the other hand, the Republicans have always received his most loyal support and for that, what does he get but a deal of pre-election promises? No wonder, thousands of colored voters are pondering the question as ot whether it might not be the part of wisdom to support the Democrats, and if they win with his support, they may change their attitude. Certainly the Republicans would receive a jolt which would wake them out of their complacency. Parties want to win and if the Democrats were to win by reason of colored votes, they would not be such fools as not to be considerate enough to cultivate that support. For once they would owe the colored voter something. Under such a happening, the Republicans would realize that no longer is the Negro the trusting, believing thing that he has all too long been. Future political contests would see a different attitude toward the colored man. Nor can there be any doubt but that greater consideration would be given him in his every day existence. That it's a bad habit to become wedded to any party simply because one's ancestors were so inclined is seen by the practice of both the Negro and the South, the one Republican and the other Democratic and not much attention given to either by their respective parties. But will the colored man dare? Aught he? No wonder, there is such a diversity of opinion. Much is involved in whatever decision the voters finally make

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS—

Before we go any further, let's get one item in the day's chatter straightened out. In the North the negro is in politics in both the Democratic and the Republican parties. In the South the negro is in politics only in the Republican party. Above the Mason and Dixon Line, and in the West, Democrats vie with the Republicans for the colored vote. In the South in the Democratic party the negro is, to all intents and purposes, effectively disfranchised. In the South he is traditionally Republican. In the Republican party in the South the negro occupies most of the high places, does most of the wire pulling, garners most of the graft.

Northern Democrats respect the South's attitude toward the negro. Northern Republicans do not. Up to the present time the Republicans haven't made a great many negro appointments in the South, but they have permitted the negro to name appointees. We have no negro postmasters in Georgia, Alabama or Mississippi for the very good and sole reason that negroes do not dare to accept such appointments, not because Republican politicians would not make them. But recent investigations in Georgia and Mississippi show that negroes do dictate post-office appointments and extort blood money from postal employees.

Most of us know that no such plan as this could operate under a Democratic regime. We also know that this state of affairs is not getting better, but threatens to grow worse under the continued Republican regime. Mr. Hoover sees no reason why white Democrats in the South should be pampered by any concessions to their racial prjudices. Mr. Hoover and his wealthy associates in the North and West do not come in contact with the Northern negro. Nor do the residents of California, Mr. Hoover's home State, see much of the negro, although California has dealt more rigidly with the Japanese, a race superior in most respects to the African, than the South has with the negro. Mr. Hoover's wealth and position draw the racial line for him in so far as he is concerned personally. Why should he give heed to a problem in the Far South other than to make the most of it politically? It is a law in politics that the faithful shall be rewarded, and Mr. Hoover knows that the only way the Republican party can be held together in the South is by giving a large share of the patronage to the negro.

Democratic administrations do not try to pass force and anti-lynch bills. Only five years ago Senator Underwood had to resort to the filibuster to defeat a Republican force bill. Senator Lodge's pet political measure, when he was not expending his energies hating Woodrow Wilson, was a federal law which would send the federal army into the South on election days to take charge at the polls. The Democratic party believes that individual Southern States can handle the lynching problem, but not so with the Republicans. They are on record in their 1928 platform as demanding a negro-inspired federal law which would place the liberty and property of Southern citizens under the control of federal courts. It would be within the authority of President Hoover to appoint negro lawyers to federal court benches in the South.

The Wiregrass Farmer repeats that it is not concerned particularly with what is done about the negro question in the North. We don't live up there, where only the poorer classes of white people are brought into contact with the negro, anyway. We know—it seems childish to make this reiteration—that the Northern Democrat and the Southern Democrat are in hearty agreement as to the place the negro shall occupy in the South. And we know further that the Republican party knows no race distinction, in so far as the masses are concerned, North or South. It seems a futile thing to reiterate this knowledge common to us all.

How a few disaffected preachers, who themselves drew the color line a few years ago when unification of the Methodist churches North and South as rejected—how these Methodist preachers, allied as they are with a politico-fraternal order which rests its appeal somewhat, we believe, upon white supremaacy—how this combine can urge us to jump our ticket and vote for a broadening and a widening of the negro's influence in the South—we repeat that we don't see either the consistency or the plain commonsense of any such program

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

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General.

WHAT SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS WHO VOTE REPUBLICAN MUST FORGET

Let Democrats of Dothan and the Wiregrass who say they intend to vote for Hoover read the following bit of historical musing from The Albany Herald before they actually mark their tickets:

"When the Civil War ended it was uncertain what the political attitude of the South would be on national issues. There were many white Republicans in this section, and there were almost as many Democrats as Republicans in the North. Had Pres. Lincoln lived to complete his second term, his policy of conciliation—his earnest, honest desire to heal the wounds his country had suffered and bring the sections together as he longed to do—would have spared the states that had formed the Confederacy the lingering horrors of Reconstruction.

"For the Republican party, through its full control of the federal government delivered the South to its tormentors to be pillaged and plundered, to be humiliated and degraded, to have its leaders imprisoned and threatened with death.

"The carpetbag regime was the darkest period of Southern history. The Southern states were denied representation in the government of which they had been forced to remain a part. Federal bayonets bristled in every Southern capital and hundreds of other Southern communities. Negroes filled our legislative assemblies, and in some of the states were even placed on the bench—ignorant ex-slaves who had no more conception of what they were supposed to be doing than did their infant children.

"Presiding over the degradation of the South were the Republican party's representatives—men who invaded the South not while war was raging but after the flags of the Confederacy had been furled. They came to superintend the "putting of black heels on white necks." Backed by federal bayonets, they took charge of the public offices, looted state treasuries, intimidated Democrats who were politically active, and announced it as the settled policy of their party to keep the South under Republican rule—which meant Negro rule—for all future time.

"In the halls of Congress that attitude of the Republican party toward the South was repeatedly proclaimed. President Johnson, a Southern-born Republican, struggled vainly to have the South spared the horrors he foresaw. He vetoed numerous measures designed to prevent the white people of the South from participating in the reconstruction of their own state governments, only to have his vetoes overriden. The white voters of the South were disfranchised. Their state governments were turned over to Republican carpetbaggers from the North and ignorant ex-slaves who had been clothed with full privileges of citizenship. Strenuous efforts to enforce social equality between the races were made in every Southern state. Governor Jenkins, of Georgia, was removed from office for opposing the Republican party's harsh and humiliating measures of Reconstruction in this state, and Governor Humphreys, of Mississippi, suffered a similar fate. Men accused of civil crimes were tried before military tribunals, federal bayonets bristled all over the South, and the Southern white man who challenged the shameful order imposed by the Republican party did so at peril of his liberty, or even his life.

"For ten years the South fought for its freedom—fought to restore the government of Southern states to white control; fought to establish once and forever the racial integrity and social supremacy of the white man in a white man's land; fought to make white civilization safe where the white man had planted and nourished it.

"Then, when in 1876 the Democrats elected Samuel J. Tilden to the presidency, the Republican party, through as shameful a manipulation of partisan advantages as ever disgraced a civilized government, stole enough electoral votes, including those of South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida, to give Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, a majority of one in the electoral college.

"Why? Because the South had been made solidly Democratic by the Reconstruction policy of the Republican party, and the Republican North was unwilling to permit the party to which the South had turned for help and sympathy, in the years of its nominee in the White House!

"The attitude of the Republican party toward the South has never changed. It is today as it was from 1865 to 1876. The white man controls in the South today simply because he fought his political oppressors till they wearied of the struggle realizing that the spirit of independence—the spirit of states' rights—could never be conquered in the men who had followed Lee and Jackson and Gordon, and in their sons.

"These are the things a Southern Democrat must forget, must ignore, when he votes the Republican ticket in a national election.

"We can't do it."

POLITICAL LIBERTY, PLEASE !

PERHAPS few people of all the world plead for Liberty quite as much as does the colored American. He wants liberty of action, liberty of speech, liberty of this and liberty of that. He wants to be free to do and to act as he pleases. He resents any interference of his liberty—so much loved and so much sought.

But he has such peculiar notions about liberty. It seems almost racial with him to want liberty, freedom and a free course, until a political campaign breaks upon the country. As soon as a national campaign breaks, the Negro begins to forget liberty. He immediately calls for bondage, political bondage. He gets mad, loses his reason and throws one fit after another if he thinks a single Negro reserves the right to make a political decision. There is no such thing as liberty when it comes to politics, he thinks.

Leaders, or would-be leaders, rise up and begin to froth at the mouth about partisan politics and candidates. It is almost dangerous for any Negro to assert any independence. If white people divide in politics, that is regular and quite proper. But if Negroes talk of dividing, then the leaders begin to call them fools, idiots and other vile names. If the Negro is to listen to some leaders, he can vote neither the Democratic ticket nor the Republican ticket. He must do absolutely nothing, if he is to listen to some leaders. These leaders forget all about liberty of action. They want all Negroes to be slaves and fools, sitting by with folded arms, doing nothing whatever to better the general condition.

Suppose some Negroes desire to vote the Democratic ticket? What of it? Let them do it. Let us concede them the liberty we talk so much about. Suppose others desire to support the Republican ticket? Let them do it. Give them the liberty we are always talking about, year in and year out.

The only thing for each and every Negro to decide is, how can he or she better the general condition by a proper use of the ballot. When this is determined, the voter should cast his or her ballot in a determined effort to bring that improved condition to pass. This is political liberty. Every man and woman must have this liberty, or we are slaves to useless propaganda and false leadership.

Defections from the Republican party need not disturb those who are Republican. Likewise, defections from the Democratic ranks need not disturb those who are Democratic. There can be a great deal more accomplished, if we concede to everyone the liberty of political decision we desire for ourselves.

Negroes who want to join Blease, Heflin, Pat Harrison, Simmons, George and Glass ought to be allowed to do so. Perhaps they see some way to serve the improved condition we seek in this country. If, on the other hand, they awake to find themselves disappointed and defeated, they, like the prodigal, will return. We have enough Negroes to spare a few who desire to wander off to the party of the blood-hound and the mob. If we can get rid of them in that way, we should be willing to see them go.

One thing remember! Hoover and Curtis will be elected without a shadow of a doubt. Those who want to wander off for some new experiences will have four years to find their way back to civilization and safety. We predict and promise that there will be more room in the Republican party for those who remain with it, after November 6. Let political liberty have its day.

Patrick Henry said, "Give me Liberty or give me Death.' He got BOTH!

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General

Dothan, Ala., Eagle
October 4, 1928

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PERHAPS few people of all the world plead for Liberty quite as much as does the colored American. He wants liberty of action, liberty of speech, liberty of this and liberty of that. He wants to be free to do and to act as he pleases. He resents any interference of his liberty—so much loved and so much sought.

But he has such peculiar notions about liberty. It seems almost racial with him to want liberty, freedom and a free course, until a political campaign breaks upon the country. As soon as a national campaign breaks, the Negro begins to forget liberty. He immediately calls for bondage, political bondage. He gets mad, loses his reason and throws one fit after another if he thinks a single Negro reserves the right to make a political decision. There is no such thing as liberty when it comes to politics, he thinks.

Leaders, or would-be leaders, rise up and begin to froth at the mouth about partisan politics and candidates. It is almost dangerous for any Negro to assert any independence. If white people divide in politics, that is regular and quite proper. But if Negroes talk of dividing, then the leaders begin to call them fools, idiots and other vile names. If the Negro is to listen to some leaders, he can vote neither the Democratic ticket nor the Republican ticket. He must do absolutely nothing, if he is to listen to some leaders. These leaders forget all about liberty of action. They want all Negroes to be slaves and fools, sitting by with folded arms, doing nothing whatever to better the general condition.

Suppose some Negroes desire to vote the Democratic ticket? What of it? Let them do it. Let us concede them the liberty we talk so much about. Suppose others desire to support the Republican ticket? Let them do it. Give them the liberty we are always talking about, year in and year out.

The only thing for each and every Negro to decide is, how can he or she better the general condition by a proper use of the ballot. When this is determined, the voter should cast his or her ballot in a determined effort to bring that improved condition to pass. This is political liberty. Every man and woman must have this liberty, or we are slaves to useless propaganda and false leadership.

Defections from the Republican party need not disturb those who are Republican. Likewise, defections from the Democratic ranks need not disturb those who are Democratic. There can be a great deal more accomplished, if we concede to everyone the liberty of political decision we desire for ourselves.

Negroes who want to join Blease, Heflin, Pat Harrison, Simmons, George and Glass ought to be allowed to do so. Perhaps they see some way to serve the improved condition we seek in this country. If, on the other hand, they awake to find themselves disappointed and defeated, they, like the prodigal, will return. We have enough Negroes to spare a few who desire to wander off to the party of the blood-hound and the mob. If we can get rid of them in that way, we should be willing to see them go.

One thing remember! Hoover and Curtis will be elected without a shadow of a doubt. Those who want to wander off for some new experiences will have four years to find their way back to civilization and safety. We predict and promise that there will be more room in the Republican party for those who remain with it, after November 6. Let political liberty have its day.

Patrick Henry said, "Give me Liberty or give me Death.' He got BOTH!

A GREAT NEW ENGLANDER AND THE SOUTH'S GREAT VIRTUES

It was the late Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, who pointed out after 40 years of intimate study of Southern life and Southern character, as both were reflected in the country's government in his day, that the Southern people have great and abiding virtues. Of these he judged of highest value the quality of steadfastness that marked the South in its devotion to its social and political ideals. In season and out of season, said he, the Southern people had the capacity of clinging to one distinct, definite policy, or pursuing one single and paramount purpose until both that purpose was achieved and that policy was adopted. He also noted that, supplementing this great virtue of steadfastness, was the South's discriminating sense of values, particularly of political and social values. By this he meant that the South was not easily either beguiled, or cajoled, or misled, or intimidated into relinquishing its adherence to certain principles that in the South's judgment were then, as they are still, fundamental and determinative of this section's attitude toward national questions. Southern temper and Southern character, whether in peace or in war, were essentially unalterable. All these high qualities, he recorded in his "Reminiscences," were embodied in the late Gen. Walthall, of Mississippi, with whom Mr. Hoar was associated for a great many years in Congress—first in the House and later in the Senate. When Mr. Hoar, later in his "Reminiscences," drew a portrait of "the ideal American senator," it was Gen. Walthall, of Mississippi, who was named by the scholarly New Englander for that distinction.

* * *

In Gen. Walthall's day, even as nowadays, men lacking in discrimination and lacking also in character failed to exemplify in the South the great virtue of steadfastness to principle and persistency of purpose that evoked from Senator Hoar his tribute to Southern life and Southern character. In some cases their fault was of the head; in many cases their fault was of the heart. Not a few of them lacked the mettle "to change velvet for homespun and to endure the pinch of honorable poverty." Their excuse for yielding to the beguiler, the cajoler and even the bully was that their wives and children were in need of food, or shelter or raiment. For these the South had only pity and pity uncompounded with contempt. But the great majority of the so-called and justly termed "scalawags" who struck hands with the carpetbaggers in exploiting the impoverished South were men plainly lacking in the moral fiber, or nice sense of discrimination, which were later commended by Senator Hoar. In breaking with their people, these faint-hearted or feeble-minded people of the South merely chose "to go the easy way"—the way that is recurringly suggested not by intelligent patriotism but rather either by prejudice or by profit.

Once more, apparently, temptation arises in the South for men easily misled to emulate the tragic example set by the undiscriminating and unsteadfast in Reconstruction days, and later when the noxious growth of Populism was in flower. Now, as was the case then, the need of clear perspective once more becomes imperative. Now, as then, the South needs to discriminate between the tried-and-true friend and the foe of unrelenting hostility. It is a mere truism to state that, since its origin, the Republican party has framed its policies with scant considerateness of the South's economic needs. Invariably, that party has framed not a few of its policies in calculated hostility to the social structure and the political fabric of the South's life. In its latest platform, it repeats this grevious offense, and repeats it for the 60-year-old purpose of pandering to a vicious element of the electorate of the North and to irritate the South by inflaming an identical element of citizenship in the South's own household. No candid man here may justly deny that the proposed federal usurpation of state authority in administering criminal justice is a blow aimed directly at the South's social and political order. No candid mind may justly deny that the Republican presidential nominee—not merely in words but in well-thought-out acts as well—has sanctioned this pandering aggravated this irritation and revived once more this ever-imminent peril.

* * *

On the day following the nomination of Gov Smith as the Democratic presidential candidate a significant coincidence was reported in the newspapers. On that day, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson dispatched from Houston to Albany a message of warm congratulation, expressing her gratification over Gov. Smith's nomination and her heartfelt hope and wish that he would be elected. On that day, the Republican candidate, Mr. Hoover, was reported closeted at Washington in counsel with the president of Tuskegee Institute. Mr. Hoover was not called upon on that day by the head of the University of Alabama, Dr. Denny; or by the head of the Polytechnic Institute at Auburn, Dr. Knapp; or by the head of the Woman's College of Alabama at Montevallo, Dr. Carmichael. Of none of these does Mr. Hoover now seek counsel. It is to Tuskegee, it would seem, that Mr Hoover now looks for advice respecting Alabama, just as in Mississippi and in Georgia and in Louisiana in the pre-convention campaign, Mr. Hoover looked, not to white men and white women of high character to obtain delegate support, but rather to men and women of a quite different background and a quite different culture. It is in connection with his pre-convention efforts that the reported conference should be viewed. Tuskegee Institute and its principal, Dr. Moton, have rendered fine service to the South in a particular field of education for negroes. In these efforts they have had and will continue to have the hearty support of this newspaper. As far as is generally known, Mr. Hoover has no connection with the institute and its work. The reported conference, it would seem, may logically be regarded as having been political in its nature. It is that phase of the matter, taken in connection with his order abolishing segregation of negro employes in his department and the distribution of Hoover money among Southern negroes prior to the convention, that is of vital interest to the people of Alabama.

* * *

These are not accusations against Mr. Hoover; these are merely and clearly—facts. They are facts that no discriminating voter in Alabama—mindful of actual conditions here—can contemplate with complacency. It is these facts that should give pause to every voter here who may now be tempted by undisciplined minds and untested hearts into breaking with their people—into going the easy, or the unwise, way. Plainly the hour strikes when this state's solid sense should rule it—when this state's steadfastness of character should prevail.

"Wayward brothers and wayward sisters, too, go in peace!" should be the farewell to be given them by this state's men and this state's women who are now resolved to be steadfast—resolved to protect the ancient faith that is theirs, to protect the civilization that has here been built up by patience, and alertness, and sacrifice of no little blood and no little treasure. In case these willful persons leave the party of their fathers, they should understand that they go with eyes wide open out of a party that has immemorially been this state's understanding friend, a party that has been this state's sympathetic defender; and they go to a party which, in its origin as well as now in its decadence, has not only denied the South economic justice but attacked its fundamental political structure and assailed its elemental social fabric.

* * *

It is with the keenest regret that this newspaper reminds Alabama's people of the tremendous issue that is now at the fore—an issue that has been wantonly raised not by the Democratic South but by the Republican platform and designedly by the Republican candidate. What the outcome is to be in Alabama can no be doubted by anyone mindful of the temper and character of this state's people, as that character and that temper were understood by George Frisbie Hoar.—Birmingham News.

Gainesville, Ga., Times
Friday, July 20, 1928

WHITE SUPREMACY.

In the pending national campaign the question of white supremacy is paramount, and supercedes every controversial issue.

It strikes at the very hearthstone of every white man's home in the south.

In Georgia the problem is peculiarly acute. Within the past few days, in the disgraceful disclosures as to juggling federal patronage by a negro referee, this burning question, on which hinges the hope of the south, as it hinged in the dark days of reconsruction, has been accentuated.

In Mississippi, where a negro patronage referee has, as alleged, auctioned postmasterships and other federal jobs, the conditions are so "astonishing," as expressed by members of the senate investigating committee, that a grand jury, rather than a congressional group, has undertaken the investigations. Thus it is all over the south.

And what is to be expected should Secretary Hoover be elected to the presidency?

He is entitled to his racial ideas. It is not charged that he is influenced in them by political expediency. They were made plain during the world war, when, as food administrator, he brought the blacks and whites together, in his numerous division headquarters and office rooms in Washington—men and women of every shade and color—to work side by side, feed from the same tables, and use the same rest rooms.

It was only after the segregation order of President Wilson that such a condition was remedied. That order remained in effect, in all governmental departments, and with entire satisfaction, the white and black employees being properly separated until a few months ago when upon the initiative of negro politicians of Boston, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, Secretary Hoover abrogated the order as to the department of commerce, and all its branches, and today the same conditions exist as prior to the Wilson segregation order ten years ago. Today the white and black employees, men and women, in all branches of that department, work side by side, use the same rest rooms, and in no respect is there any racial segregation.

There is no purpose to reflect upon the character, or the statesmanship or the business ability of the republican candidate for president. He has never lived in the south. He has only stopped in Georgia for a brief period, and in waiting for his schedule in Savannah the fact that he received as his guest on his private car the negro national committeewoman may have had more political than racial significance. At that time his candidacy for the nomination was brewing.

He lived the most of his adult life in London and in other European capitals. There social and racial conditions are different.

But that does not alter, nor extenuate the situation in this country.

While the racial question is inbred, it is sacred, it is crucial.

The negro is equal to the white before the law, and the administration of the law, in his, and in other states in the "old black belt" gives to him freely and correctly that equality.

He is encouraged to become useful in citizenship, in the trades, in industry, in agriculure.

He is educated through the public school system on a parity with the whites, and the expenses are paid by taxation which accrues largely from the whites.

Every upstanding citizen believes in justice, full and complete, to the negro.

But that does not mean a reliquishment of white supremacy, for which the best blood of the south was shed to maintain, and which the upstanding thought of Americans, in every state recognizes to be right.

It does not mean social equality, or negro political domination, as the latter is today in the juggling of federal jobs in Georgia and other states. Will this negro political domination not expand and be made more intolerable if Secretary Hoover becomes the nation's executive?

It is time to think seriously of this question. Mr. Hoover is entitled to his views. Domocratic malcontents and insurrectionists who want to join him, and the negro republican dictators in the south, may find comfort in such company, but white supremacy is the hope of the south. For it we fight!

Former Governor Brough, of Arkansas, speaking before the Press association of this state made this plain when he said the real issue in this national campaign is "Anglo-Saxon supremacy."

Elsewhere in The Constitution today is a communication from Wright Willingham, prominent attorney of Rome Ga., in which he mades the issue plain The Constitution:

A negro of Rome is a dispenser of federal patronage, and with Bre'r Davis of Georgia-at-large, and Bre'r Howard, of Mississippi-at-large, and others, hold the republican throttle in the south.

Party Affiliation

THE TURNING POINT

Senator Bruce, a Maryland Democrat, in a heated speech before the United States Senate last Monday, excoriated the southern states for their policy of disfranchising the ex-slaves and then interrogated them as to their inconsistency in supporting the enforcement of the Volstead Amendment. Southern Senators immediately projected themselves into the dispute and answered back that the south does not "disfranchise the Negroes, but they fail to come up to the educational and property qualifications." Senator Borah, Idaho Republican, then precipitated himself in the wrangle and declared that he had gone thru the southern states and was unable to discover where any of them violated the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution. Senator Borah further asserted that the law is applied to white and blacks alike in Mississippi. Senator Bruce, however, was firm in his conviction and thundered that the time had come when the south should become more tolerant with the Negro and should divest itself of its marked intolerant spirit.

These are hectic days in the Senate and issues of race, religion and southernisms are gradually being brought before the public. Heflin assails Roman Catholicism and fastens on Governor Al. Smith, New York's Governor, who is a candidate for President, the charge of "Rum and Romanism." "No Catholic can ever be elected President," bellows Heflin, as he hurls his invectives against Governor Smith. Only last week Senator-elect Frank L. Smith was denied his seat in the Senate as the southern Democrats and so-called radical Republicans voted against him because Illinois capitalists aided in financing his campaign. They declared that Mr. Smith was tainted with corruption and fraud. It has been freely predicted all along that some day the action of the Southern Democrats in this matter would react against them. Now it is beginning to appear that the course of affairs are headed in that direction. Bigotry, intolerance and political intrigue as practiced by the south cannot be winked at forever and the time harkens near, for Senator Bruce, who is a notorious opponent of the liquor amendment, charges that the southerners and his fellow Democrats are nullifiers of the Constitution and proves his case by citing the Fifteenth Amendment which conferred suffrage on the black people.

One of the most amazing phases of the dispute in the Senate was the attempt of the Republican Borah to defend the actions of the Southerners. Borah for sometime has been regarded as the best debater in the Senate and a clear thinker, but on this so-called "Negro Question" his views have been consistently warped and twisted. He opposed the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill, he fought Walter Cohen when Mr. Cohen needed his vote to get the appointment as Comptroller of Customs for the Port of New Orleans. Borah has stated that it is his belief, that Congress erred when it conferred suffrage on the black people at the time when the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted. Senator Bruce is in agreement with Mr. Borah on that point, and for that matter hundreds and thousands of others are too, but Borah also stands out in this enlightened age and asserts that we are not disfranchised in the South.

It is undoubtedly true that the Southern states have some fairly good laws on their statute books and a distinguished English lawyer stated some years ago that the Alabama legal system was among the finest in the country, but he, like Borah, should have known that these laws are not equitably enforced. Every sensible American knows that while the Southern States do not deny us the right to vote by passing unconstitutional laws they do the same thing by trickery, force, chicanery, intimidation and murder. The State of Florida took no official action when printed notices were published warning black people to stay away from the polls and the whole country knows how we have been driven away from the ballot boxes by shot and shell. In our opinion Borah knows these things and he also knows that we are disfranchised thru just such methods. These systems must change and the change is eminent.

Such issues as religion, race, liquor and nullification emanating from the south will sooner or later result in some amazing revelations that will shake the foundations of the solid south. Representation in Congress will either be cut down or we will be permitted to exercise our constitutional rights. When a Democrat states before his fellows and in earshot of the press galleries that the south must become more tolerant and less hypocritical, then we have every reason to believe that ere long the kaleidoscope will soon turn even tho Borah may bray much like a dog baying at the moon.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

JAN 18 1928

Negroes Form Stewart Club.
Two hundred negroes have formed a Stewart-for-Governor Club here and will have permanent headquarters at room 329 in the People's Building, Jefferson avenue and Market street. Ralph A. Turner is president and Miss Marie Wilburn, secretary.

Wooing the South

THE NEGRO voter has often been erided for his loyalty to the Republican party through thick and thin. It has been said that the Republican party was not giving him a square deal and that he should retaliate by voting against it; that as long as he acted the part of a political slave he would be treated as one.

THIS ADVICE has its merits, for the Republican party has not been treating the Negro right. But what is the Negro to do? If the Democratic party lived up to its professions of democracy, the Negro would do well to join it; but ever since Jefferson's day the Democrats have been getting farther and farther away from their professions. More and more the National Democratic party has been coming under the domination of the South. Grover Cleveland was the only great Democratic leader who did not cater to the South; Woodrow Wilson preached about the "new freedom" and it turned out to be the old slavery; and now comes Governor Smith with a Jackson day letter subscribing to every principle of the Solid South. 1-18-28

GOVERNOR SMITH'S letter advocates "the greatest degree of local self-government by the states," which is just what the Southern Democrats want. It means, in so many words, no interference with

lynching, no agitation against the nullification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, no objection to the South's doing as it pleases with the Negro. It means that the divergence between the Northern and the Southern Democrats, which gave some hope to the Negro in local elections, is to be smoothed away in the interest of Democratic harmony. As is shown by the selection of Houston, Texas, for the National Democratic convention, Democratic harmony means Southern domination. Any eye that can see a chance for justice to the Negro in the National Democratic party is either more or less than human.

A TEAPOT TEMPEST

SENATOR BRUCE of Maryland, stirred up some dust, aroused the ire of some barbon southern democrats, excited some credulous people and put out to the fore the prohibition and disfranchisement questions as news of the day. For the wet Maryland senator, argued because the wets of the north have been unable to devise some scheme for evading the Eighteenth Amendment without punishment as has the Southerners the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, with impunity and immunity, sought to crucify the south rather for its successful evasion of the law than for its sins against the law. Therefore we doubt the motives of Senator Bruce were sincere insofar as he desires to see justice done the southern Negroes, but that in reality he is aggrieved and affronted by the attitude of the dry south toward the wet north on the prohibition question, and that he takes this means to get back at the south in retaliation.

See Issue of 5/22/28

However, that may be the fact that all of the senators engaged in that debate, Bruce, Borah, Glass, Swanson and others, let slip some truths which can be used against the southern system of disfranchisement when a real move is made to end that situation and not a jesture as has been done formerly.

Even though it was a teapot tempest in favor of the wets and to put over their propaganda, much that is good material to be used by the Negro for his full constitutional rights was brought out, particularly in the statement of Senator Swanson reported as follows:

Senator Swanson took up the argument that even if there be no violation of the Fifteenth Amendment, congress, under the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment, should reduce the representation of the south in the house of representatives and also curtail the power of the south in the electoral college.

"The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments left unchanged the exclusive jurisdiction of the states representing the exercise of the right of ote," he declared. "It is the purpose of the second section to induce the south to confer suffrage upon the Negroes who had been freed by the Thirteenth Amendment by providing for representation in the house based on population of the respective states, and for reduced representation in the proportion that citizens of the United States might be denied or abriged in their right to ote in a state except for crime or treason.

"The south was presented with this proposition: Enfranchise the Negro and you will have full representation on the basis of your entire population; disfranchise him and your representation in congress will be reduced to the extent of the Negro population. It was hoped by those who supported this proposition that the states of the south would enfranchise the Negro thus obtain unrestricted representation and not disfranchise him and suffer reduced representation.

"The southern states refused to confer suffrage on the Negro, declining to be bribed by the offer of complete representation in congres, knowing full well the ineitable demoralization and disaster that would follow. Disappointed at the attitude of the south, congress submitted to the states for aproval the Fifteenth Amendment. This was intended as a statement of Negro suffrage in the south.

"Can there be any question that the solution of the problem effected by the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment was discarded and another solution found by the Fifteenth Amendment, and that accordingly, in substance and in effect, the provision relative to sufferage in the earlier amendment was repealed by the latter amendment?"

This is a contention for which the Negro has long fought, the reduction of the south's representation in congress as Senator Swanson urges should be done where the Fifteenth Amendment is violated.

More oil shoulde be added to the conflagation raging between the northern wets and the southern drys. It is smoking out some of our northern Republican friends (?) like Senator Borah, and disclosing some of our wet democratic enemies (?) such as Bruce.

Who can say that the Negro, the innocent bystander may become the target of solicitation, goodwill and the ultimate beneficiary of the new order when the guns of the battling wet and dry forces have died and tolerance will pervade the land.

The Negro himself, may not directly have a hand in the solution of his political problem of the south, just as he played a small part in his own emancipation, but indications seem to point to the fact that the thieves are about to fall out. When this truly happens, the innocent citizen deprived of his may come into his own. May we continue to fiddle while senators burn with righteous (?), indigration. Perhaps we may then dance without having to pay the fiddler. In any event it looks like a war to a finish or of extermination between factions of the Nordics.

Newport News, Va., Times-Herald
Sunday, May 19, 1928.

COLORED VOTERS PLAN FURTHER RALLIES HERE

Leaders Among Negroes of City Announce That Several More Rallies Will Be Held Between Now and Election Day, June 12; Silent as to Candidates.

Two or three more colored political rallies are scheduled to be held between now and the general election of June 12, according to negro political leaders, who aver that never in the history of this city have they known the negro voters to display such interest in an election.

On June 12 three members will be elected to serve on the city council for a period of four years. There are five candidates in the field, three Democrats, one Republican and one Independent. One of the most influential men in the colored community stated this morning that the colored vote would be cast in a block, for the issuance of bonds to erect a new colored school and administration building, which is also included in the ticket, and for three councilmen, whom they have already fixed upon. Various rumors as to which of the candidates will receive the colored vote have proved to be nothing more than rumors, for those in close touch with the situation state that they "don't tell names and tales, too."

Several meetings have been held and special workers detailed to make a canvass of the colored community to insure a full vote being cast.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

General.

AS IN A LOOKING GLASS

Alice Dunbar-Nelson

WELL, it was a glorious victory, as old Caspar said in the Battle of Blenheim. And like young Caspar, we ask what it was all about, but arrive at no other conclusion than that it was a glorious victory. Said victory being signalized by skulls and bleaching skeletons on the battle field.

And now that the "tumult and the shouting dies," we may return to normalcy, pick up the tattered threads of our daily life and get about the real business of existence. What would the United States do without the quadrennial upheaval? It sets in motion all kinds of interesting literature, plenty of emotional excitement, lots of money, opportunities for travel and socializing, oodles of oratory, argument and contention, chances for women-folk to burst into print, and for the men-folk, big and little to strut their small preening on the stage of futility. Altogether, win or lose, a pleasant time is had by all, particularly the Brother. He gets a thrill of importance out of the campaign that he does not experience for another four years. The fact that he is such small potatoes and so few in a hill, and getting smaller and fewer every hour, does not concern him. The main thing is that at this time he feels an importance that helps to conserve his self-respect for the remaining four years when he is kicked around as the football of the nation.

* * * * * * * * *

EVERY now and then—to revert to the recent cataclysm—we are reminded that Kelly Miller wields by and large the most pungently pointed pen of any of our columnists. As for example this last article, "As the Negro Goes to the Polls." Note this paragraph:

"If the Negro, as a race, supports the Grand Old Party in the present election and in the next ten elections to come, there is no apparent likelihood that his political lot would be improved thereby. The Negro acquired an initial momentum for the party of freedom and equality in the early days which it is admittedly difficult to reverse.

"Those past middle age, the over-optimistic, who somehow believe that the spirit of Abraham Lincoln will be reincarnated in the Grand Old Party, the timid and hesitant, who rather endure the ills they have than risk those they know not of; those of the **slavish Uncle Tom type of temperament**, the cunning and crafty, who hope to gather in the crumbs of favor which fall from the white master's table, will adhere to the Republican standard, though the dry land turn to sea.

"On the other hand, the forward-looking, the progressive, the radical, the new Negro, the intelligentsia, will revolt against the Republican recreancy, and will risk whatever expediency which may promise change. It must be conceded that the Democratic party does not hold out a promising prospect; but protest against a false friend often incidentally results in benefit to an avowed enemy?"

NEWS
CHARLESTON, S. C.

NOV 5 1928

If the Negroes Be Let In—the Responsibility

In Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Missouri, Kentucky and a few other states the negro vote has great weight.

Republicans and Democrats do what they can to get the support of the negroes in the North. There is no doubt about that. The Republicans usually get the support of the Northern negroes. The Democrats would get it if they could.

The principal difference between the two parties in respect of the negro vote is that the Republicans insist upon the right of negroes to vote in the South and the Northern Democrats now, as always, are insistent that the Southern white people be left unmolested in control of the affairs of their states.

Never with a Democrat in the White House does or will the danger of the appointment of negroes to office in the South arise.

If we should have two white parties in South Carolina, and in other Southern states, both will try to get negro support. Therefore, negroes will be protected in voting. That is about as plain as it is that two and two make four.

When the negro vote shall be an important part of the vote of a successful party in South Carolina, negroes will not be denied a share of the offices. Mr. David Lawrence has brought to attention that, once negroes are voting in numbers in the South, they, in combination with Northern negroes, may hold the balance of power in American affairs.

A white man of South Carolina has a perfect right to vote the Republican ticket. The News and Courier would be the last voice to question the right of the citizen's political independence.

Those white people who withdraw from the national Democratic party will make the breach that will admit the negroes to the polls. When they split the party they and they alone will be responsible for the results. If they split it tomorrow, they may not be able to mend it the next day or the next year.

The results will not be pleasant. In this state are nearly as many negroes as white people. Twenty-five years ago negroes were still voting in many South Carolina town elections. Liquor and beer flowed freely when even fifty negroes voted in a town having 500 voters. So great was the corruption, the disorder, the shame, that all the towns were compelled to adopt the white primary plan and keep the negroes out of politics altogether.

The dirt, the filth, the "wetness", of those town elections would be repeated on a statewide scale, if 100,000 or 50,000 negroes should vote in general elections.

When the negroes were voting in South Carolina, the NEGRO WOMEN were not voting. The negro women will have the ballot if the negroes begin again to vote.

The News and Courier denies to no man the right to vote for Hoover tomorrow, and questions the conscientiousness of none so voting who did not vote in the Democratic primary and has not shared in Democratic party activities.

Those white men who vote for Hoover tomorrow blaze the way for a new party in South Carolina. We cannot have two parties without having two parties for negroes. Those men should know what they are doing. No matter what party thereafter might control the bulk of the negro vote, once it shall be let in, theirs will be the responsibility for letting it in. If it should convert South Carolina into a "wet" state, the white men voting for Hoover will have the responsibility for making it "wet.".

The News and Courier prints this editorial on this, the day before election day, for purposes of record. If trouble comes in the later years from what shall be done tomorrow, it will be a record to which we can refer.

For it will show that we straightout Democrats, who support the nominees, state and national, Smith and Robinson and the state, congressional and county candidates, wash our hands of all responsibility for a split in the solid white party, and put on the heads of those who, calling themselves Democrats, vote for Hoover, the esponsibility for letting the negroes in.

North Emporia, Va., Messenger
Friday, November 2, 1928

Is White Supremacy Challenged?

The Democratic party does not, in this campaign, desire to emphasize White Supremacy in the South as an issue, but since Governor Smith's enemies, notably The Fellowship Forum, have sought to create the impression that Alfred E. Smith and the present leadership of the Democratic party are out of line with the traditional party policy on the question of White Supremacy in the South, the Smith - Robinson - Swanson - Drewry club of Greensville County feels itself entirely justified in submitting the following for consideration by the white people of this county:

Under date of September 20th, 1928, The Atlanta Independent, a Negro Republican paper, owned by Ben J. Davis, Negro National Republican Committeeman from Georgia, carrried an editorial from which the following are extracts:

"We are Republicans and offer no apology for our faith."

"In no State in the Union where the Republican party controls is there a Jim Crow, disfranchising or segregating law. In no Republican State is there any separation of the Races on public carriers or shutting the doors of political opportunity in the Negro's face."

"We are 100 per cent Republican because there is not one line of discriminating legislation on the books of any State in the Union placed there by the Republican party, but, on the contrary, there is special legislation on the books of every Democratic State in the Union outlawing the black man's rights and put on there by the Democratic party over the protests and votes of Republicans"

And in October 4th, 1928, in an editorial in this same paper, Davis quotes from the Philadelphia Tribune to prove Governor Smith's unwillingness to appoint negroes to office, and declares that Smith and Raskob hold to the ideas of the Southern people with respect to White Supremacy in the South.

This Negro newspaper owner, Davis, is the **official spokesman for the Republican party** in the State of Georgia.

Perry Howard, a negro lawyer is the Republican National Committeeman from the State of Mississipi. Howard has been appointed by the Republican Attorney General as Assistant Attorney General of the United States, and his department will be charged with the enforcement of Federal laws aimed at the South such as Congressman Dyer's proposed anti-lynching laws and the Force bills which Dyer is trying to have enacted.

Mr. Hoover, in his speech of acceptance, says that he advocates strict enforcement of the 14th. and 15th. amendments (the negro amendments) to the constitution of the United States. He can only mean that he intends to use his influence to undo all that the Democratic party has done to insure White Supremacy in the South.

The negro, F. Q. Morton, a member of the Civil Service Commission of New York, was not appointed by Governor Smith. The Fellowship Forum in giving publicity to Morton's appointment, and, by implication, charging Governor Smith with responsibility therefor, did not see fit to inform its readers that Morton was actually appointed by Mayor Hylan a bitter political enemy of Governor Smith.

We respectfully submit the above for the consideration of Democrats who are told that it makes no difference to the South whether Southern people leave the Democratic party or not.

—SMITH - ROBINSON - SWANSON-DREWRY CLUB OF GREENSVILLE COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

Hoover, Lily White--Smith Hostile Says Dr. DuBois

"Crisis" Editor Advocates Voters for a Third Party In November

First. Black men of the South should no vote for Herbert Hoover because he favors the Lily White domination of the Republican Party in the South; because he has always been silent as to lynching; because he has stood for the subjugation of Haiti; and because he has done nothing and advocated nothing toward the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments.

Al Smith

Second. Negroes should vote for Al Smith because in twenty-five years of public service he has never in any way recognized any Negro by appointment or by assenting to laws which Negroes wished enacted; because he is the running mate of an Arkansas Democrat who may succeed him to the Presidency; because he has made no protest against lynching and his political obligations to the South are such that the Negro cannot expect from him as President the slightest consideration of which the dominant bourbon South does not approve.

Organized Wealth

Third. Both Smith and Hoover represent in their parties and organization, organized wealth, industrial monopoly, and the exploitation of the poor.

Volstead Act

Fourth. The Volstead Act could be modified without changing the 18th Amendment. If the 18th Amendment were repealed, some persons might be encouraged to attempt the repeal of the 15th Amendment. It is doubtful if the corporations which have taken refuge under the 14th Amendment would elect the repeal of that law, and while many people would like the repeal of the 13th Amendment, the opposition of white labor would stop them.

Third Party

Fifth. If the Negro does not vote for Smith or Hoover, what should he do? He can vote for the candidate of the Tihrd Party — for Norman Thomas, the candidate of the Socialists, or for the Nominees of the Farmer-Labor Group or the Prohibitionists. This will be in effect throwing a vote away, because no Third Party candidate can be elected as long as the minority party can depend upon the rotten boroughs of the Solid South. Nevertheless, a vote for the Third Party in this election is a moral protest, and moral protests are of importance, even in the United States of America and in the year of Grace, 1928.

Chronicle-Telegraph
PITTSBURGH, PA.

SEP 2 1928

FLAYS NEGRO POLITICIANS AS TRAITORS

Rev. A. V. B. Hightower Urges Race to Unite and Wipe Out Vice, Other Evils

Civic ills of the Negro race are largely of their own making, the Rev. A. V. B. Hightower declared at the annual meeting of the Supreme Council, Afro-American Brotherhood, held Friday night in Payne's chapel, 2701 Wylie avenue.

He flayed Negro politicians who he said have sold out the voters to the politicians, the police for their failure to clean up "the Hill" and their disregard of the rights of Negroes in Police Court cases.

He demanded united action by the Negroes of the city to wipe out evils and obtain better housing conditions.

The address, in part, follows:

OUR OWN FAULT

"The lack of interest by our own group is detrimental both to the race and the community. And the lack of interest in ourselves is one of the main faults that is causing the Negro to suffer through industries, labor difficulties, politics and commercialized vice. The fault is our own and it is our duty to remedy it ourselves. To this end the Afro-American Brotherhood of the World requests increased efforts of its members and 100 per cent co-operation of all good Negro citizens.

"Our chief aim is to help the Negro help himself, and to depend upon himself instead of upon his white brethern. The large majority of our people complain of the lack of opportunity. This is largely the fault of some unqualified leaders who, through lack of intellectual qualifications give a good bit of their time in preaching the errors of a few white people against Negroes as an index of the whole, resulting in the loss of friendship of our white neighbors as well as a loss of co-operation in some respects. Misguiding leadership creates crime and vice, disorder and strife in any community regardless of race, creed or color.

"There is another class of Negroes, politically known as 'vote getters.' They work for the "powers that be" to be the recognized leader of the Negroes. Therefore, to assume their services, these are given jobs swinging mops and bailing paper for the city and county at $120 to $140 per month. And then they become obligated to swing the Negro votes to those in power. Others go down to the bosses to get a concession to operate a "speakeasy" or brothel. This is a deplorable condition and we must wipe it out ourselves because it is our fault that it exists. When you go down to the front office seeking better conditions, you are told you are getting along all right. 'Haven't we given you privilege to run a joint—what more do you want?'

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Hoover, Exploiter of Coolies, Serfs and Slaves

John Sullivan, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, has issued a statement sponsoring grave charges against Herbert Hoover.

He piles up a whole series of facts to prove that Hoover got his millions out of the most ruthless exploitation of Chinese coolies, Indian slaves, and Russian half-serfs.

In **India**, Hoover, as chairman of the Burma Corporation, Ltd., employed 20,000 men, whom official British documents called "compulsory free labor."

In **China**, mines operated by Hoover forced 40,000 coolies "with the bayonets and soldiers of your partner, the Empress of China, under **conditions of semi-slavery.**"

In **Tzarist Russia**, Hoover was engaged in the operation of railroads, copper and sulphur mines, and "among the number of employed some 30,000 of them were **serfs and convicts** with cossacks using the whip and rifle to force compulsory employment in the financial interest of you and your partners, the Romanoff royal family."

These charges put forward by Mr. Sullivan are very serious, and throw a powerful searchlight on the activities of the presidential candidate of finance capital.

But Mr. Sullivan, as an experienced and notorious labor faker, does not tell the whole truth. **He keeps quiet about the following fundamental facts:**

1. That not only Hoover as an individual but the **whole American master class** is engaged in the same kind of ruthless exploitation of coolies in China, peasants in Latin America, and half-slaves in the various colonies.

2. That Hoover and the whole capitalist class of this country is exploiting not only Chinese coolies and Burmese slaves and Mexican peasants, but are with all their force and strength for the **perpetuation of wage slavery in the United States and for the maintenance in virtual slavery of the Negroes of the South.**

3. That **Al Smith, Mr. Sullivan's favorite candidate, is by no means better than Hoover;** that he, just as Hoover, stands for the exploitation and oppression of the toilers here in America.

4. That Mr. Sullivan and his labor-fake colleagues, **the whole American Federation of Labor, are not putting up any resistance** to defend the colonial peoples or the workers of this country against exploitation and oppression.

5. That **there is only one political force** the Workers (Communist) Party of America, which fights for the liberation of the colonial peoples, for the overthrow of capitalism, for the abolition of wage slavery, for the emancipation of the Negroes.

Workers, Vote Communist! Send your contribution of at least one dollar today direct to the National Election Campaign Committee, Workers (Communist) Party, 43 East 125th St., New York City.

General

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
Monday, October 22, 1928

Leave the Negro Out of It

Forty-five Southerners who yesterday issued a protest against dragging the Negro question into the present presidential campaign are exactly correct in their attitude. The Negro is poor enough and bears the brunt of enough ills and evils just as he is, without having all the good work that has been done by him and in his behalf upset and putting him at the bottom of the ladder again, just because the white people of the South have fallen out over politics and some of them have appealed to him to come in and settle their differences for them. If he takes sides or gets mixed up in their squabble, it is bound to result in antagonism and revival of old antipathies, with all the old-time evil consequences. Evidences of the Negro's progress and uplift can be seen every day and on every hand, but once let him become embroiled in the white man's politics and he will fall or be pushed right back to where he was in former days. He needs the sympathy and help and encouragement of every man, and for him to take sides will alienate all of those against whom he takes action. And this is too big a price for him to pay, or for the white man to let him pay.

The most conspicuous example of the efforts of the whites to drag him into the present melee was the speech of the outstanding W. C. T. U. worker, Mrs. Marvin Williams, who was quite conspicuous as having accepted credentials as a delegate to a Democratic convention after she had participated in a meeting where resolutions were adopted saying she would not support Smith if he were nominated, and when it was apparent on every hand that he would be nominated. She came back from Houston and repudiated the action of the convention of which she had been a part, began organizing everything that was organizable against the Democratic candidate, and topped off her loyalty by going before a Negro meeting at Adel and appealing to the Negroes there to vote with her for Mr. Hoover. Somebody or some thing had the good sense to stop Mrs. Williams in her madness, but she showed quite clearly just how desperate she was in her efforts to destroy the Democratic party and nominee. It was commented at the time of her Adel appearance that the thing she was doing was one of the evils for the cure of which the original Ku Klux was organized in the sixties, and at that time Mrs. Williams would have been the inspiration for some very serious attention by that body.

Some of the Democratic speakers have been very bitter in their arraignment of the Negro and have made distinct appeals to prejudice against him in order to get or save votes. But The Telegraph has deplored and condemned these efforts, holding that this was a white man's fight, and that no white person could be excusable for fomenting strife and racial hatred. The furthest we have gone in discussing the Negro and his relation to the present situation was to say that no one could object to a self-respecting and law-abiding Negro going about his business and casting his vote as he saw fit. This is a privilege that is given him under the law, and there would be the least reaction against him for exercising his privilege. But if he is foolish enough to mix up with white people and get into their quarrels, he is going to be the sufferer when they get back together, as they will.

The Telegraph has criticized Ben Davis for peddling of postoffices while acting as Mr. Hoover's national committeeman, but has not berated him as a Negro. It has condemned the Republican party for using the Negroes in Georgia and the South to bolster their cause among Negroes of the North. It has stated that the only threat to white supremacy is in the fact that the white people are divided now and some of the more or less unthinking and unscrupulous whites will appeal to the Negro for settlement of their questions, because it follows inevitably that when the white people bolt their primaries the Negro has the balance of power and runs the government and everything else. Ben Davis and a few of his followers have either through ignorance or viciousness tried to make it appear that The Telegraph was endeavoring to scare Hooverrats with the white supremacy bug-bear, but it has not done so. It knows the plan that has worked will work, it being only a matter of how much upset it may be subject to before it can be readjusted and put to work again. It wishes the Negro well, and believes his best chances for success and improvement lie in keeping out of the white man's difficulties, no matter how much the latter may try to induce him to take a hand.

The inter-racial association behind the forty-five prominent Southerners has wrought well in issuing the caution to both whites and blacks, but it is of more value and importance to the latter and should be heeded by them. It will be awfully hard for the whites to do them any harm if they refuse to be inveigled.

WOULD NOT BE CLASSED WITH BILBO.

561 N. Third St., Memphis.

To The Commercial Appeal:

Since Mr. Bilbo is so anxious to have Mr. Hoover answer if he thinks it would be offensive to you (Mr. Hoover) or indecent, infamous or disgraceful for you to come in contact with or dance with a woman of the negro race—"

I would also ask Mr. Bilbo: If you did not think it would be offensive, indecent, infamous, or disgraceful.

Please, why did you think to tell the people of Memphis that Mr. Hoover danced with Mary Booz?

Were you trying to help Mr. Hoover?

According to the papers you did not use the word rumor.

Poor ole State of Miss.

As Mr. Sunday said, "Al Smith is without a party," so is Mississippi without a governor.

And in my deep sympathy I would suggest that if Mary Booz is really a good Methodist (regardless of color) that the good people of Miss. call a special session of the Legislature and appoint Mary Booz governor until they can do better.

Now, I am not a Republican by any means, but I would vote for Hoover now if for no other reason than to keep from being classed with the Bilbo bunk.

When the Democrats nominate a Democrat I'll vote for him.

Imagine New York State 600,000 Republican with a real Democrat governor. I can't.

J. W. EAGLIN.

A PAWN OF BOTH PARTIES

The negroes of the South and elsewhere may have cause to regret this year's political campaign and its violent agitations, in which the black man is being used as a threat by both parties. Curiously enough, there is effort to show that the Democrats are more friendly to the political and social aspirations of the negro than are the Republicans. A full-page advertisement in some Southern newspapers headed "Al Smith, Negro Lovers," details alleged favors shown by Governor Smith to New York negroes and declares in large type that "Al Smith is the worst foe of white supremacy in public life in the United States today."

On the other hand, there are Southern charges that Mr. Hoover removed certain segregation relations in his department at Washington, compelling closer relations than formerly among the white and black employes. In his Tennessee speech Mr. Hoover said: "I believe in the merit system of the civil service, and I believe further that appointinve offices must be filled by those who deserve the confidence and respect of the communities they serve."

Literally this statement is above criticism, but Mr. Hoover's Southern friends interpret as a promise not to appoint negroes as postmasters, United states marshals or federal collectors of internal revenue, and that under him as president the Southern Republican party will be "lily white." This employment of the black man as a threat by both parties is intended for temporary purposes only, but it will leave behind it lasting effects.

Nutter Brothers Split, One Democrat, Other Republican

Neutral "Ma" Nutter Won't Ride In Md. Jim Crow Cars

(Special To The AFRO)

CHARLESTON, West Va.—"Ike has gone over to the Democrats. Of all the Nutter children, Ike and I have been the closest; so you may imagine how I feel about Ike's defection."

Thus commented T. Gillis Nutter, Past Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks, head of West Virginia Pythians, former member, West Virginia legislature, prominent Charleston attorney and banker, on the bolt of his famed younger brother, Isaac Nutter, of Atlantic City, hitherto most prominent Republican Jersey leader, to Governor Smith and the Democrats.

T. Gillis Is 52 Years Old; Isaac Is 50

It was during presentation of Rienzi B. Lemus of Boston, head of the dining car cooks' waiters-union, principal speaker at an overflow Republican rally in Kanawha County Court House here on October 26.

Mr. Lemus somewhat facetiously observed that Mr. Isaac Nutter, by quitting the Republican party, brings about a situation somewhat akin to that due to the opposing political affiliations of the Taylor brothers—"Bob" and "Alf" of Tennessee, respectively Democrat and Republican, who several times opposed each other as gubernatorial candidates. Each has licked the other, their mother remaining neutral. No matter which one wins, victory is in the family.

"Ma" Nutter has not visited her daughter in Princess Anne for 20 years because she's too proud to ride in Maryland's jim crow cars.

Political Necessity For a Solid South

Artesia, Miss.

To The Commercial Appeal:

The solid south sprang from the turmoil and labor and suffering of the days of Reconstruction. It knew the rule of the carpetbagger, the scalawag and the negro. It saw its men disfranchised and helpless. It saw its women terrorized, living under a dread of what might happen. It had its laws made and enforced by ignorant negroes, directed by degraded white men. It had its property confiscated by taxation to satisfy the greed of hungry office-holders. This common anguish, this common necessity for self-preservation, this common danger—always with us—to white supremacy, made of these southern states a solid political unit; and until this danger is removed, either by constitutional repeal—or a long time yet an idle dream—or by the scattering of the negro race in equal proportion in all parts of this Union, the south must remain solid. It is no academic question. It is the question of race protection and race supremacy.

To The Colored Voters of Maryland

Tuesday, November 6th is the day set apart by the Constitution of the United States to elect a President.

The one thing which I desire to call to your attention is that the matter of who is elected President is of secondary importance, since Congress makes the laws. This fact makes it indispensable that we send our friends to this legislative body.

Senator Wm. Cabell Bruce, who is up for reelection, has demonstrated in the Senate and in private life that he is a friend of our people.

A vote to return Senator Bruce to the Senate will be a vote cast to help reelect the fairest man in public life on the most mooted question before the American public, which is the race problem.

HENRY F. ARNOLD.

AS A CHASER?

Kosciusko, Miss.

To The Commercial Appeal:

Our heads are sick, our brain fatigued, and our stomachs are weak. If we Mississippi Democrats are forced to swallow Bob Church, Perry Howard and Mary Booser for God's sake give us a little alcohol to soak them in.

Thanks for the prescription.

N. W. GIBSON.

Twenty-five years ago the advocacy of the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment was thundered throughout Mississippi. All were in accord as to the desirability of this doctrine. All prayed and hoped for the day in which it might come. But there were many who knew that not in the memory of that generation or the next was there a glimmering chance for the enactment of such legislation. They felt secure under the franchise clause of the Mississippi constitution of 1890—an eternal monument to Mississippi's foremost statesman, Gen. James Z. George.

Here was a man who had fought through the Civil War. He had given the best of his young manhood in defense of the doctrine of states' rights. He had returned from Appamattox to take up the work of rebuilding a shattered country. He had known the humiliation of disfranchisement. He had lived under laws passed by the ignorant under the domination of renegades. He had seen Mississippi womanhood cowering and shuddering from a fear that walked with it day and night. And, out of all this, and from all this, his great brain evolved a remedy that gave Mississippi a solution of the problem for so long as the white people of this state remained solidly in one party. And this remedy has been copied by the other southern states.

Little did he ever dream that the day would come when any Mississippi woman, a deluded follower of Republican propaganda, would seek to overturn this protection which he had built up for the protection of Mississippi womanhood! Little did he think that any Mississippi man would ever unthinkingly aid in such a movement!

Let those who are running after strange gods, disguised in the garments of moral sentiments, pause and consider. Like Jason, they are sowing the dragon's teeth from which will arise an army of social ills. Like Pandora they are opening a closed casket to liberate a thousand ills to plague and vex us.

If the majority of our people have become converts to the Republican party, then let us all be Republicans. If the majority are still Democratic, then let us all remain Democrats. But under no conditions, under no circumstances, let us be divided, when our happiness and our safety rest on the bedrock of political solidity.

SAUNDERS WILBURN.

"Please wire collect answer to the following which is being sent to all members of Congress. Do you hold that all provisions of the Constitution should be impartially enforced? If so, will you introduce or vote for a bill to carry into effect the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment?"

Substantially the same telegram was sent to the new candidates for the 34 Senate seats and the 435 House seats which are being filled at this election. Altogether, the query was sent to more than 900 persons.

Thus far 128 answers have been received. Of these 57 are from present members of Congress, 11 being from Senators and 46 from representatives.

Of the senators, eight declare for enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment, two are against it and one is evasive. Of the representatives, 37 are for enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment, seven are against and two are evasive.

The 71 answers received from new candidates include three from Senate nominees and 68 from House nominees.

Of the new senatorial candidates, two are for enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment and one is evasive.

Of the new House candidates, 63 are for enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment, two are against and three are evasive.

Congress is overwhelmingly dry. It is presumed that the next Congress also will be.

Legislation to put more teeth into the Volstead Act for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment will have easy sailing.

Will the dry Congress show equal zeal in promoting legislation to make the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment effective?

Representation of the Southern States in the House would be reduced by about 33 if it were cut down in proportion to the disfranchisement of negroes in these states, according to a recent estimate. Nearly all of the present members of Congress from Southern states are dry and any reduction in representation under the terms of the Fourteenth Amendment would tend to weaken the dry majority besides limiting the influence of those states in the national law-making body.

Answers thus far received tend to show a solid lineup in the South against enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment. A number of drys in the North and West have responded in favor of its enforcement, but most of their leaders in the present Congress are yet to be heard from.

Will 'Drys' Make Equal Efforts To Enforce 14th, 18th Amendments?

By ARTHUR CRAWFORD

WASHINGTON, Oct. 21.—(Special.)—Does Congress favor impartial enforcement of all provisions of the Constitution?

Are its members as ready to carry out the mandate in the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment as they are to support measures for the enforcement of th Eighteenth Amendment?

How do the drys, who regard the prohibition amendment as sacred, justify their failure to take steps as directed by the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment toward the reduction in the representation in Congress of Southern States which have disfranchised the negro?

In seeking light on these questions, The Chicago Tribune through its Washington bureau, has propounded an inquiry to all present members of Congress and to all candidates in the coming election.

The following telegram was sent during the past week to all members of the Senate and House:

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

General.

NEGRO OWES REPUBLICAN PARTY NOTHING, SAYS THE GREAT CHURCHMAN, BRYANT

Editorial Note: That there is pronounced and effective division on the part of the Negro people of America in national politics, is again asserted in a lengthy opinion by Mr. Ira T. Bryant, secretary-treasurer of the Sunday School Union of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

It is Mr. Bryant's opinion that the Republican Party is not dealing fairly with the Negro and that he could lose nothing by showing interest in the election of Governor Alfred E. Smith, the standard-bearer for democracy. Mr. Bryant properly calls attention to the attitude of office-holding Negroes and party leaders. He uses very plains terms when referring to the two parties as major political institutions, and, one would get the thought that the eminent and influential churchman will cast his vote and use his influence for the election of Governor Smith.

Here is what he says:

NEGRO OWES REPUBLICAN PARTY NOTHING

(By Ira T. Bryant)

Yes, Negroes in this election, as in others, will be standing in large numbers loyally behind the nominee of the Republican Party. It's not so much a question of party policies as it is of early environments and training. The spell-binders will literally shell the woods with their hackneyed bunk about the debt of the Negro to the "Grand Old Party." Much will be said about the freeing of the Negro, but precious little about the infinitely greater freedom that came to the white man and to this country as a result of the Civil War. Civil freedom, as great as it is, means nothing as compared with a freedom of conscience, with its accompanying satisfaction of having done right in the sight of God. Such a glorious accomplishment for the white man in the sum totals of the reconstruction struggles is the very crux of the victory—freedom to the slaves a mere by-product. The party of Lincoln saved itself and the country as well in destroying human slavery; the Negro, by his valiant deeds in the field of battle, assisted not only in freeing himself, but in saving the Union. 'Tis known that Lincoln believed with all his soul that no country that boasted the traditions of the Revolutionary period could keep its self-respect and expouse a policy of "half free and half slave," but in what he did and said he was impelled by his interest in the country rather than any special love or consideration for the Negro as such.

IRA T. BRYANT

The Negro poured his life into the struggles of the Union with such freedom and alacrity as to win the admiration of the world and the party of Lincoln sought to reward his fealty and loyalty to the stars and stripes by clothing him with the full mantle of American citizenship. It was that spirit of gratitude, (crystalized in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the country), and not the natural consequences of the war, as these salaried spell-binders would have us believe, that placed the Negro under obligation to the Republican Party. Proof of that fact lies in the fact that up until very recently every Republican Party platform has clearly renewed its allegiance to the principles and purposes that gave rise to these two amendments of the Constitution. As meaningless and as false as that stereotyped piece to catch the Negro has been, our Republican brethren have grown so cold and indifferent as to delete that little morsel from the party's declaration of principles.

LET'S READ WHAT LINCOLN WROTE W. H. SEWARD, SECRETARY OF STATE, IN THE SPRING OF 1862

"I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the case, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause."

President Harding's Advice

It was in that memorable address which Warren Harding made in Birmingham, Alabama, that he advised the Negro to cease voting as one great block for the Republican Party. Think of such advice coming from the head of the party—the president of the United States! This same "head of the party" follows up that advice with the declaration that he "would not appoint to Federal office any Negro where the appointment must be confirmed by the United States Senate. Shades of Roosevelt! Does any sane Negro need any clearer proof of the real attitude of those who have taken over the reins of the Republican Party? And Calvin Coolidge has during his term of service followed words with action. No Negro has been elevated to a position of honor because Coolidge has adopted the policies of Harding. Mr. Douglass once said something about "the Republican Party is the ship; all else is sea." But what would Mr. Douglass say if he were here now and could see how the captain and other high officers have thrown us overboard?

Why Vote For Hoover?

The Negro spell-binders are all at a loss for some reason to give why Negroes should vote for Mr. Hoover. In private they will plainly tell you so. They formerly argued that "the Democrats do not want us," but they grow silent when you point to the incontrovertible proof that the Republican Party is not one whit better in that respect. If the Democratic Party NEVER wants us, the Republican Party speaks to us only once every four years. Between the two, to some of us the attitude of the former is considerably more honorable.

They say we should vote for Mr. Hoover because we were "caged-off" at the Convention at Houston, but they forget that before we were caged-off at the enemy's meeting in Houston we were Jim-Crowed in the meeting of our friends at Kansas City.

The treachery within our ranks that recently brought about the beheading of Ben Davis in Georgia, Cohen in Louisiana, and Perry Howard in Mississippi was undoubtedly inspired by white Republican Party leaders in their bid for Ku Klux Klan votes in the South. Think of a party that condones

upon the leader before Mr. Roosevelt. After he had finished Mr. Roosevelt's calmly replied in this manner: "The Negro in that state keeps up such of like ilk presuming to talk about official decency in anybody! In fact it's calmly organization as there is. You white people made a big fight to keep them hard for some of us to believe that Harding himself was not personally yourselves. Why shouldn't you be willing to do something for them? involved in some of the shabby work of his appointees.

But the most cowardly aspect of this Republican treachery to the Negro race is found in Secretary Work's recent statement in Washington reflecting the upon the integrity of Negro political leaders of the past and his effort to do ance of the sloven hand by the veiled promise of great things to come to the one race by reason of a "new leadership among Negroes." Such rot deceives no one. The truth is the men of the race now managing the affairs of the party are not one whit better in any respect than those of other days. Politics is politics, whether yesterday, today or tomorrow. With rare exception, those in it are there for what they can get either money or prestige. Whatever happens in Georgia or Mississippi is exactly what happens in every other state, although possibly with a different background. It takes money to maintain organizations and it certainly stands to reason that those who will hold the offices should pay upkeep of the party organization.

Some white man once tried to work up a feeling against the head of a Negro organization who happened to be a Negro, and made a vigorous attack

upon the leader before Mr. Roosevelt. After he had finished Mr. Roosevelt's calmly replied in this manner: "The Negro in that state keeps up such of like ilk presuming to talk about official decency in anybody! In fact it's calmly organization as there is. You white people made a big fight to keep them hard for some of us to believe that Harding himself was not personally yourselves. Why shouldn't you be willing to do something for them? involved in some of the shabby work of his appointees.

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Negro Should Divide Vote

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Party Affiliation.

General.

NEGRO OWES REPUBLICAN PARTY NOTHING, SAYS THE GREAT CHURCHMAN, BRYANT

Editorial Note: That there is pronounced and effective division on the part of the Negro people of America in national politics, is again asserted in a lengthy opinion by Mr. Ira T. Bryant, secretary-treasurer of the Sunday School Union of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

It is Mr. Bryant's opinion that the Republican Party is not dealing fairly with the Negro and that he could lose nothing by showing interest in the election of Governor Alfred E. Smith, the standard-bearer for democracy. Mr. Bryant properly calls attention to the attitude of office-holding Negroes and party leaders. He uses very plains terms when referring to the two parties as major political institutions, and, one would get the thought that the eminent and influential churchman will cast his vote and use his influence for the election of Governor Smith.

Here is what he says:

NEGRO OWES REPUBLICAN PARTY NOTHING

(By Ira T. Bryant)

Yes, Negroes in this election, as in others, will be standing in large numbers loyally behind the nominee of the Republican Party. It's not so much a question of party policies as it is of early environments and training. The spell-binders will literally beat the woods with their hackneyed bunk about the debt of the Negro to the "Grand Old Party." Much will be said about the freeing of the Negro, but precious little about the infinitely greater freedom that came to the white man and to this country as a result of the Civil War. Civil freedom, as great as it is, means nothing as compared with a freedom of conscience, with its accompanying satisfaction of having done right in the sight of God. Such a glorious accomplishment for the white man in the sum totals of the reconstruction struggles is the very crux of the victory—freedom to the slaves a mere by-product. The party of Lincoln saved itself and the country as well in destroying human slavery; the Negro, by his valiant deeds in the field of battle, assisted not only in freeing himself, but in saving the Union. 'Tis known that Lincoln believed with all his soul that no country that boasted the traditions of the Revolutionary period could keep its self-respect and expouse a policy of "half free and half slave," but in what he did and said he was impelled by his interest in the country rather than any special love or consideration for the Negro as such.

IRA T. BRYANT

The Negro poured his life into the struggles of the Union with such freedom and alacrity as to win the admiration of the world and the party of Lincoln sought to reward his fealty and loyalty to the stars and stripes by clothing him with the full mantle of American citizenship. It was that spirit of gratitude, (crystalized in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the country), and not the natural consequences of the war, as these salaried spell-binders would have us believe, that placed the Negro under obligation to the Republican Party. Proof of that fact lies in the fact that up until very recently every Republican Party platform has clearly renewed its allegiance to the principles and purposes that gave rise to these two amendments of the Constitution. As meaningless and as false as that stereotyped piece to catch the Negro has been, our Republican brethren have grown so cold and indifferent as to delete that little morsel from the party's declaration of principles.

LET'S READ WHAT LINCOLN WROTE W. H. SEWARD, SECRETARY OF STATE, IN THE SPRING OF 1862

"I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it;; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the case, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause."

President Harding's Advice

It was in that memorable address which Warren Harding made in Birmingham, Alabama, that he advised the Negro to cease voting as one great block for the Republican Party. Think of such advice coming from the head of the party—the president of the United States! This same "head of the party" follows up that advice with the declaration that he "would not appoint to Federal office any Negro where the appointment must be confirmed by the United States Senate. Shades of Roosevelt! Does any sane Negro need any clearer proof of the real attitude of those who have taken over the reins of the Republican Party? And Calvin Coolidge has during his term of service followed words with action. No Negro has been elevated to a position of honor because Coolidge has adopted the policies of Harding. Mr. Douglass once said something about "the Republican Party is the ship; all else is sea." But what would Mr. Douglass say if he were here now and could see how the captain and other high officers have thrown us overboard?

Why Vote For Hoover?

The Negro spell-binders are all at a loss for some reason to give why Negroes should vote for Mr. Hoover. In private they will plainly tell you so. They formerly argued that "the Democrats do not want us," but they grow silent when you point to the incontrovertible proof that the Republican Party is not one whit better in that respect. If the Democratic Party NEVER wants us, the Republican Party speaks to us only once every four years. Between the two, to some of us the attitude of the former is considerably more honorable.

They say we should vote for Mr. Hoover because we were "caged-off" at the Convention at Houston, but they forget that before we were caged-off at the enemy's meeting in Houston we were Jim-Crowed in the meeting of our friends at Kansas City.

The treachery within our ranks that recently brought about the beheading of Ben Davis in Georgia, Cohen in Louisiana, and Perry Howard in Mississippi was undoubtedly inspired by white Republican Party leaders in their bid for Ku Klux Klan votes in the South. Think of a party that condones such characters as Fall, Dougherty, Denby, Forbes and others upon the leader before Mr. Roosevelt. After he had finished Mr. Roosevelt of like ilk presuming to talk about official decency in anybody! In fact it's calmly replied in this manner: "The Negro in that state keeps up such hard for some of us to believe that Harding himself was not personally organization as there is. You white people made a big fight to keep them involved in some of the shabby work of his appointees. yourselves. Why shouldn't you be willing to do something for them?

But the most cowardly aspect of this Republican treachery to the Negro When this writer was an employee in the Government Printing Office race is found in Secretary Work's recent statement in Washington reflecting the more than two thousand journeymen printers sought an increase of one upon the integrity of Negro political leaders of the past and his effort to dodollar per day in salary. They put their case in the hands of two Senators, ance the sloven hand by the veiled promise of great things to come to the one race by reason of a "new leadership among the Negroes." Such rot deceives no one Republican and one Democrat. They got the increase, but not till each The truth is the men of the race now managing the affairs of the party printer had signed a note promising to pay twenty-five dollars in the event are not one whit better in any respect than those of other days. Politics is carty the bill went through. That's what happened "right under the dome of the politics, whether yesterday, today or tomorrow. With rare exception, those is capitol."

in it are there for what they can get in either money or prestige. Whatever happens in Georgia or Mississippi is exactly what happens in every other divise

Negro Should Divide Vote

This writer believes there is merit in the Harding advice to Negroes to state, although possibly with a different background. It takes money to divide their votes. Aside from that we stand for the election of Smith (1) maintain organizations and it certainly stands for reason that those who because he stands for something, and (2) because he has the guts to say hold the offices should pay upkeep of the party organization. without being prodded, just what he does stand for. In this respect he is in mark contrast with Hoover, the man of indecision, the sphynx of the looking-

Some white man once tried to work up a feeling against the head of a both-ways variety. He has never boasted any party affiliation and just after the organization who happened to be a Negro, and made a vigoruos attack

the war there was considerable talk of making him the nominee of the Democratic Party. Undoubtedly a genius for organization, he may have accepted place in the Coolidge cabinet upon condition that certain things would come to pass.

Oh, they tell us he struck a blow at segregation in his department. Maybe so, but not until he became a candidate in Ohio against Senator Willis for the Convention delegates and a committee of Negroes had informed him that Negroes in Ohio knew about and resented the segregation in his department.

But, say they, Negroes should support him in his remarkable stand for prohibition and the amendment. Remarkable is indeed the word, when we recall that for so long he seemingly did not know how he stood on the question and the meaningless statement he did finally make came as a result of being "smoked out."

He said he stands for the Eighteenth Amendment and is opposed to any effort at modification. That's the identical stand of Harding and Coolidge. The peroration of his acceptance speech was a wonderful tribute of endorsement for Coolidge policies. Under the administration which he underwrote the prohibition program of the government has been a mighty force to which every school boy can testify. These must must know that open and above board violation of laws tends to break down every fabric of orderly government and to breed a general disrespect for lawful authoriyt. They bow to a public clamor with such promises as they know to be meaningly and absurd.

But, say his friends, the fact that he is powerless to bring about the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment does not necessarily divorce him from his interest in it and his belief in its efficacy. Certainly not, but isn't his wholehearted approval of the Coolidge administration an endorsement of the latter's effort at enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment? And in the light of that fact hasn't one the right to presume that his effort to enforce this law will be just about as strong as has been those of Coolidge? But if the purpose of this stand on the Eighteenth Amendment was a mere feint to gratify the whims of a bunch of dreamers reaching out for what is impracticable, why have they in their platform and other documents withheld from the Negro this similar little bait which they have quadrennially poked under his nose about the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments? Certainly he knows they mean nothing (just about what Hoover means about the Eighteenth) but somehow we just look for it and indeed like to hear them make their lies about what they think of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The Man Al Smith

We shall cast our vote for Mr. Al Smith if for no other reason than to show to the Republican party that they cannot insult all the Negoes with impunity and still keep us in line. We owe Mr. Smith nothing and to be perfectly fair the party that Mr. Smith represents owes us nothing, politically speaking. We have been their consistent enemy, and if there was anything they stood for that we did not oppose it was because we did not know of it. It might help us some to remember that this Southern Democrat which some Northern Negroes delight so to villify, has been a very pronounced enemy to the Northern White Republican and has said some pretty hard things about him. As a matter of fact the hatred within the breast of the Southern white man was aimed more at the Northern white man than at the Negro. The latter was just a victim of circumstances. But in spite of what the Southern white man has done and said, in spite of his open insults, we find the Republicans of the North literally burying their feelings, throwing the Negro allies overboard int othe mercies of the enemy, forgetting the past and taking on the spirit of such earnest wooing as would bring blush to the hero of a love plot.

The white man knows that if you would have friends you must show yourself friendly and he acts accordingly and advances. The Negro, seemingly, stands back, nursing his grievances of the past, consistently lines up against those from whom he must get his daily bread, and starves.

But, say our Negro Republican "whoopers," "the Negro has nothing to expect from Smith's election." That's merely an opinion. Certainly past performances do not bear out the statement. The Negroes for such support as they have given Mr. Smith in New York have received (comparatively) considerably more in the form of political recognition than they have gotten from any Republican president since Roosevelt's time.

Let it be understood this writer is not in politics, neither is he in touch with any one who is in politics, and what is more he is among the last of our group who could be referred to as an "Uncle Tom" type of Negro. He does not drink liquor and would suffer no inconvenience if there should not be made another drop of the vile stuff. But we are opposed to such prohibition humbuggery as now confronts the country. We believe more in the modification program of Mr. Smith than in the one of nullification represented by Mr. Hoover. We believe as now constituted infinitely more harm than good has come from the effects of the Eighteenth Amendment. We believe that real peace, where there are strong contending parties, comes only from a spirit of compromise. We greatly admire the courage of Mr. Smith in contending for some neutral ground upon which these two strong contending forces can meet.

It's silly to compare the question of slavery with that of prohibition. Wrong is inherent in slavery; with liquor the harm comes from the use to which one puts it. And finally we can imagine some things happening that are fraught with more danger to the race than the ascendency of Senator Robinson to the office of President in the event of Al Smith's death. Let others vote and do as they please, but as for us we shall vote for Mr. Smith, first for the purpose of showing our contempt for the Republican party and the hypocrites in power, and for the additional reason that we believe that the hope for the rank and file of our people, particularly those of the South, depends largely upon their success in making friends with those among whom they must live and from whom they must get their living; and the race goes a long step in that direction when it sets in to ferret out and to point out some of the good qualities of the Southern white man as well as his bad traits.

But come what will or may, let us see to it that there be no strife and quarrel among our group if perchance any considerable number should accept the advice of Mr. Harding and put a "little something" on both horses, so that we can "sit pretty" matters not who wins.

G. O. P. FILES EXPENSE ACCOUNT

Baltimore Afro-American

Democrats Also Give Account Of Money Spent For Publicity

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 8.—The Republican colored voters division filed no report of its campaign receipts and expeditures with the clerk of the House of Representatives. The report of the Republican national committee contains the expenditures charged against the budget allowed the colored voters division.

According to the report of the Republican national committee the payroll of the colored voters division included the following weekly payments:

Robert L. Mays, Chicago, $50; Frank A. Byron, Chicago, $50; Mrs. Myrtle Foster Cook, Chicago, $125; Mrs. Lethia C. Fleming, Chicago, $125; Mrs. Grace Evans, Chicago, $75; J. A. Josey, Chicago, $50; George W. Lee, Chicago, $75; Carey B. Lewis, Chicago, $75; Homer G. Phillips, Chicago, $125; A. H. Roberts, Chicago, $125; P L. Prattis, Chicago, $50; C. R. Richardson, Chicago, $125; Roscoe C. Simmons, Chicago, $125.

Rienzi B. Lemus, Washington, $70; George W. Harris, New York, $125; Mrs. Addie W. Hunton, New York, $100; Charles E. Mitchell, New York, $70; Fred R. Moore, New York, $125;; R. L. Vann, expense account, Washington, $125; Ernest T. Attwell, New York, $125; William T. Andrews, Washington, $100; Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkins, Washington, $100; West A. Hamilton, Washington, $75; Claude A. Barnett, Washington, $150; John T. Risher, Washington, $75; Miss Jeannette Carter, Washington, $50; Mrs. Sarah Pelham Speaks, Washington, $50; W. H. C. Brown, New York, $75.

Neither John R. Hawkins, chairman of the Republican colored voters division, nor Albon L. Holsey, its secretary, is listed as having received any salary. Mr. Hawkins refused his expenses.

Mrs. Amy Garvey, New York, wife of Marcus Garvey, is listed as having received $35.

The following editors are listed in the report of the Republican national committee as having been paid as follows for their news service:

E. W. B. Isaac, Nashville, Tenn., $200; T. Edward Hill, Keystone, Dayton, O., $250; W. P. Dabney, Cincinnati, O., $250; Jacob Tipper, Chicago, Ill., $250; A. M. Davis, Chicago, Ill., $250; J. A. Josey, Milwaukee, Wis., $200; J. E. Mitchell, St. Louis, Mo., $100; N. B. Young, Jr., St. Louis, Mo., $150; E. M. Bryant, St. Louis, Mo., $150; C. A. Franklin, Kansas City, Mo., $1,000.

John Albert Williams, Omaha, Neb., $250; C. C. Galloway, Omaha, Neb., $250; James B. Morris, Des Moines, Ia., $250; S. B. Wilson, Nashville, Tenn., $300; S. W. Broome, Memphis, Tenn., $150; Benjamin J. Perkins, Memphis, Tenn., $150; C. F. Richardson, Houston, Tex., $100; Zenobia Alexander, Buffalo, N. Y., $100; Harry C. Smith, Cleveland, O., $150; G. B. Dailey, Newark, N. J., $300, and Joseph D. Bibb, $150.

The Democrats bought space for their candidate with the following editors:

The Baltimore Afro-American, $2,000; the Louisville News, $375; the Norfolk Journal & Guide, $600; the St. Louis Argus, $1,475; the Washington Eagle, $602.50; the Boston Chronicle, $250; the Cleveland Call & Post, $250; the Kansas City American, $100; the Associated Publisher's Representatives, 3423 Indiana avenue, Chicago, $850; The Boston Guardian, $50, and its editor, William Monroe Trotter, $50; the Gary Sun, $50; the Milwaukee Defender, $50; the Negro World, $50; the Omaha Monitor, $50; the Kansas City Call, $150; the Fraternal Review, $100; the Newark Herald, $100; the West Indian Committee Journal, $100; the National Crusader, $50; Robert L. Vann, $500; New York Contender, $500; West Indian Times, $175; West Indian News, $100; and Interstate Tattler, $525.

Bishop Ransom

Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom of Julian D. Rainey, chairman of Walton, W. Va., $400; Roscoe Dungee, Oklahoma City, Okla., $500; John Rice, Dallas, Tex., $200; A. M. Houghton, Boston, Mass., $350; W. A. Hamilton, Washington, D. C., $100; Roy C. Garvin, Kansas City, Kan., $100; George W. McDade, Knoxville, Tenn., $120; James E. Washington, Memphis, Tenn., $150; T. J. Johnson, Memphis, Tenn., $400.

I. Willis Cole, Louisville, Ky., $400; Webster L. Porter, Knoxville, Tenn., $500; Robert L. Vann, Pittsburgh, Pa., $1,000; W. T. Andrews, Baltimore, Md., $500; P. B. Young, Norfolk, Va., $200; F. Morris Murray, Washington, D. C., $400; E. Washington Rhodes, Philadelphia, Pa., $500; Arthur Lynch, Philadelphia, Pa., $300; George W. Harris, New York City, $500; Fred R. Moore, New York City, $500; William H. Davis, New York City, $800; William Monroe Trotter, Boston, Mass., $250.

William J. Robinson, Detroit, Mich., $250; Cornelius Edwoods, Toledo, O., $250; Norman McGhee, Cleveland, O., $250; John Rives

Colored Smith-for-President League, received a salary of $200 a week; Mr. Mizelle, $125 a week, and Mr. Nelson, $150 a week. Other salaries were Lester A. Walton, director of publicity, $150 a week, according to the report.

Salaries

the African Methodist Episcopal Church, chairman of the speakers' bureau of the Smith-for-President the Colored League, is listed as having expended about $5,000.

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Party Affiliation

Republicans And Democrats Swap Horses

News

March 4th, 1929, We'll Say, "Goodbye Cal", Howdydo "Al"

Louisville, Ky.

9-22-28

The Republican Party And The Ku-Klux-Klan

By JOSEPH C. MANNING.
58 West 119th St., N. Y. C.
Former member of the Alabama Legislature and former leader of the Populist-Republican fusion party of Alabama and the South.

REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS SWAP HORSES.

There has been, arising from the action of the national conventions of the two great political parties, a tremendous shifting of party policies and of party alliances.

Party control of the national Democratic party ceases to abide with the former "South in the saddle" Democratic party. New leadership and a change of front have transpired as to issues.

At Kansas City, the Republican party took up what has been discarded by the national Democratic party and has appropriated all of the intolerance and all of the bigotry, all of the race-hating riff-raff, that has been associated with the former "South in the saddle" Democratic party. The existing Republican party certainly ought to have an ass as an emblem.

Negro-hating, Southern-church shouting fanatics and hypocrites of the Anti-Saloon League and Ku Klux, since the Eastern and Western Democrats nominated Smith at Houston, find their haven of rest in Hooverism.

Every Ku Klux in the East and West, every twin of the Ku Klux, constituting the Anti-Saloon League in the East and the West, is now in and lined up with the so-called Republican party.

What the J. Thomas Heflin, Alabama Ku Klux and Anti-Saloon League Democratic party has always been in Alabama, this poor white trash, Negro Lynching, Alabama Democratic party, just so has become in spirit the Republican party upon its taking to its bosom at Kansas City precisely those things long dominant in Alabama.

The Democratic party in the States of the East and the West, through taking up the leadership of Smith, has overcome and repudiated these un-American agencies of disruption of the peace, welfare and security of our national Government, while the so-called Republican party has become absorbed by them.

General.

No Lincoln Republican has any business in the Hoover political camp, unless possessed of willingness also to become a renegade Republican and fight tolerance and human freedom side by side with the supporters of the Ku Klux and Anti-Saloon League.

The Ku Klux and Anti-Saloon League, working together, have made a political condition in the South with which even the Southern Democratic party has nothing to compare. Shall these agencies dominate the North, through the so-called Republican party of the East and the West? is the issue in the present campaign.

The forces of bigotry, of intolerance, of race prejudice, of religious fanaticism and hate are predominant in shaping the platform policies and in fluencing the party organization and leadership of the so-called Republican party in the East and the West, while these forces have no such power in the Democratic party in the North.

The influence of the Ku Klux sentiment of the East and West and of the North, upon the Republican party ought to be readily comprehended by the colored people of the country, since it is this influence which has had most to do with the failure of colored people to receive Federal patronage of consequence during the Harding and the Coolidge administrations. Not only has this sentiment within the so-called Republican party accomplished this. It has also kept colored people from civil service appointments in smaller Government positions in Washington, although their names have reached the high rating essential under civil service examination. Demotions, because of color, and no promotions, have become the practice, together with increased segregation. This, too, under both Harding and Coolidge. All of this, also, because of a desire to placate the anti-Negro Ku Klux Republicans. It is believed by the so-called Republican party leaders that colored men and women voters are so servile and subservient that they will not, as other peoples do, register a vote of protest whatever lack of consideration or insult is given them. They are practically considered as owned by the so-called Republican party. The only way for colored America to be respected and heard by these recreant Republican leaders is to throw them down from their continuing power as hard as they have thrown down the colored people and their just deserts.

All of this Republican "hokum" about Prohibition does not interest anyone who knows that those insisting upon the enforcement of the 18th Amendment, because it is in the Constitution, have stood by for years, while the 15th Amendment has been lynched. Laws cannot make people good. Pails and penitentiaries will fail to make "shouting Methodists" and those Southern preachers who do not believe that the Gospel of Jesus is sufficient to save sinners, stay in their pulpits, get out of the political rostrum, and discontinue trying to be in the Christian ministry and in hypocritical and dirty Anti-Saloon League and Ku Klux politics at the same time.

One who engages in the intemperate use of liquor, gets drunk, but sobers up. The intemperance of intolerance and race hate has been on a spree in the South for fifty years, without sobering up for once, until the fangs of fanaticism have reached into the Republican party, capturing it, pulling it from its moorings, gutting it of its principles. Smash it and all of its works. Smash it in 1928!

The fanatics of the Ku Klux and Anti-Saloon League of the South, who are opposing Smith and shouting "Smith and Satan," ought to know, and would know, that but for the ignorance of this poor trash, Satan is not in a bottle nor a jug, but finds lodgment in many human hears and minds. If the devil does not reign supreme in the heads and minds of those who revel in lynching, boast of race hate and glory in keeping the Negro down, more devil than could be crammed in a flask or a jug, then we are no judge on the subject of devil, big or little. One drunk loves everybody, another wants to fight. The spirit of each was in the heart and mind before liquor hit the stomach. Lynchers go forth in the South, not liquor drunks, but on that fifty-year drunk of oSuthern intolerance and race hate. These Anti-Saloon League and Ku Klux preachers in the South are yet drunkards of this type, together with their blinded followers, and they walk in the darkness of hate. It is time to strike at the growth of this influence in the North and the only way to do it is to defeat the so-called Republican party, which has become an ally of it. Elect Smith, who is opposed to it.

Those Republican political flimflammers who are showing that Tammany will dominate Smith ought to understand that it is preferable to have a Tammany-supported President than a Ku-Klux-Klan elected President.

A city Democratic party committee organization, known as Tammany, its political machinery conducted as any other party machinery is conducted, ought not, by any stretch of mental exaggeration be brought to comparison with a hooded, secret and outlaw order that is nurtured by intolerance and has incited flogging and led to church-burning.

Those of the leaders of the Republican party who wish to make the local city politics of New York City a national issue in a presidential campaign are they who fail to drive the Ku-Klux-Klan out of the national capital or its nation wide influence out of the Republican party in which it now is a determining factor in its control, and dominating it in such State as Indiana!

If the choice shall be Smith and Tammany or Hoover and Ku Klux, then for me, it is Smith and Tammany!

Tammany governs because the human equation is in Tammany. This city is so long ruled by Tammany because, with Tammany, the human equation and the human heart throb has been uppermost. These are the facts as to its power. All these years, too, New York City has grown in greatness. It stands out, unchallenged, the greatest city on earth.

The human heart throb of Tammany is preferable to the hooded

thugism of a Hoover Ku Klux.

Already hypocritical Republican orators, insensible to the blight of graft in the highest circles of the Federal government, rant about Tammany, while Ku Klux politics and Ku Klux politicians hang around their necks with the deadly weight of mill-stones as they flounder in a sea of political and official corruption. The Ku-Klux-Klan, hung around the neck of the Republican party and the Hoover candidacy, is a nation-wide menace to the liberty guarantees of the Contstitution of the United States.

What of Tammany, anyhow, and all its works? The City of New York is the largest and the greatest city in the world. Its public institutions are typical of the highest order of American civilization. Its educational instiutions challenge comparison with any anywhere. Its hospitals, its humane and benevolent provisions for the afflicted bespeak the loftiest step of human welfare and ministration to the suffering. Its parks, its places of amusements, its galleries of art—all of these acclaim the topmost of achievement. Here, side by side, in human tolerance and sympathetic accord, live peoples from every part of America and from every country and clime. Here is equal opportunity for all.

CROSBY MAN WITHOUT PARTY, BILBO SAYS

Jumped Democrats; Negro Republicans Repudiate Him.

RAP DEVELOPMENT BODY

Mississippi's Governor Calls to Mind Fable of Striped Animal in Flaying "Piccayunish Twin" Who Announced Support of Herbert Hoover.

Special to The Commercial Appeal.

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 28.—Branding L. O. Crosby, president of the Mississippi state board of development, L. J. Polse, manager,

NEGRO NOT ISSUE, SAY SOUTHERN DAILIES

BALTIMORE, Md., Oct. 18.—Political leaders in the South, irrespective of party, are admonished to refrain from further raising the race issue, in an editorial appearing in the Manufacturer's Record, published in this city by Col. Richard H. Edmonds. The Record agrees with the Richmond News Leader that "the Negro is not an issue in this campaign," and expresses the hope that the newspapers on both sides will emphasize this fact in the interest of the general welfare.

The following quotations from the editorial set forth the Record's view:

"Deprecation by the Richmond News Leader, an ardent supporter of Governor Smith, of the 'Negro menace' in the South as a campaign issue is so sane and opportune that true friends of the South will hope other Southern editors will emphasize this point, regardless of their party affiliations. 'The Negro is not an "issue" in this campaign,' says the News Leader, and in that pronouncement it speaks truly. * * *

"Left to themselves, the white people and the Negroes of the South will dwell together in amity and mutual benefit economically. This is a fact that the leaders of both great political parties must grasp, and thus refrain hereafter from promoting the 'race issue' or the 'Negro menace.' In the heat of a political campaign of a few weeks duration they must be careful not to undo all that individuals and organizations have brought about in the creation of a spirit of harmony between the races in the Southern states."

and Lamont [illegible] manager of state Republican headquarters in a variety of adjectives, Gov. Theodore G. Bilbo addressed the following message to the people of Mississippi tonight:

"My attention has just been called to a telegram sent to Hon. Herbert Hoover, Republican candidate for president, by that prince of a fount[illegible] masquerouflaging, double-crossing, uncouth, traitorous bolter and deserter, L. O. Crosby, one of the Picayune-ish twins from Picayune, Miss. In this telegram Crosby brands all true, loyal and white Democrats in Mississippi as the "riff raff" of the state. Ye gods, think of this unbathed ass branding the great Democrats of Mississippi like Pat Harrison, John Sharp Williams, Judge Robert Powell, Judge Truly, Stone Deavers, Noel White, Percy Quinn, Will Collier, and more than 250,000 stalwart Democratic men and women in all walks of life as the "riff raff" of the state.

Even Negroes Don't Want Him.

"Crosby is so sorry, undesirable and reprehensible that even the negro leaders of the negro Republican party of Mississippi have already rushed into print as shown by the statement of Eugene Booze, from Mound Bayou, hubby of Mary, that they don't want him—they don't need him in their business—he can't be used to an advantage even in a black and tan Republican organization where recent developments show that power and pelf are about only excuses for its existence in Mississippi. Crosby's only status and condition just now reminds me of the story of the hard luck that the pole cat had in trying to participate in an animal convention. It is said that when all the animals had gathered and the pole cat appeared they at once disbanded, going in every direction. After several meetings and being dispelled every time by the appearance of the pole cat, the pole cat finally approached a wise old coon and asked why the other animals of the kingdom did not want him to be present—the pole cat remarking that "I am beautiful in shape and size, and have a beautiful tail, handsomely decorated. I make a good appearance—I have disturbed no one—I haven't anything to say and I can't understand why I am not welcome in these animal conventions." Whereupon, the coon replied, "You are undesirable not for what you have done, but it is the great fear that we have of what you may do."

"Crosby's recent announcement that he has quit the Democratic party and is now supporting the negro Republican party of the south and is going to vote for the Englishman Herbert Hoover, the man who forced the white girls, some of them Mississiypi girls, to work as secretaries and stenographers for negro bosses and force them to use the same towels, soap, toilets and rest rooms with negroes in the Department of Commerce at Washington, while he, Hoover, was a member of the corrupt and disgraceful Harding cabinet, is no surprise to the people of Mississippi; especially to those who have been in a position to know the real Crosby. He has been a strutting fraud from the very beginning and it is well remembered that he met Perry Howard in New Orleans and tried to buy him out as the official Republican pie dispenser in Mississippi. Perry Howard may have sold public offices, as he is charged, within an indictment in the federal court at Biloxi, but be it said to his credit, he would not sell himself and his position to a man like Crosby. For this the white people [illegible] solid ten.

The entire south is stirred as never before in this generation. Even those who are supporting Smith are at odds with him on many points and are moved only by a sense of party loyalty, and often by the feeling that white supremacy might be endangered by a Republican victory in the south this year.

Admire His Achievements.

Smith's supporters in the south quite generally disagree with him on prohibition and there is deep antagonism to his church. They do not like his Tammany background. Many genuinely admire some of his legislative achievements and his courage.

The anti-Smith forces are moved by deep emotions and many of them are not breaking with the party of their fathers without keen pangs. The Democratic party is something more to the south than just a political party. To many it stands for the spirit of the south which was crushed under the tyranny of the reconstruction. To many the Republican party still is the political organization which crushed their grandfathers and fathers in the days when negroes and carpetbaggers ran riot over the desolated south.

So when the average man in the south breaks with the Democratic party, he is breaking with this tradition. And it is so hard for most of them to do it that thousands will refuse to vote for Smith but will not vote for Hoover. They cannot bring themselves to vote for a Republican, no matter who he may be. This deep-seated loyalty to the Democratic party is fundamental to all politics in the south.

G. O. P. a Small Pebble.

The result of this feeling has been that in many states the Republican party has not existed. In Texas, Mississippi and in most of the solid ten, Republicans do not put up state tickets. Only scattered groups of federal office holders, and their associates often negroes, vote for the Republican presidential ticket in some places in the south. In many counties there are less than a dozen Republican votes.

The Democratic party has the superior organization in every southern state—often the only organization. In this campaign Republicans and anti-Smith Democrats have hastily thrown together organizations.

For the most part these will be inadequate to compete with the Democratic organizations on election day. Some states like Georgia and North Carolina do not have the secret Australian ballot in many counties and the open ballot works in favor of the Democrats. Anti-Smith Democrats and Republicans intend to man precincts this time to insure a fair count. Feeling is high and some fear disorders at the polls.

Democrats Intact.

In all of these states the Democratic organization has remained practically intact except for the bolt of Senator Simmons in North Carolina and the bolters have been individuals, ministers and defeated officeholders with no future in the party organization. In every southern state the Democratic organization is functioning practically 100 per cent for Smith. Neither Simmons nor Heflin have carried away any of the organization.

Following is a brief survey of these states:

Arkansas—12 electoral votes. Home state of Senator Robinson, vice presidential candidate. No Republican has publicly claimed Hoover had a chance there.

Alabama—9 votes; home of Senator Heflin. Democrats have been obtained to stand as Hoover presidential electors. Gov. Bib Graves, elected governor, by the klan it is said, is supporting Smith. Republicans are making no claims.

Florida—6 votes. An influx of northern Republicans has built up a large prospective Hoover vote. Some Democrats are uneasy and while sure of victory they fear a close vote.

Party Affiliation

Montezuma, Ga., Georgian
Thursday, July 19, 1928

WHITE SUPREMACY.

In the pending national campaign the question of white supremacy is paramount, and supercedes every controversial issue.

It strikes at the very hearthstone of every white man's home in the south.

In Georgia the problem is peculiarly acute. Within the past few days, in the disgraceful disclosures as to juggling federal patronage by a negro referee, this burning question, on which hinges the hope of the south, as it hinged in the dark days of reconsruction, has been accentuated.

In Mississippi, where a negro patronage referee has, as alleged, auctioned postmasterships and other federal jobs, the conditions are so "astonishing," as expressed by members of the senate investigating committee, that a grand jury, rather than a congressional group, has undertaken the investigations. Thus it is all over the south.

And what is to be expected should Secretary Hoover be elected to the presidency?

He is entitled to his racial ideas. It is not charged that he is influenced in them by political expediency. They were made plain during the world war, when, as food administrator, he brought the blacks and whites together, in his numerous division headquarters and office rooms in Washington—men and women of every shade and color—to work side by side, feed from the same tables, and use the same rest rooms.

It was only after the segregation order of President Wilson that such a condition was remedied. That order remained in effect, in all governmental departments, and with entire satisfaction, the white and black employees being properly separated, until a few months ago when upon the initiative of negro politicians of Boston, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, Secretary Hoover abrogated the order as to the department of commerce, and all its branches, and today the same conditions exist as prior to the Wilson segregation order ten years ago. Today the white and black employees, men and women, in all branches of that department, work side by side, use the same rest rooms, and in no respect is there any racial segregation.

There is no purpose to reflect upon the character, or the statesmanship or the business ability of the republican candidate for president. He has never lived in the south. He has only stopped in Georgia for a brief period, and in waiting for his schedule in Savannah the fact that he received as his guest on his private car the negro national committeewoman may have had more political than racial significance. At that time his candidacy for the nomination was brewing.

He lived the most of his adult life in London and in other European capitals. There social and racial conditions are different.

But that does not alter, nor extenuate the situation in this country.

While the racial question is inbred, it is sacred, it is crucial.

The negro is equal to the white before the law, and the administration of the law, in his, and in other states in the "old black belt" gives to him freely and correctly that equality.

He is encouraged to become useful in citizenship, in the trades, in industry, in agriculure.

He is educated through the public school system on a parity with the whites, and the expenses are paid by taxation which accrues largely from the whites.

Every upstanding citizen believes in justice, full and complete, to the negro.

But that does not mean a reliquishment of white supremacy. for which theb est blood of the south was shed to maintain, and which the upstanding thought of Americans, in every state, recognizes to be right.

It does not mean social equality, or negro political domination, as the latter is today in the juggling of federal jobs in Georgia and other states. Will this negro political domination not expand and be made more intolerable if Secretary Hoover becomes the nation's executive?

Former Governor Brough, of Arkansas, speaking before the Press association of this state made this plain when he said the real issue in this national campaign is "Anglo-Saxon supremacy."

Elsewhere in The Constitution today is a communication from Wright Willingham, prominent attorney of Rome, Ga., in which he mades the issue plain.

A negro of Rome is a dispenser of federal patronage, and with Bre'r Davis, of Georgia-at-large, and Bre'r Howard, of Mississippi-at-large, and others, hold the republican throttle in the south.

It is time to think seriously of this question. Mr. Hoover is entitled to his views. Domocratic malcontents and insurrectionists who want to join him, and the negro republican dictators in the south, may find comfort in such company, but white supremacy is the hope of the south. For it we fight!

The Constitution:

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution
Sunday, July 15, 1928

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But that does not mean a relinquishment of white supremacy, for which the best blood of the south was shed to maintain, and which the upstanding thought of Americans, in every state, recognizes to be right.

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Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

General.

COMPARISON OF VOTE IN THE 14TH. WARD COLORED DEMOCRATS MAKE VERY POOR SHOWING

In analyzing and comparing the votes cast for Smith and Hoover for President it is shown that the attempt to throw a large Negro vote in that ward to Al Smith was not a success.

The proof shown by comparing the vote of the precincts of the 14th Ward are repeated and verified by analysis of the white and colored vote of other wards.

Herald - Commonwealth

The total white and colored vote registered and the vote for Smith and Hoover are shown in the following table:

11-17-28

14TH. WARD—Precincts Having White Majorities:

Precinct	White	Colored	Smith	Hoover
1	496	18	290	152
2	461	12	207	201
3	436	3	217	154
4	374	35	205	134
5	368	100	193	188
20	362	118	184	164
21	421	8	202	162
22	371	3	169	152
	3289	297	1767	1303

Precincts Having Colored Majorities

Precinct	White	Colored	Smith	Hoover
6	124	243	81	179
7	17	290	55	157
8	13	421	73	248
9	1	330	37	211
10	85	295	92	185
11	27	384	56	192
12	137	193	108	120
13	2	399	62	220
14	4	327	32	197
15	28	241	31	142
16	32	339	72	134
17	45	279	77	161
18	26	347	76	180
19	8	287	32	153
	547	4375	878	2479

It will be noticed that in every precinct having a majority of white voters Smith received a majority and every precinct showing a colored majority of voters Hoover received an overwhelming majority.

CAMPAIGN LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIES WORRIED OVER NEGRO VOTE

But Neither Raskob nor Work Dares to Discuss the Importance of Race Ballots, Says Magazine Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The leaders of both Democratic and Republican parties are "up in the air" over an element which neither dares make a public issue for fear of exciting the ire of the "solid south.

T. R. B., a Washington correspondent for the New Republic magazine makes the comment that: "it is beginning to be plain to those who look below the surface that the Democratic chances rest very largely on the prospective support of two classes of voters which in the past have been almost uniformly Republican. One of these is the Negro, and the other the Germans. The first has always been a fundamental Republican asset, and the second overwhelmingly Republican since the War.

"The real uncertainty lies with the two groups mentioned, nad in that fact lies one of the most extraordinary features of the whole fight."

T. R. B. then goes on to make the point that from these two sources and these alone is there any hope of making up Smith's loss through the bigots of his own party—a serious loss in every state. Each party has been forced to recognize this fact.

He says neither party is in a position to talk about this phase of the situation, but both are exerting forceful efforts to concentrate upon the problem.

Acording to him the fact that Negroes are leaning toward Smith seems fairly easy of explanation. For one thing he says, Smith is anti-Klan, and fro another the Negro has no feeling of kinship for the candidate Hoover as he has had for the ordinary Republican presidential candidate. And as to the Germans who are admittedly wet, the writer is of the opinion there is no denying that the persistent painting of Hoover as pro-English has haid its effect. Among both Negroes and Germans, Raskob agents said to be "well heeled" with cash, are active and numerous.

The writer points out that in Missouri especalily are the Republicans alarmed. It is well known that Missouri is a vital state for Smith—well night as vital as New York state. It is hardly possible to figure out 266 electoral votes for him without the 18 from Missouri. The concentration of money and effort on both sides grows more intense daily.

The Germans and the Negroes constitute a large proportion of the vote, the magazine states, and the inroads being made among them by Smith agents would seem to indicate that the Democrats will carry the state.

By means of blackboards and voters' schools the Democrats are demonstrating to the Negroes and to the Germans the possbiility of voting the whole Republican ticket with the exception of the presidential nominee; how they can remain Republicans and still vote for a Democratic ppresident.

The Republicans on their part are using the fact that Smith, if he is elected, might die, which would leave the very southern Joe Robinson in the White House, thing which is calculated to strike terror into the hearts of the colored people who dread the effects of a "cracker" as president. The magazine writer regards this sort of campaign argument as "silly" but says it is "practical politics."

NEWS
HAMILTON, O.

SEP 28 1928

COLORED VOTERS LEAGUE FORMED

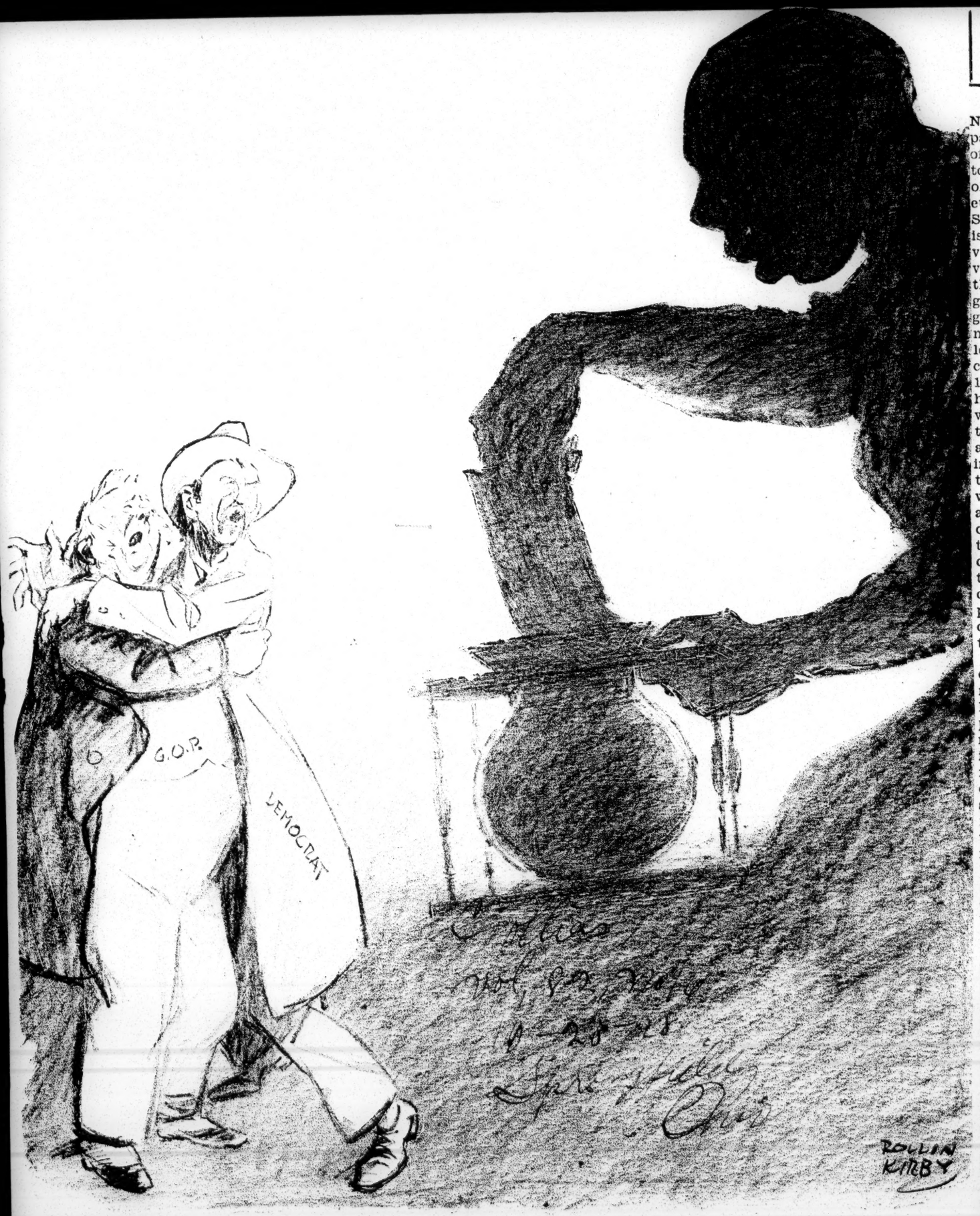
Enthusiasm Marks Meeting at Middletown—Chief is Capt. G. A. Kinney

Plans for taking part in the Presidential campaign and for the endorsement of candidates were made Thursday evening at a meeting of the Butler County Colored Voters' League held in the Community House at Middletown. The meeting was attended by a number from Hamilton.

Capt. G. A. Kinney, Hamilton, vice president, presided in the absence of Dr. W. T. Darnell, the league president. A business meeting was held at which the following officers were named: President — Capt. G. A. Kinney, Hamilton; Vice-President—Charles A. Walker, Hamilton; Secretary—Thomas A. White, Middletown; Corresponding Secretary —E. A. Banks, Middletown; Treasurer—Dr. W. T. Darnell, Middletown. These with Matthew Russell, Middletown, R. L. Penick, and Albert Gilmore, Hamilton, constitute the executive board.

Several addresses that had the effecet of stimulating the enthusiasm were made. Among those speaking [illegible] Hagans, Hamilton, who dis[illegible] future course of the league. His suggestions were strongly supported by Thomas A. White [illegible] Russell, Middletown. Charles A. Walker in an arousing talk urged support of the Republican ticket from President down to the last man on the county ticket.

The next meeting of the league will be held in Hamilton at the Rescue Home, 138 Pershing avenue, Wednesday evening, Oct. 3. At this meeting it is expected the league will take formal action endorsing party candidates.



The secret scarecrow of both parties is the Negro vote

As The Negro Votes

By KELLY MILLER

For the first time since reconstruction, the Negro goes to the polls next Tuesday emancipated from his emancipators. He has thrown off the thralldom which has held him like a vice to the fortunes of the Grand Old Party. The old Negro may indeed feel bound by ties of eternal gratitude to the party of Lincoln and Sumner, but the young Negro does not. There is a limit beyond which gratitude ceases to be a virtue. The American colonies stung into revolt by injustice and tyranny, quickly forgot the deep debt of gratitude which the struggling daughter in the wilderness owed to her generous and genial mother across the sea. No manly people can ever pledge its love and loyalty in perpetuity under change of time and circumstances. The present election is held in 1928, and not in 1872. The Negro who places his back to the future and his face to the past will continue to vote the Republican ticket to the end of time. The flesh pots of Egypt are always more enticing to the timid and the imorous than the dangers and vicissitudes of the untried desert. I have just scanned in a widely circulated and influential Negro paper, a paid advertisement in two parallel columns, of the goodness of the Republican party and the badness of its Democratic rival. But these contrasted lists of good and evil refer to the things that are past and gone. There is not one absolute or relative word about future prospect and promise. So far as the Negro is concerned, the Republican party is like the potato, the best part is under ground.

If the Negro, as a race supports the grand Old Party in the present election and in the next ten elections to come, there is no apparent likelihood that his political lot would be improved thereby. The Negro acquired an initial momentum for the party of freedom and equality in the early days which it is admittedly difficult to reverse. Those past middle age, the over optimistic who somehow believe that the spirit of Abraham Lincoln will be reincarnated in the Grand Old Party, the timid and hesitant who rather endure the ills they have than risk those they know not of, those of the slavish Uncle Tom type of temperament, the cunning and crafty who hope to gather in the crumbs of favor which fall from the white master's table, will adhere to the Republican standard, though the dry land turn to sea. On the other hand, the forward looking, the progressive, the radical, the new Negro, the intelligentia will revolt against the Republican recreancy, and will risk whatever expediency which may promise change. It must be conceded that the Democratic party does not hold out a promising prospect; but protest against a false friend often incidentally results in benefit to an avowed enemy. If the Negro, North or South expects to make any further political progress, he must by some means overcome the hostility of the Democratic party which effectively blocks his advancement whichever party is in national ascendency. It is abundantly demonstrated that this cannot be done by aligning the race in solid political array against that party. He cannot vote either way without humiliation. No Negro who bears in mind the backward trend of the Republican party for the past thirty years and who is sensible of and sensitive to the renunciation of Kansas City, the crucifixion of Perry Howard, and the olive branch to the lily whites, the alliance with the Ku Klux Klan, the religious bigots and the race intolerants, can vote for the Grand Old Party except with great compunction.

I had hoped to rally the race around the standard of prohibition under the banner of Hoover. But the candidate himself sent down word that prohibition was not to be discussed His influential wet supporters in the East forbade. The Grand Old Party of ancient idealism has harked back to the stand pat doctrine of Mark Hanna. It now proclaims the glad tidings of prosperity and the gospel of guts. None of these things appeal to a people smarting under a sense of moral wrong. You cannot cure the hurt of the soul by proffer of a full dinner pail.

Hereafter, no one will be able to tell, the colored man's political affiliation by his race. This, I hope, will attone for all of the humiliation which the Negro is forced to suffer at the hands of both parties. More Negroes will cast their ballot next Tuesday than at any time since reconstruction. Each voter must decide for himself. In the language of the Chicago Defender, it is to be hoped that he will vote, "sensibly, and not sentimentally." There will be something like two million Negro voters, but no Negro vote.

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Political - 1928
Party Affiliation.

General.

MICHIGAN GOVERNOR URGES NEGROES TO SUPPORT THEIR OWN CANDIDATES

DETROIT, Mich., Aug. 8.—(A. P P.)—Speaking to the huge audience gathered at the mass meeting of the Wolverine Lodge Number 72, of the O. B. P. O. E. of W., here Saturday evening, Governor Fred Green paid tribute to the progress which Negroes have made in America and urged them to support Negro men and women for legislative offices declaring: "Michigan will be greatly helped by having representatives of the colored group in the House and Senate".

The text of the governor's address was as follows: Reporter

"I hope what I have to say here this evening will be accepted not in a state of flattery, but in the manner of encouragement. It comes from one who is interested in you as a group. You need encouragement because you are striving against great handicaps. There is not a group in our country who has had to overcome the obstacles you as a race has had to overcome in the last sixty years. No man or woman in your group needs to apologize for the achievements which your race has achieved in the last fifty or sixty years.

8-11-28

"I know of no group anywhere, that has made the marvelous progress in the reduction of illiteracy. In 1890 when the first census was taken, nearly sixty per cent of your group could not read or write. During the period between 1890 and 1928 you have reduced that number from sixty to sixteen per cent, and in the face of the fact that the great majority of your people have as much ability and imagination as any race, and all you need to do is develop the will to make further achievements so that you will achieve in reality the political as well as the economical equalities to which you are justly entitled as citizens of this republic. This meeting tonight seems to me to be the best argument and the best evidence of the value of organization for your group. Individually you can do nothing, but collectively you can do a great deal. This is an age of organization, and what has been achieved by other races has been through the medium of organization, therefore, yours must come through the same medium and the same method.

"If you have a common purpose, you will find that the people in power will listen to your wants and requests with respect. Men who occupy political offices will listen to your group if it is organized, because they know that your ballots will be counted for or against them on the election day. And I notice here particularly tonight that you have seen the wisdom of selecting men of your group for public office. I hope you will go further and go to the extent of working for them so that after the election is over they may take their place in the legislature offices in Lansing. Michigan will be greatly helped by having representatives of the colored group in the House and Senate.

"Your group has certain problems which are particular to your group. Someone ought to voice the interests and aspirations of your group and no man or woman is able to voice them than the man or woman from your group who knows the problems from the inside.

"I want to say to you that I am happy to be here. I want to say something to you which will give you a better impression of how it looks looking from the outside in. It helps to give more encouragement and probably a broader perspective and a greater encouragement on the inside to those who are struggling to get out. You need not apologize or be ashamed of the achievements you have made. You have made wonderful progress against handicaps. Ability and intelligence is not a matter of color, nationality or religion. All people have a common origin. It comes to one and all. Political independence is a matter of circumstance. No one knows what the history might have been over your group had it not been altered by experiences and forces over which you have had no control, and I am confident that as we go on, and as you men and women take their places in the field of science, business, and education, it will not be long before you have economical independence in reality as you now have it in spirit. I hope to see a time when the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments will be just as effective as all other laws.

"I have watched and have taken an interest in your group because it has afforded an interesting study. I know greater progress can be achieved and from now on the load is going to be easier than the pioneers have realized. I hope you take these things which I have said not as a matter of flattery, but as sincerity and encouragement, which comes from one who is interested so that you can make greater and greater progress."

Dr. Dubois and Prof. Kelly Miller

Kelly Miller takes Dubois to task for the assertion that, "Any Negro who votes for Hoover is a fool." Miller does not give any reason for denying the statement except that he is no fool and he is going to support Hoover. In our judgment that proves the correctness of Dubois' position. Now we take it that there are several grades of fools. There is among us the educated fool,—that is the Negro who has gone through all the schools and had his brains squeezed out. He is full of degrees and high sounding titles; but if a Republican tells him the moon is a big cake of cheese, he is ready to swear he can see the skippers on it. There is the half-educated fool who has gone as far as the second reader and launched his bark on the sea of life without compass or astrolable—he is merely drifting with the tide—ready to follow the herd under the whip of the "Big Boss." He is the loudest rooter for the Grand Oil Party.

There is the fool absolutely illiterate who work around "big white folks" mostly Republicans, and he catches a ear-full of their idle vaporings and he comes down among his peopel saying, "I am Sir Oracle, and when I speak let no dog bark."

Now, we do not believe that so learned a man as Dr. Dubois meant just what he is accused of having said. All the Negroes that are for Hoover are not fools! Those only are fools who are intelligent enough to know all the facts and circumstances and yet are for him—they are fools.

Down here in Kentucky then are a great number of upright men and women who don't know any better than to vote for a "yaller dog" if he back Republicanism. Thousands of them do not know that Theodore Roosevelt was the "Last of the Mohicans." Many do not know that Taft shut the door of opportunity in the Nergoes' face and poured the slops on him from the windows. Many of us never heard that Harding went down South and told the poor devils down there, "Make your peace with the Southern white man for we are going to drop you." Many of them do not know that Coolidge was a Klu Klux Klan sympathizer and was the only President that allowed those "lousey rats to march down Pennsylvania avenue in the Capital of the Nation." Many of us never heard the Republican Bosses sent Mrs. Hildebrandt down South to unhorse and to relegate to the rear, all Negro leaders. Many never heard of C. Bascomb Slemp, who has out-hellified Heflin in persecuting the Negro, has been given charge of the border states to plait the short hair of the Negro.

Don't call us all fools. We are just merely ignorant. Kelly Miller, Bob Church, Walter Cohen, and such intellectuals who have been crucified and yet are shouting for Hoover, *they are the fools.*

Many Negroes who are for Hoover, don't know that Hoover was a Democrat ten years ago. They think him a life-long Republican. Many of us don't know that Al Smith is the best friend our race has had since Lincoln. Many of us don't know that Al Smith cares nothing for race, creed or color, but places his favors upon those who love their fellowmen and who are de-American life.

Many of us are ignorant that Smith has appointed Negroes to voted to the higher ideals of higher places in the state of New York than Coolidge appointed in the United States. Many of us do not know that the "Copperheads" of the South opposed Smith because he said: "Give the colored man a chance.

Dr. Dubois and Prof. Miller, if our people knew the facts set forth in the foregoing statement, Al Smith would get every Negro vote in the country.

The Republican party is honey-combed with the K. K. K., that wicked and infamous organization that terrorized our mothers and fathers. Oh, in God's name why should we support Hoover who is beneficiary if not actually the champion and protector of this gang.

Do what you please but put the Louisville News and its coworkers down forever for right, justice and charity to all men without regard to race, color or creed.

HERALD-EXAMINER
CHICAGO, ILL.

SEP 7 1928

G. O. P. WARDS IN CHICAGO SHOW DRIFT TO SMITH

Negro Third Leaves Governor Only 22 Behind; Given Big Lead in Esposito District

Further evidence of Smith strength in Chicago districts hitherto dominated by Republicans were revealed yesterday in The Herald and Examiner straw poll.

In the Third Ward, where Repub-

licanism among the Negro residents has been a tradition for years, the poll showed 1,026 for Herbert Hoover and 1,004 for Governor Al Smith. Among the voters polled, there were 593 Republican and only 88 Democratic votes in 1926.

A similar but less surprising showing is made in the Twenty-fifth Ward, former stronghold of "Diamond Joe" Esposito, Deneen Republican chief, assassinated before the primary.

In that district Hoover polled only 321 to 463 for Smith. The voters polled showed a Democratic plurality in 1924 of 374 to 362.

Governor Smith's lead in the city-wide poll increased slightly yesterday. Totals were:

HOOVER.

Men.	Women.	Total.
8,114	7,615	15,729

SMITH.

10,141	7,179	17,300

In 1924, there were 16,386 Republican votes and 7,292 Democratic votes among the men and women polled thus far in the city.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

General

"BETWEEN CATHOLICISM AND NIGGERS"

—o—

The South finds itself in the predicament of having to choose in the 1928 presidential campaign "between Catholicism and the Niggers," as a Tennessee daily newspaper puts it. The admission proves again that no question of public policy is ever settled until it is settled right.

Discrimination, in the law and by public officials based upon religion and race, is contrary to the Constitution. In the case of the Negro, the South has taken little pains to hide its intent to apply the law of unequality. Its statesmen have gloried in its course even in Congress. Its unfairness and injustice to us is a known condition. Yet the South after making its choice finds itself in a predicament so serious to it, that the southern newspapers actually count it first page news to report that local democratic nominees are going to support the national democratic ticket. The South may be solid in 1928 as it has been in all the past, but at least it trembles, notwithstanding the K. K. K. and its black laws should have made Catholics and Negroes the least of its worries.

The trouble with the South is that it flies in the face of human experience. It persists in being guided by feelings rather than by brains. It has followed the business methods which have kept it impoverished, just as it has trailed along in its politics because it was handcuffed by a party label. A southern planter, living in the Mississippi delta, America's rival of the famous Nile valley for fertility, prefers to steal from the Negro laborers who cultivate his acres in a half-hearted way, rather than give them a man's chance and himself a huge profit. Southern white communities organize to maintain "white supremacy." They waste the time which would put their leadership so high it could not be doubted. Southern leaders of business and public life, with the knowledge that nearly half their population is black and a still larger percentage of their labor, flout human experience and try to keep Negroes ignorant, as though communities profit the more the lower the human standards.

The South is in a predicament because of its wilful folly in choosing to spend time in devising a web of hate instead of building a commercial empire big enough for all its inhabitants to share.

Pullbacks, even of such ancient and honorable lineage as the Old South, are just so much dead weight who, thanks to Providence, go to make heavier the fly wheel of a busy world. A pull-back South will come to be used some day by industrial leaders just as it is now the tail on Al Smith's political kite. That leadership will come, possibly of foreign birth, the Catholic religion or even the Negro race. Hate cannot permanently stop progress.

WHAT THE NEGROES WANT

The leading negro newspaper of the United States is The Chicago Defender. Here is its platform for the American negro, as proclaimed from the top of its editorial page:

1—The opening up of all trades and trade unions to blacks as well as whites.

2—The appointment of a member of the race to the president's cabinet.

3—Men of our race in police departments over entire United States.

4—Engineers and firemen of our race of all American railroads, steamships, and government controlled industries.

5—Government schools open to all American citizens in preference to foreigners.

6—Motormen and conductors of our race on street railways throughout the United States.

The Chicago Defender is wise enough not to add social equality to the list of things for what it is contending, but it is seeking that purpose nevertheless.

Furthermore, if the Hoover ticket wins in the presidential campaign this year the negro race will be a fair way to get many of the things for which The Chicago Defender is battling.

If you favor the above platform go ahead and vote for Hoover.

"NOT RELIGION—PLAIN MEANNESS."

Ex-Governor Cameron Morrison of North Carolina speaking to a gathering of his fellow citizens to support Governor Al Smith for President got off the following: "Can a Catholic citizen be required to serve his nation in war, pay taxes and undertake the other obligations of citizenship and then be disfranchised because of his religion? That is not religion. That's just plain meanness." With those sentiments, we believe, most fair-minded people will agree. Catholics perform their fair share of the duties and responsibilities incumbent upon them as American citizens. When this country ten years ago was in the midst of the great war, the question of whether a man was a Catholic or not was given no consideration. When Catholics drop their dollars in the form of taxes in the government coffers, no question about those dollars are asked. Truly then to require and accept the performance of duties, then deny the privileges "is not religion" but "just plain meanness." But so far, so good. Religion then should not be a dividing line. What about race? Can a Negro citizen be required to serve his nation in war, pay taxes and undertake the other obligations of citizenship and then be disfranchised because of his race? Of course, it's being done—nine millions of them—but is it right, is it religion? Governor Morrison does not think of that side but every fair-minded, intelligent man must say, "That's not religion. That's just plain meanness." To justify such by weak excuses does not make it right either. Slavery was so justified but in the end at a fearful price was ended. And ended because it was wrong, the excuses to the contrary notwithstanding. What kind of man is he anyway that demands for himself the very things he denies his fellow man?

Just as this country could not endure half slave and half free so in the end will it be found out that it cannot endure with half upholding the rights and privileges of American citizens and half denying it. The demarcations of religion and race have no real abiding place in the scheme of American theory of government

HONORABLE J. A. HOLLOMAN OF THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Atlanta Constitution 8-3-28

According to the religious philosophy of Honorable J. A. Holloman, the man who writes the Negro-hating and intolerant editorials in the daily Constitution, and for which the Honorable Clark Howell must bear the responsibility, Christian leaders have no place in American politics. The bootlegger, grafter, gambler, dive-keeper and prostitute have a voice to vote, and lecture to those who agree with them that they ought to vote for men who will keep their illegal and immoral businesses running, but a minister of the gospel, whose duty it is to denounce sin wherever it is found has no right to speak in the interest of good government, or advise their congregations that they have a moral duty, as well as a civic duty to perform, as citizens as well as Christian ministers.

The preacher who says stay out of politics has the right to speak according to Mr. Holloman's philosophy, but the minister who says that it is the duty of every American citizen to speak out against sin, graft and immorality is a disturber of the public peace and ought to be suppressed. A strange doctrine, but you cannot expect any better of an alien. According to the doctrine of Mr. Holloman, all preachers who disagree with Al Smith, Rome and intemperance ought to be disfranchised if they should speak out in open meeting against that which conflicts with their conscientious convictions.

Bishop Candler is right when he straddles the question, but Bishop Cannon is all wrong when he say stand on the side of the Bible and morality.

RACE PROBLEM SOUTH'S FIRST

Woman Speaker At Institute Declares it is Chief Reason for Our Solidarity

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va., Aug. 9—(AP)—The South is a distinct section and must be reckoned with accordingly, Mrs. Sarah Lee Fain, member of the Virginia house of representatives, declared here tonight in her address, "The Solid South—Its Cause? Its Future?" before members of the institute of public affairs of the University of Virginia. The race question is the chief reason for the South remaining sectional, Mrs. Fain said.

"It is a grave problem," she continued. "It has been the cause of the South's greatest woes. It will require the thoughtful consideration of our forward looking citizens until a satisfactory solution is reached. Time may solve it but a definite policy must be found."

Before the war between the states, Mrs. Fain said, the South occupied a leading place in the industrial life of the nation, and she believes now that the South is entering an area that will ultimately result in achieving an even greater position in industrial leadership. While it has taken many years to overcome the ravages of that war, Mrs. Fain said, the South is striking a rapid progressive stride. A new generation, she said, is now catching a vision of the opportunity of the South, of its resources and its superior advantages.

"Nothing more significant is happening," she continued, "in this country than the rise to power and influence of groups of liberal leaders in the South. The South is experiencing a remarkable economic development and an even more remarkable intellectual renaissance. It is at this moment in the throes of political unrest, the results of which no one can foretell."

SECTIONAL EVIL NARROWS VISION

Lounsbury Points Out South's Weakness.

SUCCESS CANKER

American Voters Declared More Concerned for Victory Than Principles by Speaker.

Charlottesville, Va., Aug. 8 (By A. P.)—"The South has been the compound victim of its political solidarity. Few national policies are shaped with it in view; not until by its self-emancipation from political tradition it becomes an essential battleground for party victory would hope seem emminent for the consideration, which is otherwise its due."

Thus declared Dr. Ralph R. Lounsbury, prominent New York lawyer and lecturer on constitutional law, in an address on "Sectionalism and National Politics" today before the Institute of Public Affairs being held here at the University of Virginia.

The gravest evil of sectionalism lies, not in having a special problem, not in the nature of the problem; but in the disregard of national good and in the method of its treatment," continued Doctor Lounsbury.

The greates evil, he said, lay "in the insistence that one group or section is entitled to special governmental favor, or that it may rightfully gain an advantage over, or so utilize its political or economic or financial power as to prejudicially affect the right of other groups or sections, or of the nation as a whole."

"We are still far from exhibiting a national spirit in this country," Doctor Lounsbury declared. "A sort of sectional astigmatism afflicts us all. That we do not readily submit to deprivation of what we call our local rights is quite as it should be when there is danger of seriously disturbing the constitutional balance between state and national power, but it has bred a narrowness of outlook and an isolated purpose, where questions of power or right or not at all involved. . . . Members of congress are, or ought to be, more than delegates from the states or districts from which they come. They represent, or should represent, the nation in its entirety, which means that what is beneficial for the whole, rather than the part, should be their first concern."

Success Complex.

Charlottesville, Va., Aug. 8 (By A. P.)—American voters of today care more about winning than anything else, in the opinion of several speakers, who voiced their beliefs at the round table on party politics at the University of Virginia's institute of public affairs this afternoon. This round table discussion was conducted by Prof. Arthur R. Hatton of Northwestern university.

Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, chairman of the woman's national Democratic club and formerly vice chairman of the Democratic national committee, declared that "Americans measure a thing by its success, and they are not inclined to take positions merely on principle and to a large extent the desire to win plays an important part."

"Political parties follow public opinion and do not support new issues unless forced to do so," she continued. "Naturally the commercial politicians who want to win want to straddle issue."

Don C. Seitz, former business manager of the New York World, agreed with Mrs. Blair.

"In America," he said, "our elections have become sporting events. They are a sort of manifestation of the competitive spirit; issues have faded out, and we have these contests largely in the sporting sense."

The round table on Latin-American relations continued today with several taking part in the discussion. Doubt as to whether there is in Mexico a true movement toward nationalization of oil lands was expressed by Dr. Frank Crone of Lima, Peru. He said that if oil rights held by Americans in Mexico were to be abandoned, they would be granted to other foreign capitalists.

The agricultural problem came in for varied discussion at the round table on this question led by Prof. John D. Black of Harvard university.

Eric Eglund of the United States department f agriculture emphasized the magnitude of the farm problem. It was his contention that federal aid to agriculture stimulated local initiative and encouraged local control, supplemented rather than diverted money and did not complicate tax distribution.

Racial Problem.

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"It is a grave problem," she continued. "It has been the cause of the South's greatest woes. It will require the thoughtful consideration of our forward-looking citizens until a satisfactory solution is reached. Time may solve it, but a definite policy must be found."

Political - Party 8

Party Affiliation.

General

Calhoun, Ga., Times
Thursday, July 19, 1928

NEGROES HI-JACKING GEORGIA POSTMASTERS

PARTICULARLY for the benefit of those who have decided that they will bolt the Democratic party this fall because of the "moral issues" involved, it is well to consider the testimony adduced before the Senate committee investigating patronage sales in Georgia, in the first day of its session. This testimony justifies every charge that has been made in connection with the hi-jacking methods employed by the Republican organization in this state to blood both Democrat and Republican holders of federal office.

If we [illegible] that:

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

4. [illegible]

5. A card index system is used, under which a new employe's name is entered into the card file and each month's "contribution" is recorded on his card.

6. When a federal employe drops behind in his payments he receives a letter from the treasurer asking him if it is his intention to make any further contributions.

7. Postmasters have been forced to pay money to retain their places.

8. Applicants have been forced to make large contributions to the Republican party, although they may be Democrats, to secure places. In the first day, it was brought out that such "contributions" had been made by the postmaster at Sardis, at Stockbridge and at Nahunta.

9. The postoffice department, presided over by a Republican cabinet member, knew about this hi-jacking and in the Nahunta instance told Ben Davis it could not receieve any Nahunta recommendations from the patronage referee of that county. It did not appear that the Republican cabinet officer had made any investigation to see whether that was the general situation.

10. Ben Davis, the Negro Republican national committeeman, had received these complaints, but had done nothing about it.

Several conclusions are inevitable. In the first place, political parties do not pay the men who run their affairs. They pay the stenographers and the clerks who do the work, but the state chairman and the national committeemen and the other officers work for their party because they are patriotic, or because they are interested in politics, or because they hope for personal advancement thereby. In Georgia, the Republican leaders have introduced the high-financing method of sustaining themselves. Like overlords, they demand tribute from every the humblest federal employe in the state. They say these "contributions" are voluntarily, but the card-index record belies that claim. That record shows that postmasters in the same class, drawing the same salary, contribute the same monthly amount. It is not humanely possible for 50 people, in widely separated parts of the state, to make a "free will" offering in the same amount each month. Plainly, the postmasters are assessed. Plainly, they are told what they are expected to give.

Plainly, also, the money is extorted from them. If it was not extorted, if their jobs did not depend upon the contributions, Democrats would not be found contributing to the support of the well-fed Ben Davis in the sum of $250 a month. These men who "contribute" are not even making a "contribution" to the Republican party. Not a cent of what they give goes into the coffers of the national Republican party; not a cent of it is spent to perpetuate in office the party that gives them jobs. All of it goes to sustain the carrion crows who feed upon their vitals as soon as they are put upon the payroll of the federal government.

Not only the monthly contributions made—totalling in a year more than $14,000—but the applicant for a postmastership must pay his toll. Mrs. Wilson, at Stockbridge, paid $75 to the organization so that her husband might have the postmastership, but he got it only after he had paid another $50. Instance after instance of that has occurred in the state.

Those who are interested in "moral issues" may find the reports of the patronage probe to be interesting reading.

Douglas, Ga., Progress
Thursday, July 19, 1928

WHITE SUPREMACY

In the pending national campaign the question of white supremacy is paramount, and supercedes every controversial issue.

It strikes at the very hearthstone of every white man's home in the south.

In Georgia the problem is peculiarly acute. Within the past few days, in the disgraceful disclosures as to juggling federal patronage by a negro referee, this burning question, on which hinges the hope of the south, as it hinged in the dark days of reconstruction, has been accentuated.

In Mississippi, where a negro patronage referee has, as alleged auctioned postmasterships and other federal jobs, the conditions are so "astonishing," as expressed by members of the senate investigating committee, that a grand jury, rather than a congressional group has undertaken the investigations. Thus it is all over the south.

And what is to be expected should Secretary Hoover be elected to the presidency?

He is entitled to his racial ideas. It is not charged that he is influenced in them by political expediency. They were made plain during the world war, when, as food administrator, he brought the blacks and whites together, in his numerous division headquarters and office rooms in Washington—men and women of every shade and color—to work side by side, feed from the same tables and use the same rest rooms.

It was only after the segregation order of President Wilson that such a condition was remedied. That order remained in effect in all governmental departments, and with entire satisfaction, the white and black employees being properly separated, until a few months ago when upon the initiative of negro politicians of Boston, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, Secretary Hoover abrogated the order as to the department of commerce, and all its branches, and today the same conditions exist as prior to the Wilson segregation order ten years ago. Today the white and black employees, men and women, in all branches of that department, work side by side, use the same rest rooms, and in no respect is there any racial segregation.

There is no purpose to reflect upon the character, or the statesmanship or the business ability of the Republican candidate for president. He has never lived in the south. He has visited it only a few times. He has only stopped in Georgia for a brief period, waiting for his schedule Savannah the fact that he received as his guest on his private car the negro [illegible] national committeeman may have had more political than racial significance. At that time his candidacy for the nomination was brewing.

He lived the most of his adult life in London and in other European capitals. There social and racial conditions are different.

But that does not alter, nor extenuate the situation in this country.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

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It was developed during the first day that:

1. The Republican organization in Georgia has a monthly payroll and expense account of $87,500.

2. [illegible] John Martin gets $250 a month, Ben Davis [illegible] chairman of the state committee [illegible] a month.

3. Contributions are made monthly by practically all postmasters in the state.

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5. A card index system is used, under which a new employe's name is dropped into the card file and each month "contribution" is recorded on his card.

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He lived the most of his adult life in London and in other European capitals. There social and racial conditions are different.

But that does not alter, nor extenuate the situation in this country.

While the racial question is inbred, it is sacred, it is crucial.

The negro is equal to the white before the law, and the administration of the law in this, and in other states in the "old black belt" gives to him freely and correctly that equality.

He is encouraged to become useful in citizership, in the trades, in industry, in agriculture.

He is educated through the public school system on a parity with the whites, and the expenses are paid by taxation which accrues largely from the whites.

Every upstanding citizen believes in justice, full and complete, to the negro.

But that does not mean a relinquishment of white supremacy, for which the best blood of the south was shed to maintain, and which the upstanding thought of Americans, in every state, recognizes to be right.

It does not mean social equality, or negro political domination, as the latter is today in the juggling of federal jobs in Georgia and other states. Will this negro political domination not expand and be made more intolerable if Secretary Hoover becomes the natiion's executive?

Former Governor Brough, of Arkansas, speaking before the Press association of his state made this plain when he said the real issue in this national campaign is "Anglo-Saxon supremacy."

A negro of Rome is a dispenser of federal patronage, and with Bre'r Davis, of Georgia-at-large, and Bre'r Howard, of Mississippi-at-large, and others, hold the Republican throttle in the south.

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Memphis, Tenn., Commercial-Appeal
Friday, July 27, 1928

Corrupt Politics Is the Enemy Within the Gates of Memphis

It is difficult to appreciate the extent that Memphis has bee retarded in its growth and progress through domination by corrupt politicians and because of corrupt government.

The recent repudiation of the Chicago gangsters leaves Memphis the darkest spot in the United States.

There is some question as to whether in its palmiest day Chicago was as bad as Memphis.

It is not a pleasant thing to say. The Commercial Appea laments the existence of such conditions. However, it is not going to cover up.

It purposes to expose rottenness until public conscience has been sufficiently stimulated to revolt.

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Memphis will make a better showing when fewer persons are murdered and more murderers are punished.

The affliction under which Memphis labors is traceable directly to political conditions. Bootleggers, gamblers, handbook operators and distillers are the backbone of the machine.

They provide the financial resources. They pay tribute regularly. Special assessments are levied in political campaigns.

It would surprise the commissioner of police to know how contemptuously the lawless element is operating. It has the sanction and direction of the allies of vice who take refuge in individual respectability.

We brought a great college to Memphis with the hope of awakening the moral conscience of the community.

The state of Tennessee is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in Memphis for the erection of magnificent buildings.

We build great churches. We offer excellent schools as inducement for good people to come to Memphis.

In the face of these things the community is dominated by a corrupt gang and honey-combed with graft and fraud.

The Commercial Appeal is not alone in its fight to remedy the situation. It has the sympathy of a large and increasing number of people in Memphis who hope for better days.

How the people outside of Memphis feel is expressed by a letter from one of the finest citizens of Mississippi and one of the state's ablest lawyers and business men. He says:

> I am very much interested in what an Englishman would call the "narsty fight" you are having in local politics in your county, and I sincerely hope that Horton may be elected governor. Your Shelby County brand of politics is a disgrace, not only to your section, but to the whole country. The idea of bringing back the negro in politics, as it seems the crowd is doing, is one of the most reprehensible, unpardonable things that can be done, and I am surprised that the decent and respectable element of Memphis and Shelby County will stand for such a thing.

We regret that our neighbors have such a low opinion of us. We are embarrassed that such opinion is justified.

There will be no let-up in the fight. Law, order and decency eventually will triumph.

The first step is an honest election.

The most important thing at this time is to prevent the gang from herding negroes to the Democratic primary to vote for McAlister for governor.

Last fall a school for negroes was conducted to teach them how to vote in an election.

They have already learned how to vote in white Democratic primaries. "Colored McAlister Democrats" voted 6,000 strong two years ago in what the Press-Scimitar described as "wholesale vote stealing when the county machine attempted to count Austin Peay out of the governor's chair and put in their own candidate, Hill McAlister."

Corrupt politics is the greatest obstacle to the growth and progress of Memphis.

Athens, Ala., Banner-Herald
Sunday, July 15, 1928

SLUSH FUND FOR ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE NEGRO.

Fired with enthusiasm over the outbreak of supposed democrats in the South, joining the ranks of "Hooverism," the leaders of the republican party are plannig a campaign for the enfranchisement of the negroes in this section of the country. It is a well known fact that the republicans are in possession of the largest "slush" fund that party has ever distributed during a presidential election year. Encouraged over the activities of the so-called Hooverites, recruited from the ranks of the democratic party, the republican leaders are planning a political amalgamation of the races that is hoped will lead to the breaking of the "solid" South. To bring about such a condition however, it will be necessary for the new "lily-white" members of the republican party to co-operate and cast their ballots with the negro republicans. Even with a solid vote of those who may desert the democratic party along with the vote of the negro, loyal democrats do not believe that the use of the "slush" fund for the enfranchisement of the negro will overcome the democratic vote for the nominee—Governor Smith. However, it is a problem that can only be determined after the election and the votes counted. Should the political amalgamation process of the races prove successful it is but natural to presume that the negro would be restored to power and a period of reconstruction days, following the Civil War, enacted in every state of the South, carried by the republican candidate Hoover.

Recalling the scenes of the reconstruction period when federal bayonets guarded the ballot boxes and the flower of southern manhood and citizenship were disfranchised, the action of southern women in organizing and voting the republican ticket is inconceivable. To desert a political party that freed them from negro domination; from the rule of the carpet-bagger and from attempted force of negro equality is beyond a sane conception of duty they owe to their children and to the people of the South. If our womanhood forget the principles of democracy, which is dear to the hearts of every loyal southerner, what hopes can we have for the preservation of white supremacy? Southern members of the Anti-Saloon League; the W. C. T. U., should scorn the dictates of these organizations to desert the democratic party on the grounds of prohibition enforcement. The wise leaders of the republican party, who are not friends to the prohibition cause, have capitalized these organizations for their use in deceiving the sentimental and blind dry forces of the South.

Those who desert the democratic party in the coming presidential election make themselves a party to restoring the dark days of the reconstruction period, when carpet-baggers ruled the South and negro domination reigned supreme.

The responsibility rests upon the voters of the South. Which shall it be? Negro domination and Hoover—or white supremacy and Smith?

While the racial question is inbred, it is sacred, it is crucial.

The negro is equal to the white before the law, and the administration of the law in this, and in other states in the "old black belt" gives to him freely and correctly that equality.

He is encouraged to become useful in citizership, in the trades, in industry, in agriculture.

He is educated through the public school system on a parity with the whites, and the expenses are paid by taxation which accrues largely from the whites.

Every upstanding citizen believes in justice, full and complete, to the negro.

But that does not mean a relinquishment of white supremacy, for which the best blood of the south was shed to maintain, and which the upstanding thought of Americans, in every state, recognizes to be right.

It does not mean social equality, or negro political domination, as the latter is today in the juggling of federal jobs in Georgia and other states. Will this negro political domination not expand and be made more intolerable if Secretary Hoover becomes the natiion's executive?

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General.

Party Affiliation

Afraid of the Dark

By Frank R. Kent

The Republicans and Democrats are worried. And no small part of the worry is caused by uncertainty regarding the colored brothers' vote. Meanwhile, the political doctors are frantically prescribing. So says Mr. Kent, one of the country's ablest political reporters, who turns up a few interesting points you may not have considered

IT IS the undercurrents in politics that really count. Most of the time the vital things upon which elections turn do not get to the surface at all. Most of the time the party orators and organs never dive deep enough to know what tides are flowing and where. Most of the time the "under cover" campaign work is only cloudily suspected.

Very often the things that matter most do not get talked of at all.

For example, it is generally assumed that the voters vote for somebody and in favor of something. It is a completely false assumption. Clear-headed politicians know better. They know that so far as the great bulk of the common people are concerned when they go to the polls in this country—and probably everywhere else—they go to vote against things, not for things.

They know that prejudices, not principles; emotion, not reason; feeling, not thought, are the controlling factors with the ballot-using boys and girls not rigidly bound by the party tie. The exceptions are not numerous enough to matter.

Collier's

In those distant June days when the nominations of Hoover on the one side and Smith on the other first became inevitable practically everybody agreed that this campaign would be unlike any other. The unparalleled personalities of the presidential candidates assured that for one thing. Their clear-cut divergence on prohibition did for another. The fact that one was a Catholic did for a third. The amazing lack of cleavage between the platforms and the extraordinary contrast between the men did, for a fourth. It was easy early to see that the standards by which other fights have been gauged would be valueless this time—and they are. The old political mile posts and sign boards have been swept away. Here in the last month, however confident they appear publicly, in private the really astute fellows on both sides are filled with disquieting uncertainty, and no political prognosticator with a reputation worth preserving is making a prognostication that can be pinned on him after November 5th.

Only the completely uninformed are sure about the result this time.

An Unforeseen Hazard

The truth is that while the presence of unprecedented prejudices marked this campaign from the beginning as unique in American history no one quite foresaw the turn which things have taken or the extraordinary situation that has developed.

The revolt against the wet, Catholic Smith among the dry, prejudiced Protestants of the Democratic South was of course foreshadowed by the Heflins, the Cannons and the Stratons. It was one of the recognized hazards of the Smith nomination.

What was not foreseen, however, was that there would develop in the Republican camp a secret sorrow sufficiently poignant to deprive that party of the comfort and pleasure it might otherwise derive from contemplation of the distressed condition of the Democrats in such states as Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee and Oklahoma and a general election has become interesting for the first time in more than 50 years.

Yet that is exactly what has happened and it is not without its humorous phase. The fact is that, hide it as they may, the Republican management is genuinely worried about the colored vote, worried more than ever before, worried far more than they let on.

It Sounds Like a Joke

When you consider the unshakable Republican adherence of the Negroes for half a century that sounds like a joke, but it isn't.

Publicly at Republican National Headquarters they scoff at the idea there is any real trouble among the Negroes. Privately the more candid and less inert among these so-called party leaders admit the colored brother—and sister too—is dangerously on the loose in this campaign, that the Negro vote is less securely tied into the Grand Old Party than ever before, that there are certain menacing signs not lightly to be ignored, that work and money—more work and more money than ever before—are going to be necessary to keep the Negro firmly fixed in the position to which he seemed permanently assigned—the corner stone of the Republican party.

In New York it is conceded that Governor Smith has had a very large Negro vote every time he has run. In recent years Tammany has intensively cultivated the Harlem district, gone openly after the colored vote—and with considerable success. It has for some years past had a number of regularly employed Negro workers. This time it is said there are twice as many as in any previous campaign. By November, it is predicted, there will be from three to five times as many at work in Harlem.

But it is not so much the Democratic flavor of the New York Negro that disturbs the Republican management. That is more or less an old story; but this time from state after state there come well-authenticated reports of a disposition among the Negroes to vote for Smith such as has not been evinced for any Democratic candidate since 1861.

The drift is recognized by practical men on both sides. It is the particular care of the "under cover" boys. It is the subject of some of the most intense and confidential headquarters conferences. It will be the subject of a good many more—because, however strange it may seem, the fact remains that both sides take this Negro business this time with unwonted seriousness—more seriously than either is willing to admit.

Several reasons are given for the situation. One is that the colored vote is largely wet and the idea has pretty well percolated that if Smith wins they will get their gin and beer easier and cheaper than now, and that it will be better. Another is that Smith is the arch foe of the Ku Klux and the Ku Klux the bitter enemy of Smith. The colored voter has an idea that the Negroes and the Catholics are linked together against the Klan. He thinks if Al is elected he will kill the Klan. He is for that. Another reason is the assiduously spread report that Mr. Hoover favors a "Lily White" Republican party in the South from which Negro leaders will be largely eliminated.

It is a funny state of affairs. In some sections Democrats are ardently courting the Negroes, competing with the Republicans for their support. In others the effort is made to whip the Southern bigots into line by picturing the horrors of "Negro Dominion" which it is alleged would be bound to follow a split in the solid South.

A Wonderful Joke

On the Republican side the real idea they seek to convey to the great masses of Negroes is that if they do not stick to the Republican party they will certainly be disfranchised and probably sold back into slavery. Nor are they allowed to forget that it was Abraham Lincoln who freed them.

The idea that the colored voter has in 50 years progressed much beyond these arguments is yet to be proved. Some of them have but not many.

Probably it won't happen but it would certainly be a wonderful joke on the Republicans if they should succeed this time in breaking the solid South and then lose the election by having their fundamental asset, the Negro vote, run out on them.

There are more than 100 000 colored votes in Illinois, 50,000 in Indiana, 65,000 in Ohio, 100,000 in Pennsylvania, 30,000 in Massachusetts, 15,000 in Delaware, 125,000 in New York, 50,000 in New Jersey, 10,000 in Connecticut, and 60,000 in Maryland.

There is, it is true, nothing in past elections to encourage the idea that any considerable number of Negro votes can be broken away from the Republican party, and despite the signs it is a slender hope to cling to. None the less it

is pretty well the only one that would salvage the situation should the Southern revolt lose the Democrats one or more states, which is a distinct possibility. Clearly it is the only way in which Republican states—not doubtful states—could be swung into the Democratic column, and if he should lose, say, Virginia and North Carolina, Smith cannot be saved by the doubtful states and the New York group—he must carry Republican states as well. The simplest analysis of the electoral vote figures is enough to prove that.

For example give Smith the 10 states of the solid South, which is 111 votes. Give him all five of the border states—Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma—61 votes. That makes 175, or 91 short of the 266 necessary to elect. Give him the New York group—New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island—70 votes, which makes the total 245, or 21 short of the 266. Throw in Massachusetts—18 votes—which makes it 263—and Delaware—3—which makes 266, just enough to make the grade with not a vote to spare.

Clearly Smith has here been given about all that on form can reasonably be given—and some that will seem to Republicans very unreasonable. If he slips on any of these, South or East, he is sunk unless he can carry Republican states which in the last two elections have given literally appalling Republican majorities. That is what Smith has to do to win and that is exactly what he counts upon doing. Further, there is no doubt at all that the Negro vote is counted upon to help him do it.

As to the appalling majorities in these great Republican states they are nothing like so appalling when they are considered on the precinct basis.

For example take Indiana—a state carried by Mr. Coolidge by approximately 200,000 majority. That is enough to make it apparently hopeless for the Democrats but not when you reduce your figures to the smallest unit—the precinct—as the basis for calculation. There are in Indiana approximately 4,000 precincts. A change of 25 votes to a precinct this time would completely wipe out that 200,000 majority, a change of 26 votes would give the state to the Democrats.

Of course this precinct method of calculation—which is the only sound one—applies on the other side as well. In Virginia there is a normal Democratic majority of 40,000, but a change of 13 votes to the precinct would turn that state over to the Republicans, provided of course they could get the votes counted as cast. Concerning this there is naturally an element of doubt in states where there is no such thing as a bi-partisan election board, which is the case all over the South.

The nearest thing the Southern states have to bi-partisan election machinery are boards composed of two Democratic and one Republican judge, and it is not always possible to find a white Republican to serve as minority representative.

In most of the Southern states no pretense at minority representation is made. It would be physically impossible to secure it unless Negroes were used, which would from the Southern angle be utterly unthinkable.

These facts are stated not with the idea of imputing to the politicians of the South any greater degree of dishonesty than that possessed by those of any other part of the country but simply to show the situation and incidentally to remark that machine politicians in one section do not differ in any way from machine politicians in another.

But be that as it may, it must be admitted that there exists today an amazing and unprecedented situation. Here we have one party, the Democratic, threatened—and seriously so—in its heretofore impregnable stronghold, the South, by a religious prejudice unknown in any other national campaign and abhorrent to every American tradition. Conceal it as they may, camouflage it as much as they want, no posted person doubts that the bigots are the real menace to Smith in the South, and that his wetness is used merely as a cloak.

If This Should Happen—

On the other side, though they laugh the idea off, it is unquestionably a fact that the more informed and intelligent Republican politicians tremble lest the peculiar appeal of the Smith candidacy to the colored vote sap their foundations in ordinarily safe Republican states.

If the South should break and the Northern Negroes stick to the Republican party as they always have before, then Smith's defeat is inevitable.

If the South should hold fast to its Democratic moorings, even by the thinnest majorities, and the Negroes break away from the Republican party, Smith could—and probably would—be elected.

If both the break in the South and the wholesale Negro drift to Smith should develop, a perfectly astounding condition is created. All calculations would be up in the air.

If neither the Southern break nor the Negro defection occurs, then, the odds would still be with the Republicans as the normally majority party.

Perhaps one other thing should be mentioned as tending to make things more interesting this trip. With the exception of the two Wilson campaigns, the Democrats for the first time in more than a generation will have "adequate" money in the precincts on election day will be able at least to match the Republicans dollar for dollar. In the past—in 1924 and 1920 for instance—the Republicans showed up on election day with anywhere from $7 to $10 to the Democratic $1.

For the benefit of those without precinct experience it probably should be explained why money in the precincts on election day is infinitely the most important money of all; how extremely hard, not to say impossible, it is to carry an election without it.

Where Presidents Are Chosen

The precinct is the smallest political unit. There are about 600 voters registered to a precinct. Not more than 450 of these vote. Now in every precinct, counties as well as cities, there are anywhere from five to twenty men who look upon election day as an opportunity to make a little extra money. They do not exactly sell their votes. What they do is seek employment by the precinct executives.

They are known as "floaters" and every intelligent precinct executive knows exactly who they are and what they are worth in his precinct. He does not bother about the unmarried ones. The ideal "floater" for precinct purposes is a man with a wife, a married son or daughter, a couple of married brothers-in-law and sisters, and a few cousins. In other words, one with large family connections—embracing about 10 voters, all living in the precinct.

Such a man the precinct executive employs at anywhere from $5 to $20 for the day and calls him a runner, a worker or a messenger, according to the terminology of the section. All the runner has to do to earn his money is to deliver his family vote early.

Now of course, if the Republican precinct executive has $100 for his precinct on election day and the Democrat has about $7, which has in the past been about the proportion, the Republican gets all the "floaters."

Say there are ten of them in the precinct, they ought to be worth at least 70 or 80 votes, maybe more. If there is any contest at all, what that means in a precinct where the total vote is 450 can be easily grasped. It simply means the difference between carrying the precinct and losing it.

The "floaters" only vote their convictions when neither side will employ them. That only happens when the rival precinct executives, being not really rivals but friends, conclude that it is ridiculous to compete for the floaters and that the sensible thing is to keep the money themselves.

Of course when both sides have adequate or equal precinct money for election day, and the precinct executives are fighters—and most of them are—then there is a real contest for the floaters and they are divided.

That means a lot. The more it is considered the more it is seen to mean. Because, after all, it is in the precincts that Presidents are chosen.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

General

We Can't Be Bought By Democratic Money Nor Bulldozed By Lily White Republicans

The Negro World edited by Marcus Garvey but published in New York was out in a long disjointed, illogical editorial last week, taking the Atlanta Independent to task for being one hundred per cent Republican, and giving editor Davis a scathing rebuke for his continued loyalty to the party in the teeth of the party's treachery to him.

In discussing the three Negroes who got together in Valdosta, Georgia and announced themselves an Al Smith Club for president, our esteemed contemporary remarked:

"The present political editorial policy of the Independent is one of the mysteries of the ages. It is a safe guess that there isn't a Negro in the country, with the possible exception of Mr. Davis, who can advance one good reason why the Atlanta Independent is today 100 per cent Republican. The Republican party has given the editor of the Atlanta Independent one of the worst snubs ever delivered a national Negro leader. It has seemingly turned its political back upon him, but, true to the code of the old-time Negro, to caress the striking hand, he continues to worship at its shrine—even at the price of making himself the laughing stock of the political world. Many Negro newspapers have refrained from commenting on his predicament because of the tragedy behind the comedy, and, emboldened by their silence, he has mustered the supreme nerve to jump with both feet upon the most courageous Negro political group that has raised its head in Georgia since the campaign has opened."

Our contemporary says "it is a safe guess that there is not a single Negro in the country with the possible exception of Mr. Davis, who can advance one good reason why the Atlanta Independent today is one hundred per cent Republican".

We answer that the Independent is one hundred per cent Republican because it cannot be bought by the democrats' money or be bulldozed out of the party by lily-white bastard republicans and commercialized Negro grafters, who would sell their wives and daughters into political slavery and economical ruin, for pelf and plunder. We will enter into no endless quarrel with the World, but will content ourselves to give reasons for the faith that is in us. We have no quarrel with the Republican party, and if we have been mistreated as alleged by the World, it is a family affair within the Party, and it is no alien's business.

Party differences must be settled inside, not outside the Party.

We are Republicans and offer no apology for our Faith. The Independent has the same right to go along with the Republicans inside the organization that the World has to trail the democratic Party outside of the ranks, with the hope of receiving a few crumbs from the hands of Heflin, Blease, and Pat Harrison. We are not going to get out of the ship into the sea. We are Republicans and no man inside the party black or white can make us forsake its pruciples, because of real, or imaginary grievances. Let come what may, our houses and we, are going to fight it out aboard the Republican ship.

The personal flings and innuendoes aimed at us in the editorial do not rise to the dignity of our attention, and we shall address ourselves to further reasons why the Independent is one hundred per cent Republican. The democratic party is anti-Negro and has been from its very incipiency. It was and is the party of slavery and opposed the adoption of the thirteenth amendment, which abolished slavery. It opposed the adoption of the fourteenth amendment which made us citizens and clothed us with the right to vote and hold property, instead of being property and sold like cattle. It opposed the fifteenth amendment which promised us protection at the ballot box.

It has disfranchised us in every state by ingeniously designed unconstitutional amendments to state constitutions, and nullified every decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring these amendments null and void.

In every democratic state in the Union the Negro has been jimcrowed on the train, segregated where he lives, discriminated against in business, disfranchised and denied equal protection of the law. In every democratic state the Negro is shut out of the democratic primary by force or court injunction. He is told everywhere that the democratic party is a white man's party and Negroes are not wanted. If the World or any other Negro wants to support the democratic party in the light of this catalog of crime against the race, we'll content ourselves, to be one hundred per cent Republican under Hoover-Curtis leadership.

In no state in the Union where the Republican party controls is there a jim-crow, disfranchising, or a segregating law. In no Republican state is there any separation of the races on public carriers, or shutting the door of political opportunity in the Negro's face.

The Republican party enfranchised the Negro. It voted for and passed the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the federal constitution which prohibited slavery, made the Negro a free man, gave him the right to hold property instead of being a chattel, and placed the ballot in his hands to protect himself in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We are one hundred per cent Republican because there is not one line of discriminating legislation on the books of any state in the Union placed there by the Republican Party, but on the contrary there is special legislation on the books of every democratic state in the Union outlawing the black man's rights and put on there by the democratic party over the protests and votes of Republicans.

The Independent has never criticized or denounced Marcus Garvey. Whether we agreed with him or not we have granted him honesty of intention when every Negro Paper in the Union attempted to crush him; and we reserve the same right to be honest in our opinions, that we granted him, whether our position is the mystery of the ages or otherwise.

We insist that the Negro press no longer refrain from comment on our plight or position because of the tragedy behind the comedy. We can take care of ourselves. We have no case against the Republican party. We were not betrayed by it, but by a quintet of mercenary Negroes, as culpable as the race traitors who betrayed Garvey because they couldn't control him.

Editor Davis is not a political victim of the Republican party, but of a combination of lily-whites and mercenary Negroes who would sell heaven for a dollar, a mug of beer or bottle of bootleg whiskey.

-:- Negro Voters in Revolt

By KELLY MILLER

NEGRO voters are bolting and revolting against traditional party lines as they have never done before. Negro Smith organizations, North, South, East and West, are about as numerous and as active as those for his Republican opponent. According to my personal observation and the best information I can secure, about three Negro men out of five, when approached as to their preference, openly declare for Smith or remain non-committal. If the Republican contingent is better organized and co-ordinated than the Democratic rivals, it is by reason of the fact that the Grand Old Party has built up a more competent staff of professional politicians, who are adepts at the game.

— Kelly Miller —

There is but one practical remedy for this restlessness and dissatisfaction, which the Republican party is not willing to apply. As long as the Grand Old Party ignores the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, flirts with "lily whites" and crucifies the Negro participants, it cannot expect that self-respecting Negroes will support its cause with enthusiasm and gladness.

If Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens had been delegates to the Kansas City convention, they would have walked out the moment the party refused to stress the human rights amendments. Every Negro delegate would have followed them. The race is left no positive reason for supporting the glorious party of the olden day. Its moral grandeur has departed; its only appeal to Negro support is comparative and negative.

If the Negro voter bolts the Republican party whither will he go? The Democratic rival certainly does not offer anything better; in some respects the prospect is decidedly worse. Shall the Negro, then, remain forever in the Republican party and allow himself to be reduced to a political nullity by his own acquiescence? Shall he espouse the Democratic cause with all of its past record of political unfriendliness? Or shall he, acting independently, support this or that party, either or neither, according to the dictates of the racial interest and welfare?

There are at least two million qualified Negro voters in the North and in the South. Herein lies a latent power of incalculable potentiality. Let the Negro vote support sound moral principles, or whichever side of the political line they may fall. In the present campaign, I can see but one essential principle that distinguishes the two parties and the two candidates—and that is the principle of prohibition. While I regret to say that the Republican party is not unequivocally committed to the moral principle of prohibition, yet the Democratic adversary stands for its immediate or ultimate destruction.

Mr. Hoover believes that the noble experiment should be carried out constructively; Mr. Smith thinks that the experiment is vicious in principle, and should be frustrated without further trial. The Negro can justify his vote for Hoover on the ground of the Constitution, law, order and temperance. A vote for Smith counts in the contrary direction. This he can do, with self-respect, notwithstanding Kansas City, Perry Howard and "lily whites." He must never, however, give Mr. Hoover or the Republican party to understand that because he is voting the ticket he is insensible to the outrageous treatment he has received and is receiving at its hands.

The Negro press has commented widely upon my open letter to Mr. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, in which I urged that the movement of political revolt which he headed should vote for Hoover on the temperance issue, but hold the party's feet to the fire for its past and present transgressions. Some said that I argued for Smith and concluded for Hoover; others, that I was carrying water on both shoulders—a rather delicate compliment to the performer's steadiness and poise. This I apprehend is far preferable to the attempt to carry water on one shoulder and beer on the other as the wet Negro Republicans are essaying to do. Still others mistook open-mindedness for double-mindedness.

Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans are all right or all wrong on great public questions. There is a strange and confusing mixture of vices and virtues in both camps. The Kansas Republicans are dry; the New York Republicans are wet. Mr. Work strikes hard for the Negro vote in the North, but soft pedals the Fifteenth Amendment in the South. The voter must select for himself the political or moral issues which he deems vital.

The campaign season is the psychological moment for any aggrieved group to emphasize its wrongs. Those who seek Finley Wilson's support will naturally by soft persuasion urge him to forget his grievances until the issue is settled. "Help us win the war and we will remedy your complaints after the victory is won." The gullible Negro has listened to this artful guile with amazing credulity for ten quadrenniums. It is with astounding effrontery to the Negro's intelligence that the same old trick is still resorted to. If the Negro consents to forget his grievances while the campaign is on, the winning party will surely ignore them when the campaign is over.

Party Affiliation

SOCIALIST PARTY IS NOT BUSY ENOUGH

NEW YORK—The Socialist Party is not doing enough for the Negro in America, the Daily Worker declared Wednesday.

Following the address of M. Ford, colored delegate from the United States to the 6th session of the World's Congress of the Communist International, now in session in Moscow, Russia, Ford declared, "The American Party is not yet paying sufficient attention to work among Negroes. In spite of intolerable exploitation of millions of Negroes nothing has been done to bring these workers closer to the party."

MOVE ON TO BREAK THE 'SOLID SOUTH'

Republicans Count on Fusion With Disaffected Rivals to Carry Several States.

Republicans, with the aid of disaffected Democrats, intend to make a strong effort this year to break the solid South and carry several Southern States for Herbert Hoover, Republican nominee for President, it was learned yesterday. The movement, which already has gone far enough to indicate the possibility of fusion among Republicans, dry Democrats and those opposed to Governor Smith because he is a Roman Catholic, contemplates that the Republicans shall refrain from nominating State tickets, county tickets and Congressional candidates in certain States and districts so as to centre the fight on President and Vice President.

Oliver D. Street of Birmingham, Republican National Committeeman from Alabama, according to information received here, was named as sponsor of a movement to refrain from nominating Republican State and local candidates as a bait to dry Democrats. This movement was said to be in its incipiency as yet, but belief was expressed by both Democrats and Republicans that it might develop into a menace to Governor Smith's chances of carrying such States as Alabama, Texas, Florida and possibly North Carolina and Virginia.

Development of this movement will await the result of the dry conference at Asheville, N. C., this week. According to an Alabama Democrat, it shows signs of being effective in Alabama, where, in his opinion, a combination of Republicans, dry Democrats and members of the Ku Klux Klan might endanger Governor Smith's chance of carrying the State.

The difficulty in this program, according to the Alabama Democrat, is what to do with the negro Republicans in the South for it is virtually certain that no white Democrats, however dry, will fuse with a Republican organization controlled by negroes. In Alabama, the control of the Republican organization is with the white members of the party.

At the Smith headquarters, it was said that little concern was felt regarding the States of the South, but that developments in the situation there would be dealt with as they arose.

Dr. S. E. Nicholson, Associate Superintendent of the New York State Anti-Saloon League, denied yesterday reports published on Sunday and credited to officials of the Smith campaign that the league was opposing Governor Smith because he was a Roman Catholic on account of Klan influence. In a letter to John J. Raskob, Democratic National Chairman, Dr. Nicholson said:

"The campaign is yet young, but the Smith headquarters needs to understand that the only basis of opposition to Governor Smith on the part of the Anti-Saloon League or the Anti-Saloon Campaign Committee is the opposition of the Governor and his managers to prohibition. The Anti-Saloon League is not a part of any 'whispering' campaign and when it speaks, it speaks in the open and by the record, and will not submit now or at any other time for any falsification of its position without determined protest."

EVERY EVENING
WILMINGTON, DEL.

JUL 3

PLANNING AL SMITH CLUB FOR NEGROES

Dr. L. E. Farrell, Rescue Mission Head, Lauds Governor's Stand.

Rev. Dr. L. E. Farrell, colored, president and manager of the Rescue Mission for Colored People, headquarters at 639 East Sixth street, is endeavoring to form an Al Smith Club among the colored people in this city. He spoke at a meeting of rescue workers last evening in the mission.

He told the gathering that the leaders today want men, not parties. "Many absorbing questions should demand our best thought today in order that we might best work out the problems which involve the future of the race to which we belong," he said. "We are now just upon the threshold of one of the greatest political campaigns to be waged in the history of our republic, and are interested in what the outcome will mean to the faithful Negro. Ask those men who want your support how they stand on enforcement of the 13th, 14th, 15th and 18th amendments in the event of their election.

"There is no excuse for any so-called Republicans ignoring this most important question, so vital to our future welfare and the stability of our beloved republic. It is up to the thinking men of our race to stop following political parties like cattle and sheep and to vote for men instead of measures, and for men only, whatever their political affiliation may be, who stand for equal justice and equal rights.

"We want men who will not only swear to uphold the Constitution of the United States, but who will rightly interpret it, and be courageous enough to see to it that every man who swears allegiance to that flag and supports the Constitution, be he high or low, rich or poor, Gentile or Jew, white or black, shall not only be guaranteed, but be protected in the enjoyment of rights, privileges and the duties guaranteed under the Constitution."

THE NEGRO A CAMPAIGN ISSUE.

Although the platforms of neither party made the Negro an issue, yet the South seems more concerned about him than any other question. Farm relief, prohibition and economic questions cut but little ice along side of that peculiar phrase "white supremacy." Of course, it means nothing in reality but it is used to scare the ignorant, unthinking and narrow. The triumph of the Republican party does not mean that "white supremacy" will be endangered nor a defeat of the Democrats a destruction of this "white supremacy." Indeed, if such supremacy depended upon such contingencies, it would be a shame for even a demagogue to mouth such foolishness. It is rather a disappointment to intelligent people—yes, intelligent colored people—to realize that the South has not grown much politically in the past twenty-five or more years, and nothing shows that fact more than the cry all over this section of "Nigger, Nigger." It would seem that America is interested or at least ought be in questions of real import.

There are thousands of Negroes in the North, East and West who think well of the Democratic party; thousands of them have voted that ticket; but they would be unadulterated fools to vote such a ticket if that party has as its slogan: "white supremacy." As much as they may hate the hypocrisy of the Republican party in much of its treatment of their race, yet a decent regard for themselves demands that they one and all hold their noses and cast their ballot for the Republican nominees. If they want to know just how they are regarded; they ought by all means subscribe for and read a few of the leading Southern papers from now on. No doubt, the campaign spell-binders are and will keep well informed along these lines. "Tis true, 'tis pity and pity, 'tis 'tis true."

G. O. P.'S FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING PLANK EXPECTED TO ALIENATE SOUTHERNERS

By GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON.—By insisting that the plank in the Republican national platform reviving the bitter fight over the old Dyer anti-lynching bill shall not be ignored in the presidential campaign, Southern Democratic leaders are causing Hoover managers considerable embarrassment in their plans for conducting an intensive drive to capture States of the Solid South from Gov. Alfred E. Smith in the November elections.

On account of the Republican plank, aimed particularly at the South and at the same time designed to bring out the negro vote in doubtful Eastern States, word is brought to Washington that an unfavorable reaction has already set in against the Hoover candidacy among those Southern drys who were first counted upon to form the basis of any Democratic deflection.

As the campaigns of both major parties get actively under way it seems to be reasonably certain, insofar as the Southern Democracy is concerned, that the old Dyer bill will be one of the chief issues. Leaders of the section are serving notice that they do not intend to sit quiet and allow the Republicans to agitate the prohibition question in an effort to draw attention from the "force bill" plank.

For every move the Republicans make towards exploiting the traditional dry sentiment of the South, the Democrats will counter with a repetition of charges made against the sponsors of the Dyer bill at the time it passed the lower house of Congress a few years ago. And it will be emphasized that the Republican party stands committed in its Kansas City platform to seek enactment of the same or a similar measure in the event of its succession to power.

Text Of Platform

That section of the Republican platform bearing on the subject reads as follows:

"We renew our recommendation that the Congress enact at the earliest possible date a Federal anti-lynching law so that the full influence of the Federal Government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime."

Southern Democratic leaders recoil at the plank, not because they do not deplore the evils of lynchings as much as anyone, but because of the stringent measures and provisions incorporated in the Dyer bill and the preceding Lodge force bill for enforcing the act. Dire consequences and gross inequalities would follow in the South if the Federal Government were given authority to step in and assume jurisdiction in cases of the kind, it is asserted.

Moreover, and most important of all, perhaps, is the charge that is made that enactment of such a law would prove a further incentive to crimes of the most shocking sort, the perpetrators of which are usually the victims of lynchings. On this point Representative John E. Rankin, of Mississippi, had some pertinent things to say during the debate on the Dyer bill in the House in 1922:

"The vicious negroes will understand from this bill," he said, "that they are protected in their crimes. They will see that by its terms they are assured of the protection of the Federal Government."

Passed In Bitter Fight

Passage of the bill was effected in the lower House after one of the bitterest fights over a legislative proposal witnessed in years. Democrats from the Southern States opposed it practically unanimously, but the Republicans, fresh from their landslide of 1920, had a large margin of votes to spare. The measure would have succeeded in the Senate and in turn received the approval of the President but for the sympathetic filibuster conducted by Southern Democrats under the leadership of Senator Oscar W. Underwood, of Alabama.

The filibuster is declared to have been the most effective ever waged in the halls of Congress. Not only were the Republicans unable to bring the bill to a vote, but they did not even succeed far enough to get it actually before the Senate. Roll calls, readings of the journal, amendments to the journal, the insistence on absolute accuracy in every Parliamentary detail, together with every known filibustering move were brought into play in wrecking the carefully laid plans to press the legislation to a conclusion. Finally, after about ten days of complete legislative deadlock, the Republicans withdrew the bill.

Due to the closed rules of the House the measure can be passed there most any time while the Republicans command a majority, and Democrats fear that a substantial reduction of their numbers in the Senate might result in similar action there. They are therefore determined that no inroads be made on the Solid South, if possible, particularly with Mr. Hoover, through his party platform pledged to sign it.

One of the gross inequalities charged by Southern leaders was the section calling for penalties on counties in which lynchings occur. Such counties would be fined the sum of $10,000, to be paid to the family of the person lynched, "no matter how atrocious the crime may have been," to quote from Congressional debate on the subject.

Two Sections Of Bill

Two sections of the bill pertaining to penalties and fines, having been offered by former Representative Volstead, father of the dry enforcement act bearing his name, read:

"Section 5. That any county in which a person is put to death by a mob or riotous assemblage shall forfeit $10,000, which sum may be recovered by an action therefor in the name of the United States against such county for the use of the family, if any, of the person so put to death; if he had no family, then to his dependent parents, if any; otherwise for the use of the United States. Such action should be brought and prosecuted by the district attorney of the United States of the district in which such county is situated in any court of the United States having jurisdiction therein. If such forfeiture is not paid upon recovery of a judgment therefor, such court shall have jurisdiction to enforce payment thereof by levy or execution upon any property of the county or may compel the levy of a tax therefor. . . . and any officer of such county or other person who disobeys or fails to comply with any lawful order of the court shall be liable to punishment as for contempt and to any other penalty provided by law therefor.

Section 6. That in the event that any person so put to death shall have been transported by such mob or riotous assemblage from one county to another during the time intervening between his capture and putting to death, the county in which he is seized and the county in which he is put to death shall be jointly and severally liable to pay the forfeiture herin provided."

Criticisms Registered

Severe criticism of the latter section was registered by the opponents of the bill, who charged that it was without justification and unconstitutional to levy a penalty on a county that might be entirely innocent of a mob coming within its borders from just across a county line for the purpose of a lynching.

Representative Thomas M. Bell, of Georgia, along with every other member of the State Congressional delegation, took an active part in the debate on the floor over this section, declaring, according to old files of the Congressional Record:

"In my judgment, the bill now being considered, if it should be adopted, would be without avail, dangerous and fraught with many consequences. We are drifting too much to Federal control of our affairs, and the day is coming, in my judgment, when the nation will suffer on account of our tendencies and activities. We must halt.

"I think the proposition to penalize a people of one county because a crime has been committed in another county is the most outrageous proposition ever presented to an intelligent body. Under the provisions of this bill a half dozen counties in a State could be penalized in the sum of $10,000 each, and yet be as innocent of any knowledge of the crime committed and as innocent of any dereliction of duty as any of the proponents of this bill."

Judge Brand Speaks

Judge Charles H. Brand, of Athens, was another member of the Georgia Congressional group to denounce the legislation in harsh terms.

"The truth is," he told the House, "this proposed legislation is partisan and political. It is a blow at the white people of the South—nothing more nor less. The bill was introduced and is being prosecuted in order to promote the welfare of many Republicans in this House. It was introduced and is being sponsored at the insistence of their negro constituents, among others, and the negro societies of the North, who are not so much interested in preventing lynchings of negroes for assaults upon our white women as they are for establishing social and political equality with the white people.

"This is the expected climax of their activities," Judge Brand continued. "This is the fruitage which they hope and pray may grow out of the agitation of the negro question and the result of pending legislation. Human villainy has sounded no greater depths than is here fathomed in this political effort to bring about such an infamous heritage. The negro societies and the Republicans who are encouraging these conspirators are doing the white and colored races of the South an irreparable injury. Those of you who are actors upon this stage for these negroes are playing with lightning. You are sowing to the wind, when the harvest will be revolution."

People Against Lynching

Congressman Brand concluded by saying "the people of Georgia, notwithstanding the denunciation received on this floor, are against lynching." "The courts, the press, the pulpit and the bar of the state are a unit in opposition to lynching," he declared, "and all these classes are using their brains, their talents and influence to put an end to it. But this does not mean that they will stand for or submit to the social equality for which these negro agitators and their Republican brethren are longing."

In a speech made on the floor of the House about the same time, Represenettive William C. Wright, of Georgia, described the two sections quoted as "absurd, ridiculous, and nothing short of a monstrosity," pointing out that the measure defined a "mob" to mean "an assemblage composed of five or more persons acting in concert for the purpose of depriving some person of his life without legal authority . . ." Another provision which he denouced roundly was that which said officers of the law who fail to protect the life of a person against such a "mob or riotous assemblage" are guilty of a crime as well as persons participating in such "mob or riotous assemblage."

These are by no means the only members of the State Congressional group taking part in the bitter fight to defeat the old Dyer bill. The measure was fought by practically every Southern member of Congress in both Houses.

Representative Leonidas Carstarphen Dyer, of St. Louis, Mo., is the Republican author of the bill. He represents a district in St. Louis that is dominated by colored voters. They are said to be so completely in control of the political machinery that one of their race could be elected to Congress over Dyer any time. It has therefore, been generally charged that his sponsorship of the bill is intended as "sop" to his negro district.—Atlanta Journal.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Observer

SEP 18 1928

LeGette in Back-Fire.

To the Editor of The Observer:

Please allow me space in your Open Forum to reply to C. G. W., of Hickory, and Mr. E. Winston, of Charlotte.

To C. G. W. I wish to state that his friend Jack Johnson has no authority from Democratic headquarters to stump for Al Smith and never will be given the authority. He says he hopes that Jack Johnson will be sent to the rock-ribbed Republican counties beyond the Blue Ridge mountains. I would not care if they sent him up there either. He would probably feel quite at home among so many Republicans. Thirty-five years ago practically the entire Republican party of North Carolina was composed of negroes, carpet-baggers, and deserters of the Confederate army. They represented the scum of the earth. Today the Republican party of this State, due to its contact with the Democrats, has grown to be almost respectable. C. G. W., don't forget that it was the Democratic party that restored white supremacy to your State.

Mr. E. Winston says that I recently gave the names of several great Americans stating that they were Catholics. What Mr. Winston says is quite true. Each person I said was a Catholic was a Catholic. I challenge Mr. Winston to prove that the persons named as Catholics were members of other churches. He can't do it.

Mr. Winston says he wonders where I was educated and suggests that probably I received my education in a parochial school. The history I quoted was correct, and to satisfy Mr. Winston's curiosity I wish to state that I received my education in the public schools of North Carolina and at the University of North Carolina, where I spent five years, the last year being spent in historical research.

Oh, we hear so much about the great Al Smith. Nobody ever mentions the meatless, wheatless, sweetless Hoover. Everything is about Al Smith. Everybody is either for or against Al Smith, nobody seems to know or care much about the so-called great moral leader Mr. Herbert Hoover. Clyde Hoey was certainly right when he said of Mr. Hoover: "If Hoover sat in the Cabinet with a gang of thieves and did not know it at the time, then Hoover is incompetent to be President. If he knew it and said nothing, he is unworthy to be President." Morals! Al Smith has the morals of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson, Angus McLean, Max Gardner, Lee S. Overman, Clyde Hoey and Henry Van Dyke, while Herbert Hoover has the morals of Clarence Darrow, Andy Mellon, Big Bill Thompson, Roach Straton, and Mary Booze.

ANTHONY R. LeGETTE.

Lexington, Sept. 15.

General.

EXAMINER

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

SEP 9 1928

800 WORKERS FETE NOMINEE AS FAREWELL

Commerce Department Employes Present Their Former Chief With a Grandfather's Clock

BY ARTHUR HACHTEN,

Staff Correspondent Universal Service.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8.—Stirred by reports of a heavy drift of negro votes to Governor Al Smith, Republican chieftains today applied high pressure methods to curb this mighty lion, and hold the bulk of the colored vote for Herbert Hoover in the Presidential race.

Democratic leaders were reported driving wedges in the Republican colored vote, especially in the larger northern cities. Defections to Al Smith were reported in Ohio.

PLAN COUNTER MOVES

The G. O. P., in past Presidential elections has counted the colored vote as safe for its nominee. Orders went down the line today from Dr. Hubert Work, chairman of the Republican National Committee, to make counter moves to offset the Democratic inroads.

He announced appointment of Harry E. Davis of Cleveland, Ohio, as a member of the executive committee of nine, of the colored voters' division, to help in the Hoover-Curtis campaign.

Davis, a college graduate and former member of the Ohio General Assembly, is a director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The announcement said:

"His loyalty to the Republican party and the interests of his race are well known and his services will be of inestimable value to Chairman John R. Hawkins, and those associated with him as members of the executive committee of the Colored Voters' Division."

800 AT FAREWELL DINNER.

Hoover was given a farewell dinner by about 800 employes of the commerce department here tonight in appreciation of his seven years as Secretary of Commerce.

Assistant Secretary of Commerce Walter H. Brown on behalf of 2,200 employes of the department, presented the Presidential nominee a grandfather's clock. It was sent to Hoover's home and a book containing the autographs of the 2,200 contributors was handed to him tonight.

William P. MacCracken, assistant secretary of commerce in charge of aviation, acted as toastmaster, and brief remarks in praise of Hoover were made by Secretary of Commerce William F. Whiting and bureau chiefs.

INJECTION OF RACIAL QUESTION PROTESTED

45 Prominent Southerners Voice Disapproval of Tactics.

BY ASSOCIATED PRESS.

A protest against what it termed the injection of the race question in the presidential campaign by partisans of both major political parties was voiced in a public statement issued here Friday bearing the signatures of 45 prominent Southerners.

"The undersigned citizens of the south, some of them supporters of the one presidential candidate and some of the other, desire unitedly to voice this public protest against the injection of the race question into the present political campaign," it said.

"Had either political group alone been responsible for raising this subject we would hesitate to make this statement lest it be thought partisan. But it is being raised by partisans of both sides, who for the purpose of driving voters into their respective camps, are, in our judgment, reopening the healing wounds of bitterness and hate.

Appeals Irrelevant.

"We believe these appeals are both irrelevant and dangerous. It is our hope that no one will be deterred by them from calmly considering the real issues and voting his honest convictions; and certainly that no one will allow them to inflame his mind with antagonism toward our negro neighbors, who too long have been pawns in the game of politics. Any attempt to influence men and women with an issue so untimely is unworthy of the white man and unjust to all. If taken seriously, it is the sowing of dragon's teeth of which future generations must reap the harvest.

"Happily, we believe it will not be taken seriously. We believe our citizenship is too intelligent and too fair-minded thus to sacrifice the cause of interracial peace and progress. We therefore call upon the leadership of the south—the pulpit, the press, the platform—and upon every right thinking man and woman among us to disclaim, discourage and discountenance such appeals to prejudice and fear, to the end that the gains of recent years in interracial good will and understanding may not be sacrificed to the passing interests of a political campaign."

Prominent Signers.

Among the signers were: Dr. H. M. Edwards, pastor of Independent Presbyterian church, Birmingham; Robert C. Alston, Atlanta attorney; Dr. Plato T. Durham, of Emory university, Atlanta; Bishop F. F. Reese, of the Episcopal church, Savannah; Bishop W. B. Beauchamp, of the Methodist Episcopal church, south, Atlanta; Judge Robert Bingham, editor of the Courier-Journal, Louisville; Colonel P. . Callahan, Louisville business man; Dr. D. M. Key, president of Millsaps college, Jackson, Miss.; Bishop T. D. Bratton, of the Episcopal church, Jackson; Dr. Howard Odum, of the University of North Carolina; Mrs. T. W. Bickett, Raleigh, N. C.; Dr. W. P. Few, president of Duke university; James G. Hames, manufacturer, Winston-Salem, N. C.; Colonel Henry M. Fries, Winston-Salem, N. C., business man; Dr. W. L. Poteat, Wake Forest college; Dr. W. C. Jackson, North Carolina College for Women; Dr. W. J. McGlothlin, president Furman university; Dr. E. O. Watson, editor of the Christian Advocate, Columbia, S. C.; Bishop K. G. Finlay, of the Episcopal church, Columbia; Dr. H. N. Snyder, president of Wofford college; Dr. J. H. Kirkland, chancellor of Vanderbilt university; Dr. John L. Hill, Southern Baptist book editor, Nashville; Dr. J. D. Blanton, president of Ward-Belmont college, Nashville, Tenn.; George F. Milton, editor of the Chattanooga News; Dr. C. B. Wilmer, University of the South; George B. Dealey, publisher of the Dallas News; Dr. George W. Truett, pastor of the Baptist church, Dallas; Dr. E. A. Alderman, president University of Virginia; Dr. R. E. Blackwell, president Randolph-Macon college; John Stewart Bryan, publisher of the Richmond News-Leader.

Register

MOBILE, ALA.

ISSUE OF

OCT 14 1928

THE NEGRO ISSUE

Who made the negro race one of the outstanding issues of this national campaign? Not the people of the South. Nor can all of the blame be put upon either of the major political parties. Both parties are making an energetic bid for the negro vote in certain states where these voters are sufficiently numerous to turn the scales in close contests. Not unnaturally Herbert Hoover's friends are doing all they can to keep the negroes in the Republican party, where they have always voted; and Governor Smith's friends, too, are making a bid for the negro in localities where they think it may be of value to their candidate.

The truth of the matter is that more negroes will vote the Democratic ticket this year than ever before in the history of the country; indeed close political observers will be surprised if the Democratic nominees for president and vice president do not receive more negro votes in November than the Republican candidates. What has wrought this change in the political alignment of the negro race? Why has the negro vote assumed such importance in the national campaign this year? The assumption of the New York Times that the people of the South are alarmed over the race issue, and that they are

taking a rather too serious view of it is only partly justified, for the people of the South, regardless of anything that either Smith or Hoover might do or say in the campaign, or hereafter, have solved this problem, so far as the South is concerned, and they solved it in circumstances more trying and more difficult than any either of these can devise.

There is no danger of racial social equality in these Southern states, no danger of negro domination or negro supremacy; the negroes of the South know it, and the intelligent leaders of the negro race do not desire either racial social equality or supremacy, for the intelligent members of the black race still look to the white race for leadership and for help in the solution of all problems which involve the welfare and progress of the negro, individually and collectively.

No matter how it happened, or who is to blame for it, it is unfortunate that the negro should have become an issue in this national campaign. Obviously the prime reason for the appearance of the negro as an issue in the campaign is in the fact that the Democratic party, for the first time in its history, is making an appeal for the negro vote in such states as New York, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Maryland and a few other states where the vote may be of importance in the event of a close vote between the two major parties in November.

But in any event, and regardless of the outcome in November, the relation of the races in the South will not be altered, though on account of the stupidity of some of the newspapers of the South that have accused Southern states of nullifying the Fifteenth Amendment, and part of the Fourteenth Amendment, we may have to face some of the old issues in congress, in spite of the fact that the supreme court of the United States repeatedly has sustained the suffrage laws of these states. The white people of the South, however, are unafraid in the presence of these possible issues. They have solved the negro problem, and it will remain solved, no matter who may be elected president of the United States in November.

TEXT AND PRETEXT

BY M. ASHBY JONES

Bigotry and Prejudice.

Personally I am convinced that whichever party wins in the November election, the United States will have an excellent man for president during the ensuing four years. For this reason, while I have my preference as between the two, I have no anxiety about the result. I am deeply anxious, however, about the manner and the spirit in which our next president shall be elected. In a fierce partisan political campaign, we forget that we must live together after the campaign is over, and live in the social atmosphere created by the political contest. Shall bigotry and prejudice be the determining factors in our coming election?

Not Protestantism vs. Catholicism.

Of course on the one hand, I am thinking of the opposition to Governor Smith on account of the fact that he is a loyal member of the Roman Catholic church. A campaign conducted against one on account of his religious convictions, is almost sure to be of such partisan passion that distorted and exaggerated statements will be made. In the age-old controversy which has been waged between Catholicism and Protestantism, the bitterest passions of human nature have been aroused. Charges and countercharges have been made, until it is difficult for men to see clearly, and think calmly on the issues involved. To bring this controversy into the political field is hurtful to every interest of our democracy, and it is utterly unfair to Governor Smith. Instinctively the Protestant begins to identify Governor Smith with what he conceives to be the history of the Roman Catholic church, and every objection which he has to that church, becomes his objection to the personality of the candidate.

I insist as a citizen and as a representative of religion, that this political contest is not legitimately a contest between Catholicism and Protestantism, and that we should not be called upon to vote for or against the teachings or the record of the Roman Catholic church. The contest is in a very real way one between the teachings and the records of Mr. Alfred Smith and Mr. Herbert Hoover. Alfred E. Smith has a right to be judged by the interpretation which he himself gives, of what it means to him to be a loyal Catholic, and not by the interpretation that the pope or some archbishop may make of the meaning of a loyal Catholic. Because it is Alfred E. Smith, and not some Catholic prelate, who is offering himself for the presidency, and it is his own conviction of loyalty, which is significant to the voter.

Revival of Racial Hatred.

On the other hand I am disturbed and distressed by the efforts to revive the bitterness of racial prejudice and hatred, in order to defeat Mr. Hoover. Why is it that we should be willing, in order to gain what we believe to be an immediate advantage, to inflict such permanent injuries upon our social life? For generations now the people of the south have been prevented from thinking clearly upon any social or economic question, by the cunningly contrived bogey of negro domination. The question of the political relations of the two races in the south is not even remotely involved in this election, and the attempt to drag it in for partisan purposes can only result in the undoing of the patient and delicate work of the best leadership of the south, in striving for a constructive cooperation between these two peoples, who must live together in the years to come.

Nothing is more needed in this country than a gospel of good sportsmanship. We must learn to play the political game earnestly and honestly, but in good temper, so that when the issue is decided, we may shake hands, and go back to the day's work with decent friendliness and clear-eyed intelligence. Herbert Hoover and Alfred Smith are two well-defined personalities, with records open to the public. An intelligent and earnest discussion of these records is in order. Sharp differences of opinion are inevitable and wholesome. Let us not make either a church or a race the victim of our partisan passions. Let us have religious tolerance by all means, but let us also have human and intellectual tolerance.

CITY VOTE—CONGRESS.

Manhattan.

District.
11—Prall (Dem.), 44,632; Simonson (Rep.) 22,129; Dearing (Soc.), 564. Plurality for Prall 22,503.
12—Dickstein (Dem.), 14,792; Beier (Rep.) 3,321; Beardsley (Soc.), 766. Plurality for Dickstein, 11,471.
13—Sullivan (Dem.), 15,961; Rosenberg (Rep.), 4,072; H. Claessens (Soc.), 630. Plurality for Sullivan, 11,889.
14—Sirovich (Dem.), 16,402; Ehman (Rep.) 11,693; A. Claessens (Soc.), 1,796. Plurality for Sirovich, 4,716.
15—Boylan (Dem.), 30,837; Kaplan (Rep.), 8,280; Hughes (Soc.), 638. Plurality for Boylan, 22,557.
16—O'Connor (Dem.), 28,468; Lanzer (Rep.), 12,301; Fine (Soc.), 810. Plurality for O'Connor, 16,167.
17—Berolzheimer (Dem.), 32,697; Pratt (Rep.), 36,140; Mailley (Soc.), 1,461. Plurality for Pratt, 3,443.
18—Carew (Dem.), 29,551; Katzen (Rep.), 9,563; Volk (Soc.), 774. Plurality for Carew, 19,948.
19—Bloom (Dem.), 47,659; Steinhardt (Rep.), 30,505; Crosswaith (Soc.), 2,266. Plurality for Bloom, 17,154.
20—Dickheiser (Dem.), 10,878; LaGuardia (Rep.), 12,022; Caspe (Soc.), 377. Plurality for LaGuardia, 1,144.
21—Weller (Dem.), 56,518; Johnson (Rep.), 44,827; Brown (Soc.), 3,914. Plurality for Weller, 11,691.
22—Griffin (Dem.), 34,899; Burke (Rep.), 12,872; Dewitt (Soc.), 1,483. Plurality for Griffin, 22,027.

Bronx.

23—Oliver (Dem.), 127,982; Spitz (Rep.), 52,214; Gisnet (Soc.), 9,381. Plurality for Oliver, 75,768.
24—Fitzgerald (Dem.), 62,839; Fairchild (Rep.), 25,896; Painken (Soc.), 6,783. Plurality for Fitzgerald, 36,943.

Brooklyn.

3—Lindsay (Dem.), 27,130; Nicosia, (Rep.), 9,323; Weil (Soc.), 1,125. Plurality for Lindsay, 17,807.
4—Cullen (Dem.), 34,362; Winnie (Rep.), 10,541; Bromberg (Soc.), 807. Plurality for Cullen, 23,821.
5—Black (Dem.), 49,651; Lee (Rep.), 34,775; Smith (Soc.), 2,261. Plurality for Black, 14,876.
6—Somers (Dem.), 71,131; Lotsch (Rep.), 53,363; Riley (Soc.), 7,031. Plurality for Somers, 17,768.
7—Quayle (Dem.), 30,360; Gehris (Rep.), 13,318; Oneal (Soc.), 2,667. Plurality for Quale, 17,042.
8—Carley (Dem.), 107,185; Blank (Rep.), 65,189; Feigenbaum (Soc.), 10,553. Plurality for Carley, 41,996.
9—O'Connell (Dem.), 34,965; Wagner (Rep.) 26,920; Robinson (Soc.), 2,641. Plurality for O'Connell, 8,045.
10—Celler (Dem.), 30,948; Bushell (Rep.), 18,325; Shiplacoff (Soc.), 3,620. Plurality for Celler, 12,623.

Queens.

1—Cuff (Dem.), 27,272; Bacon (Rep.), 31,602; Christenson (Soc.), 274. Plurality for Bacon, 4,330.
2—Brunner (Dem.), 136,379; Visel (Rep.), 78,562; Wolf (Soc.), 2,291; Klein (Ind.), 1,230. Plurality for Brunner, 57,817.

WHO RAISED THE ISSUE?

We heartily agree with the "protest of 45 prominent southerners" that the racial issue should not be injected into this campaign.

The two races live side by side in peace and harmony, and the negroes of the south know that their best friends, in every way, are the white people of the south.

The everyday life in the south for generations has demonstrated this.

They have had every service of government on an equal basis.

They have their schools maintained from the public treasury.

Their hospitalization, housing, social betterment, are all provided for.

They are encouraged, helped, strengthened.

They are paid living wages.

Skilled colored laborers draw the same wages as those equally skilled among the white laborers.

There are no economic discriminations.

There is no disfranchisement. If a negro in Georgia is qualified to vote he can vote and should vote, and a great many of them do.

There are no "grandfather clauses" in our election laws. There are no differences in the qualifications prescribed. They apply to all races alike.

A citizen is a citizen in this free country, whether white, brown or black.

Who raised this racial issue in this campaign?

Doesn't the Kansas City platform endorse the Dyer bill?

What party or organization issued a series of racial cartoons to prejudice white voters against Governor Smith, one of them showing a negro civil service commissioner in New York dictating letters to white stenographer?

Who appointed that civil service commissioner? A democratic mayor? No! But the cartoon carried the implication that he was appointed by Governor Smith.

The fact is Governor Smith, during four terms, has never appointed a negro to office.

A great many negroes in Washington, and in New York and other states, hold clerical positions through the test and maintenance clauses of the civil service regulations. And there can be no objection. There should be none—

But there should aways be racial segregation.

Who abrogated the Wilson segregation order in the department of commerce upon the mandate of negro politicians from Ohio?

Who put negro politicians in charge of federal patronage in Georgia and other southern states?

Who raised the racial issue in this campaign? We agree sincerely that it should not have been injected. It should be ingored. But let's be fair about it to all concerned.

Has any one heard Governor Smith say one word, even by indirection, about the racial issue?

STATES
NEW ORLEANS, LA.
NOV 1 1928

96,697 DEMOCRATS ARE REGISTERED

Only 3155 Republicans, 1776 of Whom Are Negroes

The net registration in New Orleans, as compiled by M. J. McKay, registrar of voters, shows 100,256, of which number 96,697 are Democrats and 3155 Republicans. The balance are Socialists, independents, etc.

There are 70,580 men and 29,676 women registered, the men being more than double the number of women. White male Democrats registered are 67,623, with 29,049 white women Democrats, against 1095 white male Republicans and 284 white women Republicans.

Among the registered negroes are 1483 male Republicans and 293 female Repubilcans, 23 male Democrats and two female Democrats.

Party Affiliation.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EQUALITY BETWEEN THE RACES IN TAMMANY HALL

Both parties are much worried over the Negro line-up in the impending Presidential campaign. The Democrats recognizing that there is approximately three hundred thousand Negro voters in the border states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri, and they are moving heaven and earth to get the vote, notwithstanding the Atlanta Constitution's "white supremacy" demagogy. The Northern Democrats know of the Southern Democrats feeling towards the Negro, but he is brushing aside his Southern brothers' prejudice and flirting with the Negro for his vote 100 per cent each day. He socializes and fraternizes with the Negroes whenever necessary to control his vote. Under Tammany Hall social and political equality between the race, is the order of the day.

The Republicans are worried because of the activity of the lily white in the South and their demand that the Negro be relegated. The Republicans fear that the Senatorial investigations that are now being made, and seemingly aimed at the Negro by wholesale indictments of Negroes, may react and cause a nation-wide revolt against the party.

In Deleware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Oklahoma, the Negro holds the balance of power, and as they vote these states go. In the East, including New York, and in the Middle West, the Negro holds the key to the situation, and as he votes the election goes. The South wants to know whether Tammany Hall is the Negroes' friend—statistics show that there are 276 Negroes holding offices in New York under Tammany Hall and drawing salaries from $2,000 to $7,500 per annum.

But let William Hard tell the story as he told it in Sunday's Atlanta Journal.

Tammany Negro's Friend

The headquarters of favorable and equal treatment of the Negro politically by Democrats in the North has been for a long time Tammany Hall. It is claimed by Tammany leaders that two hundred and seventy-six Negroes now hold New York City political or civil service positions with salaries in each instance of more than eighteen hundred dollars a year. It is indeed claimed by them that Negroes hold more really good and lucrative positions under the New York City government alone than under the whole federal government throughout the United States.

Ferdinand Q. Morton, a member of the New York City civil service commission and said to be the highest salaried Negro officeholder in the country, with those other New York city officials of his race visited Washington last week on a tour through this country westward for the organizing of "Al Smith-Joe Robinson Negro clubs" in all important centers of Negro voting activity.

Negroes in several cities in "border" and Northern states have recently become much accustomed to voting the Democratic ticket in local elections. This has been true often in a considerable degree in certain sections of New York and Chicago. It has been true in Baltimore under the leadership of "Tom" Smith a locally extremely powerful Negro politician. It has been true also in Memphis under the leadership of Robert R. Church, one of the ablest and most outstanding Negro characters of the country, who is a staunch Republican nationally but who in local affairs has been a frequent and welcomed ally of the local Democratic "boss."

Even in Arkansas, a state of the "solid South," the chairman of the State Democratic Committee, J. S. Utley, has now under consideration a project for "Smith and Robinson clubs" among Arkansas Negro voters.

Bishop Ransom For Smith, Bishop Gaines For Hoover

Smith offers greater promise than Hoover, Bishop Reverdy C. Ransome told the College Students' Club at St. James Presbyterian Church, in New York, Sunday.

Bishop Ransome, of the A. M. E. Church, heads the Thirteenth Episcopal District, including Louisiana and Oklahoma.

Bishop Gaines

Bishop A. L. Gaines, Baltimore, in charge of the Second Episcopal District, including Baltimore, Virginia and North Carolina conference, when notified of Bishop Ransome's stand by the AFRO-AMERICAN Monday, said:

"I am for Hoover."

Bishop Ransome in his address declared that there was little to choose between the platforms of the two parties and the personality of the candidate will be the decisive element in the campaign.

"That being so, Smith is more heartening and attractive. We cherish no illusions with regard to the Democratic party. It's the same old Democratic party.

Not G. O. P.

"But the party Mr. Hoover represents is not the Grand Old Republican party. The Republican party wrote the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments into the Constitution. If they have long since been evaded and nullified by the southern democracy it is because the long succession of Republican administrations in full control of every department of the government have silently acquiesced in these evasions.

"Republicans inserted a spineless plank in their platform in regard to the Eighteenth Amendment, while they are silent on the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments which go to the roots of our Republican form of government—namely, the right to vote.

Can't Be Swayed

"Republicans will find in this campaign that the Negro vote cannot be swayed as of old, by conjuring with the name of Abraham Lincoln, while there stands before us in the person of Governor Smith, a man who in sagacity and the common touch of human sympathy is more like Lincoln than any candidate for President since Lincoln's day.

Conventions

It is not to the advantage of the convention in Kansas City to contract it with the conventions at Houston, Texas, in its treatment of the Negro. At Kansas City the Republicans had as much segregation as could possibly be crowded into a city that far north. But worse they showed just how highly they value the Negro element in their party, by displacing every Negro leader (save one who is doubtless relied upon to return a republican majority from the Sovereign State of Mississippi) on the National Committee and turning the entire political authority and control over to the Lily White Republicans of the South. Now as between poltical huxters and freebooters, known as "Lily Whites" give me a good straight, dyed-in-the-wool, southern democratic every time.

Among Democrats

Seventy per cent of the Negro population of the United States lives and shall continue to live, in the South, among these same Democrats. Regardless of race, it takes votes to place, or hold, a political party in the seats of power. So far as the Negro is concerned, there is no hypocricy, or concealment in the attitude of our southern democracy. Self-respecting black men an women should turn from the political faithlessness and contempt of the Republican party and demonstrate to the Democratic party that the Negro voter is not a menace, but the most dependable poltical asset in American politics.

"The attitude of Governor Smith toward the Negro has never been patronizing or that of a demagogue. With him theve are just a part of the folk, counting for what they are worth. Under him there is a brighter day for hope for all classes of American citizens."

The Atlanta Constitution Kids Itself With a 'White Supremacy' Editorial

By H. S. Murphy.

On Sunday morning, July 15, the Atlanta Constitution transferred its funny section to its editorial page. Then and there the editor began to blow both hot and cold on "white supremacy" because the solid ivory of the melting South can't stand on a Smith platform without umbrella, raincoat and rubber boots. We had heard of the Negro standing between the whites and the hot sun; we had heard of his standing between the whites and hell fire; but to turn him into this sort of protection from the wet and incidentally have him feed a lot of hungry Democrats—this is indeed both ingenuius and novel.

This mudspatteerd, blind angel, guilty of apologizing for all sorts of stealing of Negro privilege and suffrage, who can see no spots on the Tammany tiger, wants to clean up Southern politics, but not having the mentality to decide whether it wants it cleaned wet or dry, runs to the tombstones of its grandfather, and having gorged its maw on its rotten logic, whoops to the non-thinker that "in the pending national campaign the question of white supremacy is paramount and superseded every controversial issue."

Ben Davis is the big bogey. Whew! If he looms so large as all that, ye gods of Mount Olympus, run here quickly, help us to desert Stone Mountain! We don't need any monument as long as we can dig up our grandfathers to think for us. What we need is a collossus of Davis, with one gigantic foot on Tybee and one on the mainland, his face turned away from the rising sun toward the dark hills of Georgia and across his breast the inscription (for whites only):

"This gobblin' 'll git yer if yer don't watch out!"

So, old lady Constitution is all het up because Mr. Hoover called together men and women "of all shades and colors to work, feed at the same table, and use the same rest rooms in Washington." While we doubt the authenticity of this statement, knowing Washington as we do, we are wondering how many white young Southerners will swallow this grandfather

argument without taking the trouble to find out that Al Smith has done the same thing " east side, west side, all around the town" of New York. Nobody took to tall timber when F. Q. Morton or C. W. Anderson, colored politicians, were present, and both Hoover's and Smith's children, if married, are safely married to whites.

Calling on Democracy to make the country safe for white man by sound segregation, it says that segregation under Wilson was entirely satisfactority! So they told Neval H. Thomas, of Washington, when he and not Negro politicians from Boston and Philadelphia, as the Constitution says, fought segregation on the grounds. But they didn't ask the Negro, yet the only place he can be finally left out in settling anything in this country is on a funny page like the editorial page of the Constitution.

But that the chameleon stunt of throwing up a little sop to Hoover by excusing him because he has lived in Europe where "social and racial conditions are different" is a scream! It's different only because they are exposed to evolution of thought—a very unnecessary commodity in the South because the white South's grandfathers have done all the thinking necessary for the next century at least and it does not admit of editing or revising. And so this latest inspiration of the Constitution says fear Negro domination as exemplified by Davis. Next Sunday we may expect a horrible story of how some ambitious bullfrog swallowed an unthinking elephant when the hopeless animal wasn't looking!

But the biggest joke of all is the Constitution's doclaration that "the Negro is equal to the white before the law." Holy Moses! Gilbert T. Stephenson, of North Caroline, has written a four-hundred-page book on "Race Distinctions in American Law." Mr. Stephens says "American" only because he wants to minimize the number of times the white South makes itself look like the paternal ancestor of a mule. This "equality-before-the-law" argument reminds you of the monkey's settling the two cats' argument about the size of the cheese, with the sense of fairness in favor of the monkey rather than the South.

We wonder if the Cnstitution can sing a duet, or go in two directions at once. In this editorial, deprecating Ben Davis' activities, it says: "He (the Negro) is encouraged to become useful in citizenship, in the trades, in industry, in agriculture." How useful? we ask. Enough to add to the white man's power without getting any of his own. His present progress has been made in spite of and not because of the general attitude of the white South.

But the closing paragraphs let the cat out of the bag. The Constitution realizes that the Democratic Party is in a whale of a fix, with the defection of the Ku-Klux Klan (which, by the way, makes no racket as it busies itself with preparation to defeat Smith), and of such men as Hooper Alexander and ex-Congressman Upshaw, Bishop Cannon and others, somebody wants to know, as Champ Clark did in the early days of Wilson at Baltimore, "I wonder where's my hound dog gone?"

Quite by accident we came across this little rhyme a few days ago. We are innocent of its origin, but it smells kind o' Klannish:

"When the Jackass learns to sing tenor
And the Rattlesnake walks on legs,
When the Razor-Back Shote grows feathers
And the Milk Cow sets on eggs,
When the Bluebird mates with the Woodpecker
And the Hoot Owl mates with the Wren,
When the Bull Frog sails on snowy wings
And the Sapsucker chums with the Hen,
When Cotton grows on Fur Trees
And Apples hang from the Rose,
When the Catholics rule the United States
And the Jew grows a straight nose,
When Pope Pius is head of the Ku-Klux Klan
In the land of Uncle Sam,
Then Al Smith will be President
And our country won't be worth a Damn."

Boy, page Mr. Clark Howell, Senior. Tell him that Thomas Jefferson was on very familiar terms with Benjamin Banneker, Negro meterologist; tell him that Andrew Jackson was not only very familiar with his black soldiers before New Orleans, but said some mighty complimentary things about them. And, boy, tell him to let his immediate forbears rest in peace, for if he digs them up to do his thinking it will not only prove ineffective, but that present day problems can't be solved by filling our nostrils with "the flaccid tissues of long dead issues offensive to God and mankind."

And finally, boy, wake him up if you find him asleep to the demand of the thinking young white Southerner, as you most surely will. Tell him he classes the fSouth with England's out-of-date generals who lost the Boer campaign and whom Kipling has made to say:

"Oh, the lamp of our youth shall be utterly out—
But we shall exist on the smell of it,
And whatever we do we shall fold our hands
And suck our gums and think well of it;
O, we shall be perfectly pleased with ourselves—
And THAT is the perfectest hell of it!"

Political - 1928

Independent Colored Voters' League.

Party Affiliation

TEXAS NEGROES WILL CONFER AT DALLAS, MAR. 24

Waco, Texas, March 6, 1928.—According to a statement issued by the Independent Colored Voters' League of Texas, one of the most epochal statewide meetings in the history of this state, as it relates to Negro citizens, will be held in Pythian Temple, Dallas, Texas, Saturday morning, March 24, 1928, 10:30 o'clock. Leaders from all sections of the state have been invited and are expected to attend this conference.

At this parley definite decision will be rendered as to the course the colored voters of Texas will take in the political conventions and elections of 1928, and, statewide organization will be perfected to see that no American citizen in this state is denied his elective franchise right due to his color.

A long list of notables will grace the occasion with their presence, among whom are Drs.. J. T. Walton and C. A. Whittier of San Antonio, Dr. D. W. Porter of Sherman, Dr. R. C. Riddle, Denison, Geo. W. Johnson, Prof. G. W. Jackson, and Rev. J. S. Adair of Corsicana, Prof. J. J. Burnett of Cleburne, W. S. Willis, Judge A. S. Wells, Dr. R. T. Hamilton, J. W. Rice and C. F. Starks of Dallas, Judge R. D. Evans of Waco, president of the league; A. G. Perkins and Rev. R. C. Barbour of Galveston, T. J. Harris of Brenham, R. B. Goosby of Bryan, L. D. Lyons of Austin, Geo. M. Guest of Paris, Virgil G. Goree of Texarkana, R. A. Hester of Brownwood, Solomon Devaull of Ballinger, Rev. W. F. Bledsoe, Sr., and Pat F. Dennis of Marshall, H. L. Price of Cuney, W. G. Bell of Beaumont; Nathan Johnson, Editor D. F. Grimes, O. C. Crook and H. B. Hardee of Fort Worth; Editors R. G. May and J. A. James of San Antonio; H. P. Carter, James T. Ewing, Profs. C. H. McGruder, B. H. Grimes, Rev. E. L. Harrison, N. Dudley, Jr., and Editor C. F. Richardson of Houston, league secretary-tresurer; Mack Hannah of Port Arthur; Dr. A. L. Hunter of Marlin; Dr. T. C. Redwine of Tyler; J. H. Howard of Jacksonville; G. W. Elliott of Mt. Pleasant, Rev. M. M. Haynes of Bastrop; F. R. Bluestein of Orange; E. Green of Dayton, Prof. A. W. Jackson of Rosenberg; Prof. J. A. Kirk and Dr. A. S. Jackson of Waco, Prof. Wm. Anderson, Smithville, and many others.

Statewide Conference, Dallas, Mar. 24

The moving spirits in the Independent Colored Voters' League of Texas, which played such an important part in encouraging and urging colored Texans to qualify in order to vote in the 1928 elections, have decided that the Negroes of Texas, without regard to political affiliation or presidential preference, should hold a statewide conference in some centrally located Texas city in the immediate future, and there take cognizance of and assume some definite attitude towards the present political situation as it confronts and concerns the Negroes of this state.

To that end, President R. D. Evans, well-known Waco attorney and leader, has issued a call for a statewide conference under the auspices of this organization at the Pythian Temple, 2549 Elm Street, Dallas, Texas, Saturday morning, March 24, 10:30 o'clock.

3-10-28

Outstanding race leaders from all sections of the state have been invited and are expected to attend this parley, which will not only issue a public statement to the Texas electorate, but which will lay and perfect plans for the full and free exercise of the elective franchise right by every citizen in this state, particularly those of Negro extraction.

Having lived in partisan serfdom and political bondage for the past decade or two, the Negroes of Texas can effect their partisan freedom and political emancipation during 1928, or make a mighty good start in that direction, if they will only organize their forces, select true and tried leaders and wage incessant battle against those persons and forces that seek to deprive and deny American citizens of their constitutional rights merely because of color.

There can be no appreciable headway made against any oppressive or obnoxious movement where the people thus oppressed are unwilling to coordinate their forces, pool their interests, financial and otherwise, and contend manfully, legally and sensibly for complete exercise and enjoyment of such inalienable warranties.

As a racial unit, we are too quick to take "cold feet;" too prone to lose heart and decide that the "game is not worth the ammunition;" apparently failing to bear in mind that **"he who would be free, himself must strike the first blow."**

In a democratic republic, the voter is sovereign, and the man without a ballot, or the man with a vote who refuses to cast it, is not only voiceless, but helpless and wellnigh hopeless!

With one possible exception, Negroes in all other Southern states are actively engaged in politics; and, even though they have met with rebuffs and defeats on previous occasions, they are determined to "carry on" until victory finally perches upon their standards and the cause of right ultimately prevails.

Are Texas Negroes quitters? Are we made of stuff any less stern than that of our racial brothers in other sections of the country?

Are we afraid or too timid to contend with might and main for the rights guaranteed and vouchsafed to us through constitutional provisions and mandates, both national and state?

The infant learns to walk by repeated efforts and trials, receiving many falls and sustaining some injuries in the attempts, but finally mastering the art of physical locomotion.

Any race, which is so obsessed with the characteristics of weaklings—with the "inferiority complex"—as to fall flat in its tracks at the least noise or opposition, and refuse to even make any effort to rise after such fall or reversal, is worthy only of the disrespect and contumely of red-blooded and courageous men of all races and nations!

If the leading Negroes of Texas—not the worn-out, repudiated and discredited race politicians—will attend this Dallas conference with a spirit and zeal to get somewhere in partisan politics in this state, 1928 has the possibilities of being a "year of jubilee" for Texas Negroes, politically speaking.

The Informer wishes to commend the Independent Colored Voters' League of Texas for calling this statewide conference on Saturday, March 24, at Dallas, and takes this occasion to urge and request a large attendance of Negro leaders and citizens at said parley.

Let's make some little sacrifice of time and money and take one day from our labor to counsel and plan for the best interests of our race, our state and our nation.

We owe this holden duty not merely to oureslves, our partisan organization and the social fabric, but this is an obligation which our families and posterity are expecting us to fulfill and execute.

On to Dallas, Texas, Saturday, March 20, one hundred (100)

or more strong, to perfect a statewide organization for the express purpose of regaining our lost political ground, and reclaiming our party heritage which has been taken from the race surreptitiously by partisan usurpers, political interlopers and designing Negrophobes!

Negro Voters To Hold Political Rally Here

It was learned this morning that the colored voters of the city will hold a mass meeting tomorrow night at the colored Y. M. C. A. to establish definitely their stand in the coming general election, at which three members will be elected for the City Council, from a field of five candidates.

Several days ago, authoritative information was received to the effect that the colored vote was split and that efforts were being made and would be made to block the vote and swing it solid in one direction or the other. No predictions have been made as to which way the ballot will swing. Some reports have it that they will vote solidly for the Republican candidate, while others have it that they have cast aside national party principles and will vote for the Democratic candidates for the Council, of whom there are three, two being incumbent.

One of the arguments heard in substantiation of the rumor that the colored citizens will go Democratic is that the local Republicans are regarded as "lily whites" in their local political views. It has been stated that whichever way the negro vote goes, it will go solidly, the colored citizens voting as a unit, with but few insurgents to bolt the ticket.

REPUBLICAN
SPRINGFIELD, MASS

MAY 2 1928

HARLEM THE CENTER OF NEGRO INFLUENCE

Signs of Progress in a Community of 350,000 People —Political Strength

To the Editor of The Republican:—

I had not been in Harlem very long before questions arose as to my political purpose, it having been observed that I was as frequently with Republicans as with Democrats. But an incident in which Mark Twain figured suggested itself. He was in the company of friends who were discussing heaven and hell, and when they asked why he was silent, he replied, "It is necessary, as I have friends in both places."

Not since the presidential campaign of 1884, when James G. Blaine was at the hight of his career, has New York state been so centripetal as it is today. For should the Democrats of the country have the courage to give to Gov Smith the nomination of their party, he could undoubtedly be elected next November. The spirited contest of two years ago between the governor and Col Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., points the way. Because, aside from the governor's wide personal popularity, the Democratic party has made substantial inroads upon the upstate electorate, while Col Roosevelt himself has aroused tremendous enthusiasm in New York city as well as in the Bronx. The slightest change, therefore, in either party may determine the vote of the state.

Out of the very bosom of Manhattan modern Harlem has arisen. It comprises an estimated area of nearly 10 square miles lying between One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street on the north; Ninety-sixth street on the south; Fifth avenue on the east and Amsterdam avenue on the west. More than 350,000 Negroes live in this congested district. A majority of this population follows the fortunes of Judge Olvany and Tammany hall, but there is also a stalwart Republican rivalry, as shown by the recent election of Fred R. Moore and John Clifford Hawkins in the 19th and 21st aldermanic districts respectively.

New Type of Leadership

The thing which impresses at this writing is the rapid disappearance of the type of political leader who was wont to deliver his following to the highest bidder, and the rise of leaders who seek for Negroes the same things which other groups covet. One leader at the close of a recent election on being asked what job or position he sought, replied, "I desire no job or position; I only want to be left alone and allowed to conduct my business without the unnecessary interference of persons seeking graft."

There are many beautiful and expensive church edifices, stores, office and apartment buildings owned and controled by Negroes. In fact, the material prosperity of Harlem is admittedly great, but it is the intellectual leadership of its people from which Harlem derives its chief claim to distinction. Here flourish intelligent religious and spiritual teachers who point to higher worlds and lead the way. In addition to the active political leaders like Charles W. Anderson, Ferdinand Q. Morton, Fred R. Moore, Cornelius W. McDougal, Clifton T. A. French, George W. Harris and many other lights of lesser leading, are to be found such educational leaders as W. E. B. DuBois, James Weldon Johnson, Eugene Kinckle Jones, Roscoe Conkling Bruce, Countee Cullen, Miss Jessie Faucet, William Pickens, William H. Ferris, A. Philip Randolph, and others who move and sway their people as they were never stirred before. New York city is, besides, the home of the Crisis and Opportunity publications, regarded as the best monthlies of their kind published today. These two publications alone reach and influence more than 300,000 readers distributed in every section of the country. Within a radius of two city blocks are the offices of three of the best known Negro weeklies, the New York Amsterdam News, the New York Age and the New York News, the former being regarded by its contemporaries as the leading Negro newspaper. There is also the Negro World, the organ of the Garvey movement. Marcus Garvey, though not now in America, has left a trail of apostles who yet have dreams of the promised land.

Effective Organizations

New York city is also the home of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban league, two of the most effective organizations conceived since reconstruction. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of which A. Philip Randolph is the spokesman, with its present membership of over 7500 porters carrying their passengers into every state of the Union, had its beginning in a small dining room on One Hundred and Thirty-first street, William H. DesVerney being the promoting genius of the organization. The diversity of citizenship and density of the population offer fertile sod for the cultivation and growth of these humanitarian movements. And the force of these agencies argues convincingly against any attempted experiments by the managers of either of the great political parties even suggestive of Ku Klux, Jim Crow or segregated treatment of its followers. Harlem is not the Utopia of which More wrote, but it is at least a land of opportunity where composite peoples may work out the practical problems of democratic self-government with the least possible friction.

Regardless of the outcome of the election it is to be hoped that the better element will prevail; that manhood right will be recognized and respected in January as well as in November; that for the sake of a few petty jobs no Jim Crow annexes to the national committees will be continued or created; that lynching shall constitute a crime in law as well as one of conscience, and that the proportionate representation in the affairs of government will be accorded to persons of character, training and courage, regardless of race, creed, color or previous condition of servitude.

LUCIUS SUMNER HICKS.
New York city, April 28, 1928.

LEDGER-DISPATCH
NORFOLK, VA.

MAY 13 1928

Independent Negro Voters Called To Meet May 17

Richmond, Va., May 12.—(AP)—The News-Leader says today that Leon Reid, Negro dentist of Richmond, has issued a call for a state-wide convention of "independent voters" to be held at Petersburg May 17 for the announced purpose of effecting an organization of independent Democratic voters, including Negroes.

Upwards of 200 Negroes from Richmond and the state at large, the News-Leader says, are expected to attend. The meeting will be concurrent with the state convention of the Negro Elks in Petersburg.

The convention call is a Negro movement, but white independents are invited to attend, it was said.

LEDGER-DISPATCH
NORFOLK, VA.

SEP 4 1928

NEGRO VOTERS INDEPENDENT

Adjourned Meeting Will Be Held In Norfolk On Sept. 16

Negro voters who convened yesterday at Buckroe Beach to discuss their attitude in the presidential campaign passed a resolution encouraging an independent spirit, and decided to hold an adjourned meeting in Norfolk September 16.

It was stated that no effort would be made to dictate to colored voters as to their choice for president.

J. Thomas Newsome, of Newport News, stated that there was a decided leaning toward Smith, and that only four votes were cast by Hoover enthusiasts out of a large number of votes balloted.

Representatives were present from the entire state, which numbered more than 350 persons.

Interracial Independent Political Party.

Political—1928

Party Affiliation.

HERALD
VICKSBURG, MISS.

JUN 28 1928

A MIXED TICKET

The presidential campaign of 1928 presents one unique feature at least. It is that of a white man running for president and a negro candidate for vice-president on the same ticket—that of the Interracial Independent Political Party.

Possibly a good many of our readers have never heard of this party, but its leaders claim that fifteen million negroes are favorable to it; a ridiculous claim, of course.

But many have heard of its presidential candidate, who is none other than "General" Jacob S. Coxey, leader of "Coxey's Army" of 1894, composed of jobless men who marched to Washington to obtain relief, but accomplished little except to call attention to the widespread unemployment then existing. Some of them were even arrested for trespassing on the Capitol grounds.

Coxey, who is now 74, operates a silica sand company in Ohio and also has oil interests in Oklahoma. The negro vice-presidential candidate is Simon P. W. Drew, a preacher and real estate operator.

Thus again is illustrated the saying that "politics makes strange bed-fellows."

Political - 1928

National Inter-Racial Independent Political Party.

Party Affiliation.

VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE HERE

Rev. Simon P. W. Drew On Ticket With General Coxey

PARTY IS INTERRACIAL

Candidate Visits Pastors. Will Return Monday

The Rev. Simon P. W. Drew, of Washington, D. C., candidate for vice-president on the National Inter-Racial Independent Political Party ticket was in the city this week.

The party was organized June 4, 1928, with General Jacob S. Coxey, of Ohio, of Coxey's Army fame, as the nominee for president.

Rev. Mr. Drew is known as the president of the White Cross Real Estate Company, the National Ministers' Alliance, American White Cross Employment Bureau and is pastor of Cosmopolitan Baptist Church, 2125 Eleventh Street, northwest, Washington.

While in the city Sunday, he visited the Rev. W. W. Allen, the Rev. Harold C. Stepteau, the Rev. D. G. Mack, the Rev. J. W. Jones and the Rev. W. J. Winston.

The Rev. Mr. Drew declared he will visit the Baptist Ministers' Conference, next Monda-

After official notification ceremonies, Monday, August 6, the Rev. Mr. Drew said a nation-wide political campaign will be planned.

Visitor
Audubon + Haddon Hts. N. J.

JUL 12 1928

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Enquirer
Gt. Mild - Comm

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Phila. S. C. Times
Thursday, July 26, 1928

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ENTERPRISE

Lemoore Cal

JUL 6 1928

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Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

National Negro Voters League.

The Negro Voters' League Has Stirring Session In First Gathering At Chicago

Leaders Assail the Democratic and Republican Parties. See Need for Negroes to Become Independent of Unfaithful

Argus

CHICAGO, Aug. 29. —Assailing the Democratic party for its failure to enforce the Fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the national constitution and condemning the Republican party for deposing of Southern Colored leaders and unfaithfulness to colored voters, the National Negro Voters League held a stirring session here winding up in the organizing of an independent party with J. Finley Wilson Grand exalted ruler of the Elks as its head. More than 200 Race political leaders from all parts of the country attended the meeting.

The call to the meeting, as read by C. P. Howard, of Des Moines, recited the ineffectual attempt of colored voters to get an expression from leaders of either of the major parties on which to base intelligent action in the forthcoming campaign.

Assails Republicans

William V. Hueston, municipal judge at Gary, Ind., demanded an explanation for the unseating of Perry Howard as Republican national committeeman for Mississippi and his indictment later on charges of selling federal jobs.

"Why was Assistant Attorney General Mabel Willebrandt sent from Washington to Mississippi when the investigation could and should have been made by the United States district attorney there?" he asked.

"Bear in mind that it is dangerous for a Negro to speak to a lady in Mississippi and death to dispute her."

He added that the charges of permitting liquor to be landed brought against Walter Cohen, customs collector at New Orleans, was intended to destroy his twenty years influence in Louisiana.

The Republican party was charged with acquiesence in violations of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments in encouragement of "lily whiteism" in the South; in discrimination in the Civil Service, and in segregation in all of its activities as a general policy. Wilson scored both parties heavily for negligence of duty toward colored citizens, expressing bitterness against William Howard Taft personally for introduction into Federal Government of many of the evils complained of.

In this connection, he showed that the forces now in control of the Negro wing of the Republican party at Washington were formerly or are now administrative officers at Tuskegee Institute, where Mr. Taft is a trustee, and are objectionable because they acquiesce in his policies, which the National Negro Voters League would repudiate.

To Fight Disfranchisement

The keynote address was made by Judge W. C. Hueston, of Gary, Ind. chairman of the national committee of the new league. His program called for full enfranchisement of the Negro throughout America, North and South, for a determination of the Negro's political status with reference to advisability of future affiliation with the Republican party and for the ousting from public office of race traitors, thru pitiless publicity.

"Our race," he said, "not handicapped by religious prejudice. It can, therefore, as easily vote for a Roman Catholic as for a white Protestant." He advocated appointment of a committee of nine to wait on the presidential candidates and national committee chairmen of the two major parties, a suggestion which met with favor. Wilson will name the committee.

Other officers of the Voters League include J. C. Brown, Iowa secretary; William McDonald, treasurer; Caesar Blake, North Carolina, assistant secretary; William C. Hueston, Indiana chairman of the executive committe.

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation.

National Negro Voters League.

NATIONAL NEGRO VOTERS LEAGUE TO HOLD CONVENTION IN CHICAGO TO DISCUSS RACE WRONGS

Gary, Ind., Aug. 11.—Judge Hueston, chairman of the executive committee of the National Negro Voters League, which holds its first meeting in Chicago at Fandell Phillips High School August 24, has been receiving so many inquiries made the following statement Saturday, August 11:

"The meeting of the National Negro Voters League which will be for one day only will be a new departure in Negro Conventions. In the first place the meeting will last for one day only and therefore meets for action, not for lengthy speeches and long resolutions. It will be entirely open and will be presided over by that indefatigible worker and enthusiast, J. Finley Wilson, which insures that this effort shall not die aborning."

Judge Hueston, continuing, announced the purposes of the league and meeting, namely:

"1. To work for the full enfranchisement of the American Negro.

"2. To ascertain where the Negro stands in the Republican party and to scourge those who betray the race for political advancement.

"This assures that the meeting will be full of purpose and pep."

Judge Hueston stated further: "This meeting is not for the purpose of attempting to lead the American Negro in or out of any political party, but it is for the purpose of taking stock and balancing the race's political accounts. The prime purpose is to permanently organize the National Negro Voters League and to arrange to have said league function throughout the entire United States to the end that every Negro man and woman of voting age will not only have the right to vote but will use that right at every opportunity, for it is known that the ballot is the safe guard of human rights. The National Negro Voters League believes that it is the duty of Negroes who live in states where they vote, to use that right in such a way that it will benefit the Negroes who live in the states where race prejudice denies them the opportunity because they are black and the members of the league committee themselves to vote only for those who declare themselves publicly and privatly for universal suffrage."

It appears that for a number of years the Republican party has not been as vigilant in the preservation of the Negro's rights before the law as at the birth of the party, and some recent happenings have served to emphasize this attitude. It is the purpose of this league to do everything possible to ascertain where the Republican party stands on the full enfranchisement of the American Negro everywhere in the United States; the removal of all humiliating race laws and full and free education of the American Negro everywhere.

The National Negro Voters League accepts the position that the Titular head of the party and the Republican National Committee is authorized to speak for the party.

The third matter to be considered at the coming meeting is the race loyalty of those of the group who have assumed to act for the race at political conventions and seemingly auired in adverse race decisions by said conventions. As announced by the call, all who come to represent any race group political or otherwise shall have a part in the meeting, and it is hoped that many from all sections of the country will be present.

"Lists of delegates are already being sent to me," said Judge Hueston "and a large delegation is indicated."

COLORED VOTERS MEET

Finley Wilson is One of Leaders in Move to Find Negroes' Status

MAY BOLT G.O.P.

To Demand Direct Answers From Republican Campaign Heads

Representatives of colored voters in 40 states will attend the meeting of the National Negro Voters' League at the Wendell Phillips High School, Chicago, Ill., August 24, J. Finley Wilson, its president, declared Monday.

The purpose of this meeting, he said, is to find where the Negro stands in the Republican party. Negro voters, he stated, are disturbed at the treatment accorded Walter L. Cohen, a Republican leader in Louisiana; William (Gooseneck Bill) McDonald, of Texas; Benjamin Jefferson Davis Republican national committeeman for Georgia until the Kansas City convention, and Perry W. Howard Republican national committeeman for Mississippi.

Lily-white delegations were seated at the Kansas City convention over mixed delegations headed by Cohen and McDonald. Davis was deposed at Kansas City. Howard was indicted shortly after the convention by a special Federal grand jury in Mississippi for alleged trafficking in Federal patronage.

"All Republicans"

"We are all Republicans," said Mr. Wilson, "but we want to find out whether we are going to be allowed to stay in the party.

"The 'boys' decided at Kansas City," he stated, "that we had better get together and find out our status." Mr. Wilson was referring to a group of colored delegates and voters who met in Kansas City and formed a temporary organization and decided to call this meeting in Chicago to form a permanent organization.

He explained that this is an independent movement of colored Republicans.

"We believe in the party of Lincoln," he said, "and we love its traditions." He added, however, that "we also believe that we should have some man at sometime, somewhere, to act like Lincoln, Sumner, Conkling, Foraker and Roosevelt.

To Abandon Us

"We think that by holding this meeting some of the responsible heads of the Republican party will tell us whether they want our support or whether they are going to abandon and bar us.

"Both major parties declared for the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment. Neither would discuss or write anything about the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

"We believe with Andrew Jackson that 'to the victors belong the spoils,' and we feel that when our party is in power our loyalty to it should be recognized by appointment to Federal offices requiring confirmation by the Senate instead of our being slaughtered in the house of our friends.

"We believe that both Mr. Hoover and Governor Smith are high class men, but neither of them has spoken out on the Civil War amendments to the Federal constitution, and that is one of the reasons for our meeting."

The call for the meeting is signed by Mr. Wilson, Charles P. Howard, a lawyer, of Des Moines, Iowa and William C. Hueston, a municipal judge, of Gary, Ind.

It sets forth as one of the grievances of the refusal of the Republican party to put into its platform planks declaring for the protection of colored citizens in all their rights ,civil and political; srtict enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, and application of the civil services rules to all persons alike without regard to race or color.

Mr. Wilson is the grand exalted ruler of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World, which has a membership, including women, of nearly 500,000. Four-fifths of the Elks' membership, Mr. Wilson says, live in voting states.

Negro Voters To Protest Against Alleged Wrongs

By The Associated Press

Chicago, Aug. 23.—A permanent organization of the National Negro Voters' league is to be former Friday at a conference of negro leaders from 40 states called together by J. Finley Wilson, negro, to protest against what he termed "mistreatment of negro voters at the hands of the national republican party."

The meeting will be a sequel to a conference held at Kansas City after the republican convention at which a territory organization was formed.

"The purpose," Wilson said, "is to find out where the negro stands in the republican party. We are all re-

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation

National Negro Voters League

Negro Voters League Leans Towards Smith For President

Draft Questionaire To Both Candidates

Speeches Favor New York Governor

CHICAGO, August 25.—Pursuant to a call to all voters of the race who are deeply interested in the political and civil welfare of the Negro to meet and discuss the situation, over 200 delegates met in Wendell Phillips' High School here Friday, August 24. They were not merely politicians who were looking for a handout but they were substantial men and women who for the most part have not aspired for political honors or positions.

They gathered because of a feeling that the race and the nation is facing a crisis and the time has come for intelligent, non-partisan, unbiased discussion of what is best for the Negro and the nation. Delegates were present from Washington in the Northwest to California and from Massachusetts to Florida—men and women who had come at their own expense, neglecting their own personal affairs.

J. Finley Wilson presided and was made permanent chairman of the permanent organization of the National Negro Voters League, which is to meet yearly. The organization is independent, holding allegiance to no political party.

Other notables were present and a list of officers were chosen. The sum total of the meeting was a list of demands made to be submitted to Mr. Hoover and Mr. Smith. The idea being that the candidate giving the cleanest clear-cut answer should have the support of this organization and as many as it could inuence.

The striking phase of the meeting was the pro-Smith sentiment and anti-Republican sentiment that was exhibited. Men and women, who have been Republicans all their lives declared they were tired of Republcan hypocrisy, of Kui Klux Klanism and would vote for Smith for President. Many others expressed admiration for Gov. Smith but declared they were afraid of Robinson, his running mate. They figured if Smith died Robinson would succeed him and they declared he was a rank Negro hater who would be influenced by Cole Blease and Pat Harrison.

Many notable speeches were made. Mrs. Grace Evans of Indiana, militant Republican worker, declared she could not support a party that would spend millions to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment which had to do with men's appetites and would not spend a cent to enforce the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments which had to do with men's souls and lives.

Webster L. Porter, editor, Knoxville Tenn., made a great speech for the Republican and denounced Robt. R. Church of his State for an alleged statement he would not follow "Negro Leadership." Mr. Porter dwelt on Mr. Church at length, although many present did not know what he was talking about.

Another great speech was made by "Bill" Crowell of Virginia. Mr. Crowell declared the Negro ought to stand by the Republican party despite its faults and short comings.

Mr. A. Brown of Pennsylvania, who preceded Mr. Crowell, had urged the Negro to vote for Al Smith and teach the Republicans a lesson once and for all. He said the G. O. P. was throwing the Negro overboard and catering to Ku Kluxism and lily whitism and should be defeated. He said he had been a Republican worker for forty years but this year he and his house would vote for Al Smith. Mr. Crowell followed Mr. Brown and turning to all who leaned toward Al Smith, recited a parody on "Bye-Bye Blackbird." To all Negroes leaving the G. O. P. he said, "Bye-Bye Blackbird." Mr. Brown is an "unbleached American." William Warley, of Louisville, Ky., made a talk that was well received, the tenor of which was he was not for Hoover nor pro-Smith but was first last and all the time pro-Negro.

Messrs. Finley Wilson and Judge W. C. Hueston made speeches which covered the history of the Republican party from its beginning. The Negro has had the Lincoln League, the Sanhedrin, the Spo-American Council and scores of organizations but this meeting stands above them all for earnest, conscientious endeavor to serve the race.

Another meeting will be called before election to hear what Mr. Hoover and Mr. Smith have to say in answer to the questions put to them by the National Negro Voters League.

The meeting was called for the purpose of forming a permanent organization and agreeing upon ways and means of carrying out the objects of the league. These objects are the full enfranchisement of the Negro and the ascertainment of the attitude of the Republican and Democratic party toward him.

Began Furiously

The convention began furiously enough. J. Finley Wilson, the temporary chairman, and William C. Hueston, the chairman of the executive committee, made speeches condemning both political parties.

"I see no hope for our political advancement in either one of the major parties," Mr. Wilson declared "and I deem it highly important as well as vital to our racial welfare that we take counsel of each other, to the end that in our combined wisdom we may so direct the political activities of our racial group that when the campaign is over, the votes counted, and the President is inaugurated, we may have a better day."

Mr. Hueston in his speech called upon Herbert Hoover, the Republican presidential nominee "to lead in the securing for the American Negro of his guaranteed rights under the Constitution."

Gets Down To Business

After this flurry of oratory the convention got down to business. The temporary chairman appointed the committees on credentials and resolutions. While these committees were out, there was more oratory. Speeches were made in praise and in condemnation of the Republican party. Other speakers counselled against bolting the Republican party as a means of settling grievances. Still others urged that the Negro vote for Al Smith, not as a Democrat, but as an independent voter.

Mr. Hueston submitted the report of the committee on resolutions. The committee recommended that the chairman be empowered to appoint a committee to draft a questionaire dealing with the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments for submission to the candidates. It also recommended that a permanent organization be formed.

The resolutions declared for the full enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, appointments to civil service positions solely upon merit and the elimination of the filing of photographs with applications for civil service positions, and the abolition of segregation in government departments. They also condemned efforts to emasculate Negro leadership and also lily whiteism in party affairs.

The resolutions were adopted without debate. The resolutions committee consisted of Mr. Hueston, Charles P. Howard, the temporary secretary of the convention; J. C. Bankett, of Indiana; Mrs. Lethia C. Fleming, of Ohio; Mrs. Grace Wilson Evans, of Indiana, and Isaac H. Nutter, of New Jersey.

Officers Elected

The following officers were elected: J. Finley Wilson, president; Mrs. Grace Wilson Evans, vice-president; Charles P. Howard, secretary; William McDonald, of Texas, treasurer, and William C. Hueston, chairman of the executive committee.

According to the report of the credentials committee, 144 delegates were present. Letters and telegrams wre receivd from 30 othrs.

Mr. Wilson did not name the committee to draft the questionnaire. He says he will make public his selections this week.

Among some of the prominent persons seen at the convention were Isaac H. Nutter, of Atlantic City; William C. Hueston, Gary, Ind.; Perry W. Howard, Washington, D. C.; Benjamin J. Davis, Atlanta, Ga.; W. H. C. Brown, Newport News, Va.; C. Tiffany Tolliver and W. B. F. Crowell, both of Roanoke, Va.; Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Fleming of Cleveland ,Ohio; Clarence R. Vena, Toledo; Charles E. Mitchell, Institute, W. Va.; Webster L. Porter, Knoxville, Tenn.; William Warley, Louisville, Ky.; Thomas H. Brown, Connellsville, Pa.; Dr. C. V. Freeman, Jacksonville, Fla.; John L. Webb, Hot Springs, Ark.; Ceasar R. Blake, North Carolina; Dr. J. E. Gregg, Cleveland, O.; Cornelius R. Richardson, Richmond, Ind.; Charles P. Howard, Iowa; Mrs. Grace Wilson Evans, Terra Haute, Ind.; Dr. H. R. Butler, Atlanta, Ga., and Sidney B. Thompson, Cleveland, O.

LEAGUE MEET A 'DUD'

"Speeches," That's All, Characterize Convention

LEADERS HESITANT

Special To Journal and Guide

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 28—The meeting of the National Negro Voters League at the Wendell Phillips High School last Friday fizzled out. Out of it came no declaration for the guidance of the voter in this presidential election.

The leaders of the movement chose a middle course, condemning neither the Republican nor the Democratic party. In a resolution, which was adopted by the convention, some of the political ills from which the Negro suffers were recited, but no means of remedying them were offered.

LEAGUE MEET IN CHICAGO IS "FIZZLE"

"Nothing Happens" After Day Of Speeches and Resolutions; Officers Are Elected.

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 30.—The meeting of the National Negro Voters' League at the Wendell Phillips High school last Friday fizzled out. Out of it came no declaration for the guidance of the voter in this Presidential election. It was a sort of pre-Elk convention—Elks being in the majority.

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Mr. Wilson did not name the committee to draft the questionnaire. He says he will make public his selections this week.

Among some of the prominent Elks and other persons seen at the convention were Isaac H. Nutter, of Atlantic City; William McDonald, of Texas; J. Finley Wilson, Washington, D. C.; William C. Hueston, Gary, Ind.; Perry W. Howard, Washington, D. C., Benjamin J. Davis, Atlanta, Ga.; W. H. C. Brown, Newport News, Va.; C. Tiffany Tolliver and W. B. F. Crowell, both of Roanoke, Va.; Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Fleming, of Cleveland, O.; Clarence R. Vena, Toledo; Charles W. Mitchell, Institute, W. Va.; Webster L. Porter, Knoxville, Tenn.; William Warley, Louisville, Ky.; Thomas H. Brown, Connellsville, Pa.; Dr. C. V. Freeman, Jacksonville, Fla.; John L. Webb, Hot Springs, Ark.; Ceasar R. Blake, North Carolina; Dr. J. E. Gregg, Cleveland, O.; Cornelius R. Richardson, Richmond, Ind.; Charles P. Howard, Iowa; Mrs. Grace Wilson Evans, Terre Haute, Ind.; Dr. H. R. Butler, Atlanta, Ga., and Sidney B. Thompson, Cleveland, O.

VOTERS LEAGUE FIZZLES OUT IN CHICAGO

Blustering Independents End Up In Mild Censure Of Both Parties

ME'T STARTS FURIOUSLY ENDS IN LOVE FEAST

Committee to Take Enforcement Plank To Hoover And South

CHICAGO, ILL. — The meeting of the National Negro Voters League at the Wendell Phillips High School last Friday fizzled out. Out of it came no declaration for the guidance of the voter in this presidential election.

The leaders of the movement chose a middle course, condemning neither the Republican nor the Democratic party. In a resolution, which was adopted by the convention, some of the political ills from which the Negro suffers were recited, but no means of remedying them were offered.

The meeting was called for the purpose of forming a permanent organization and agreeing upon ways and means of carrying out the objects of the league. These objects are the full enfranchisement of the Negro and the ascertainment of the attitude of the Republican and Democratic party toward him.

Begins Furiously

The convention began furiously enough. J. Finley Wilson, the temporary chairman, and William C. Hueston, the chairman of the executive committee, made speeches condemning both political parties.

"I see no hope for our political advancement in either one of the major parties," Mr. Wilson declared, "and I deem it highly important as well as vital to our racial welfare that we take counsel of each other, to the end that in our combined wisdom we may so direct the political activities of our racial group that when the campaign is over, the votes counted, and the President is inaugurated, we may have a better day."

Mr. Hueston in his speech called upon Herbert Hoover, the Republican presidential nominee, "to lead in securing for the American Negro of his guranteed rights under the Constitution."

Down To Business

After the flurry of oratory the convention got down to business. The temporary chairman appointed the on credentials WD. .... committees on credentials and resolutions. While these committees were out, there was more oratory. Speeches were made in praise and in condemnation of the Republican party. Other speakers counselled against bolting the Republican party as a means of settling grievances. Still others urged that the Negro vote for Al Smith, not as a Democrat, but as an independent voter.

Mr. Hueston submitted the report of the committee on resolutions. The committee recommended that the chairman be empowered to appoint a committee to draft a questionaire dealing with the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments for submission to the candidates. It also recommended that a permanent organization be formed.

14th and 15th Amendments

The resolutions declared for the full enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, appointments to civil service positions solely upon merit and the elimination of the filing of photographs with applications for civil service positions, and the abolition o. segregation in government departments. They also condemned the efforts to emasculate Negro leadership and also lily whiteism in party affairs.

The resolutions were adopted without debate. The resolutions committee consisted of Mr. Hueston, Charles P. Howard, the temporary secretary of the convention: J. C. Bankett, of Indiana; Mrs. Lethia C. Fleming, of Ohio; Mrs. Grace Wilson Evans, of Indiana, and Isaac H. Nutter, of New Jersey.

Officers Elected

The following officers were elected: J. Finley, president· Mrs. Grace Wilson Evans, vice-president; Charles P. Howard, secretary; William McDonald, of Texas, treasurer; and William C. Hueston, chairman of the executive committee.

According to the report of the credentials committee, 144 delegates were present. Letters and telgrams were receivd from 30 others.

Mr. Wilson did not name the committee to draft the questionaire. He says he will make public his selections this week.

At the Convention

Among some of the prominent persons seen at the convention were: Isaac H. Nutter, of Atlantic City; William McDonald, of Texas; J. Finley Wilson, Washington, D. C.; William C. Hueston, Gary, Ind.; Perry W. Howard, Washington, D. C.; Benjamin J. Davis, Atlanta, Ga.; W. H. C. Brown Newport News, Va.; C. Tiffany Tolliver and W. B. F. Crowell, both of Roanoke, Va.; Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Fleming, of Cleveland, Ohio; Clarence R. Vena, Toledo; Charles E. Mitchell, Institute, W. Va.; Webster L. Porter, Knoxville, Tenn.; William Warley, Louisville, Ky.; Thomas H. Brown, Connellsville, Pa.; Dr. C. V. Freeman, Jacksonville, Fla.; John L. Webb, Hot Springs, Ark.; Caesar R. Blake, North Carolina; Dr. J. E. Gregg, Cleveland, Ohio; Cornelius R. Richardson, Richmond, Ind.; Charles P. Howard, Iowa; Mrs. Grace Wilson Evans, Terre Haute, Ind.; Dr. H. R Butler, Atlanta, Ga., and Sidney B. Thompson Cleveland. Ohio.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Negro Independent Progressive Party of Florida

Miami, Fla., Post
Saturday, August 4, 1928

NEGROES TO MEET TO ENDORSE SMITH

Convention of 'Progressives' Called For Tampa Aug. 31 to Lay Plans

TAMPA. — Convention of the Negro Independent Progressive Party of Florida, which supported LaFollette and Wheeler four years ago, has been called for Tampa August 31 at which time it will come out in support of Al Smith, according to a statement by Dewey A. Richardson, state chairman.

The statement was issued following a meeting of the state executive committee.

The chairman said negro political leaders will be called to the convention from all counties to map out a campaign. Smith for President Clubs will be organized in all negro districts and members will be urged to pay their poll taxes so they can vote. The executive committee authorized Richardson to write an article setting forth the reasons why the negroes should support Smith.

Negro followers of Smith from New York city are expected to come to Florida to assist in organization of negroes in support of Smith.

Times
Tampa - Fla
Sept 1 W

Negroes Organize Independent Party

More than 200 negro voters assembled here yesterday from the state to reorganize themselves into an independent political party and to hear an address by C. E. Tucker well known negro lawyer, of Chicago, which featured the meeting

The convention was held in the Marti Maceo Cuban hall.

There were no contests for seats of delegates when the credentials committee submitted its report The resolutions committee bound the delegates to a progressive program and also committed them to support those candidates endorsed by the organization's executive committee.

NEWS

Palmetto Fla

W

AUG 10 1928

The negro independent progressive party of Florida, which supported LaFollette and Wheeler four years ago, has called a state convention in Tampa Aug. 31 at which it will come out squarely for the Democratic ticket headed by Governor Smith.

Dewey A. Richardson, state chairman, in making this announcement yesterday, said that details were discussed at a meeting of the executive committee held here Tuesday. This committee declared for Smith and the Democratic platform, as adopted at the Houston convention.

"We endorsed the Democratic platform," Richardson said, "because of its liberal attitude toward the farmer; for its pledge to enforce the eighteenth amendment, and because of the courageous statement of Governor Smith that he will enforce all laws as long as they remain on the statute books. It is our honest opinion that prohibitionists are afraid of Governor Smith because if elected he will enforce the eighteenth amendment. We believe the best way to have the prohibition law modified is to strictly enforce the law so it will stop the flow of liquor to all violators."

Richardson said negro political leaders will be called to the convention here from all counties to map out a campaign. It will be the first time since the Civil war, he added, that negro speakers will appeal to their race to vote the Democratic ticket. Smith-for-President clubs will be organized in all negro districts. Members will be urged to pay their poll taxes so they can vote. The executive committee authorized Richardson to write an article setting forth the reasons why the negroes should support the Democratic ticket and platform.—Tampa Tribune of Friday, Aug. 3rd.

Political-1928.

Party Affiliation.

People's Progressive Political League.

PHILADELPHIA NEGROES ORGANIGE INDEPENDENT PARTY.

(By The Associated Negro Press.)

Philadelphia, Pa., July 2.—Local Negro appear to be keenly alive politically. The unprecedented act of William O. Harper, the independent who opposed Hon. David A. Reed for the Republican nomination for the office of United States Senator, at the April primary election, has resulted in the People's Progressive Political League that sponsored Harper's candidacy to yield to the demands of colored independents from many states for a conference.

7-3-28

At a meeting held in the Galilee Baptist Church, which was packed to overflowing, delegates were present from many Eastern, Western, and Southern States. Some state that the large attendance is evidence of a growing dissatisfactino among the colored electorate throughout the country. The treatment accorded the Negro by the National Republican Organization during the last four years was the chief topic of discussion.

The headquarters of the organization is at 1508 Lombard Street.

Party Affiliation

TIMES
TRENTON, N. J.

APR 18 1928

NEGROES SUPPORT STOKES CANDIDACY

South Trenton Colored Republican Club Formed—Turner Is Chairman

A large and enthusiastic gathering of Negroes of South Trenton met at the old fire house on South Warren Street Monday evening and organized themselves into the South Trenton Colored Republican Club. J. C. Turner was chosen chairman, and G. T. Turner chairman of the executive committee.

Mrs. Agnes L. Kemp addressed the meeting, urging support for Governor Stokes for the senatorial nomination. Lester Crowell also spoke. Attorney Robert Queen organized the club and installed the officers, and then told them of the ability of Governor Stokes to hold the office to which he aspires and the great necessity of having such an able man in the Senate to represent all the people of New Jersey.

He said in part, "I do not hold Governor Stokes out to you as a race champion, nor as a martyr, but I do believe that he is a man who will stand for American principles and the safeguarding of the rights of all the people of the United States any time and every time he is called upon to do so. He believes in the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment with the same force as the Eighteenth."

The Rev. John Ross also spoke and moved that the club go on record as endorsing ex-Governor Stokes, which motion was passed unanimously.

NEWS

Blakely Ga.

APR 24 1928

IT'S THE SAME OLD STORY, BUT THE NEGROES CAN'T SEE.

Ben Davis, Negro Republican committeeman from Georgia, reminds us of the monkey,—"the higher he climbs,"—but you know the story. The following editorial taken from the Macon Telegraph illustrates to what extent he would climb:

Two months in advance of the Kansas City convention, the prospective Negro delegates to the Republican gathering are in a flurry over the proposed arrangements for their comfort when they have arrived in the Missouri city. The story has gone out that the Negroes are to be given quarters in the Negro Y. M. C. A. and the Negro hotels and a number of state leaders from the South have protested in behalf of their delegations. Among them is Ben J. Davis, who wrote that the eleven Negroes on the Georgia delegation of sixteen "would expect accommodations equal in all respects to those of white delegates" and that "rooms with bath and telephone were wanted." The Republican National Committee referred Davis' letter to the chairman of arrangements at Kansas City, who assured him that the Negro delegates would have the "same courteous and considerate treatment which we always show our Negro population."

The Negro delegates who went to Chicago eight years ago and to Cleveland four years ago were housed, The Outlook comments, in boarding houses and hotels for their own race. The "same courteous and considerate treatment which we always show our Negro population," as the chairman of arrangements puts it, is that same segregation which obtains in the South.

The Republicans have been playing a dishonest game with the Negro for many years and the cheap element of the race that lends itself to schemes the Republican national leaders are playing, has not been able to see it, or has been bought off by flattery and back-slapping. If mistakenly, the Democrats have honestly and openly barred Negroes from any participation in party politics, the Republicans have just as effectively barred them from any influence or actual voice in party councils. To keep them satisfied, the Republicans have held out always the chimerical hope of equality and the bait of social contact at conventions. As a substitute for any actual influence, they have rewarded the Negroes with the privilege of selling minor patronage positions. In major appointments, the recommendations of the Negroes have amounted to nothing. The judgeship of the Middle district is illustration enough of that.

In other words, the fundamental attitude of white Republicans is exactly that of white Democrats. Neither intends for the Negro to have social equality, even in political gatherings, and neither intends for the Negro to become a strong factor in party councils. The Democrats are simply more honest about it.

Republican.

LOUISIANA G. O. P. "LILY WHITES" LOSE COURT DECISION

New Orleans, May 2.—(AP)—An injunction to restrain Walter L. Cohen, negro comptroller of customs at New Orleans, and a number of his henchmen from naming delegates to the republican national convention at Kansas City was denied by Judge Walter L. Gleason in civil district court here today.

Constitution

The suit was instituted by M. E. Norman, chairman of the republican state committee. He announced today he would appeal to the Louisiana supreme court from Judge Gleason's decision.

5-3-28

Attorneys for Cohen argued that the court was without jurisdiction to issue an injunction against members of a political faction when they were not exercising a special public duty and when no money or property interest was involved.

The Norman faction recently held a convention at Alexandria and elected a slate of delegates to the national convention. Action against Cohen was instituted when he gave notice he and his followers would hold a convention to name delegates.

In the event the matter is not settled in the courts, two factions probably will go to Kansas City, which would impose upon the convention the duty of determining which one to recognize.

NEGROES GET G.O.P. POSTS; WHITES QUIT

Jackson, Miss., April 30.—(AP)—Four delegates at large from Mississippi were selected today at a state convention of independent republicans to represent Mississippi at the national convention at Kansas City and the Leflore county delegation withdrew from the meeting because two of the delegates were negroes.

Courier-Journal

B. F. Lambert, chairman of the Leflore county executive committee, announced withdrawal on the grounds that the delegates "were led to believe that the leaders would all be white persons."

5-1-28

Two groups of delegates were slated to go to the convention representing this state, since the republican state committee, headed by Perry W. Howard, negro, chairman of the committee, recently selected delegates. A contest over the seating of the two factions was in prospect.

Atlanta Ga

The delegates elected by the independent republicans today follow:

Charles U. Gordon, Greenville; George L. Sheldon, Petit; D. W. Herrod, negro, Meridian, and R. L. Johnson, negro, Jackson.

More than 150 independent republican voters from the state gathered in the convention over which Mr. Sheldon, former governor of Nebraska, was named permanent chairman.

The delegates were instructed to vote for Lamont Rowlands, Picayune, as national committeeman, and Mrs. Lida Oldham, Oxford, as national committeewoman.

Both delegations will go uninstructed so far as presidential nominees are concerned.

The Howard group was instructed to vote for the reelection of Howard as national committeeman from Mississippi and the reelection of Mary C. Booze, Mounds Bayou, negress, as national committeewoman.

The convention of the independent republicans was the outgrowth of a movement started by the republican party council in Mississippi, seeking to reestablish the party under white leadership, but with both races represented among its membership.

MISSISSIPPI REPUBS SEEK WHITE PARTY

Jackson, Miss., April 29.—(United News.)—The first attempt since reconstruction days to organize a white republican party in Mississippi will be made Monday when delegates from most of the counties of the state assemble here for a state convention.

Atlanta Ga

The organization will be in opposition to the one already in existence headed by Perry Howard, negro, who has been endorsed for republican national committeeman from Mississippi. The Howard faction chose its delegates to the national convention two weeks ago and the national convention will have to determine which group will be admitted.

Lamont Rowlands, of Picayune, Miss., has been chosen temporary chairman of Monday's convention. Rowlands probably will be supported for national committeeman. He owns extensive lumber interests in Mississippi and California.

George L. Sheldon, of Pettis, Miss., will be permanent chairman.

Twelve delegates to the national convention at Kansas City and 10 presidential electors will be chosen by the convention. Delegates from at least 76 of the state's 82 counties are expected to attend.

The Howard faction did not instruct its delegates and the convention Monday also will choose an uninstructed delegation, it is understood, but Herbert Hoover is believed favored by both factions.

INNES LOST BY HOOVER

PARKMAN TAKES WALTER POSTER AS ALTERNATE DELEGATE TO NATL. REPUB. CONVENTION —HOOVER ISSUE DEFEATED INNES, SAYS REPUBLICAN LEADER

Charles H. Innes, defeated for delegate to the Republican convention Tuesday night issued the following statement:

Courier-Journal

"It is apparent that the public desire not alone to instruct their delegates, but also to have them definitely committed to the candidate they prefer. The district is for Hoover for President. Mr. Meins and I did not commit ourselves to Mr. Hoover. Our opponents did, and their election followed. I had hoped to have the honor of representing the district this year at the Republican National convention and am, of course, disappointed at the outcome.

Bristol Va.

York, S. C., Enquirer
Tuesday, April 10, 1928

"Negroes Crack Whip to G. O. P."

Under ~~the~~ above title the Columbia Record quotes H. E. C. Bryant, veteran Washington correspondent, as saying that negro politicians throughout the North are abusing the Republican leaders because, as they allege, the Republican chiefs are "trying to eliminate the black man from party counsels."

The Record goes on to comment as follows:

"Southern people who have had the negro politician with them now and then for many years would be pleased to hear some of the Northern, Western and Eastern Republicans tell of the trials they are having with the 'new voters from Dixie.' In almost every State north of the Mason-Dixon line negroes are running for delegates to the Republican national convention. Every year they are demanding more and more, and threatening to bolt the party if demands are denied."

"No need at all for the negro politicians to worry about that particularly, as Al Smith, candidate for the Democratic nomination for president, and actively supported by the Record and News and Courier and a few of the hangers on in this state, stands ready to welcome the negro vote not only in Harlem, the Black Belt of New York city, but elsewhere in the North, if reports of the doings of Al and his Tammany gang are correct. All the negroes will have to do to have a place in the picture is to swing over to Al and tell the Republicans to go hang.

COURANT
HARTFORD, CONN

MAY 9 1928

John S. Taylor Heads Negro Voters League

John S. Taylor was elected president of the Colored Republican Voters League at a special meeting Monday night. The other officers elected were: Vice-president, Green A. Lee; second vice-president, Clara Thomas; secretary, Anna B. Reese; assistant secretary, Mrs. M. Killer; treasurer, C. W. Custis; executive committee, James M. Patterson, Esau Thompson, Holden Hayes, Minnie Glover and John Kelley.

MISSISSIPPI LILY WHITES ARE DENIED INJUNCTION

High Court Dissolves the Lower Court's Ban on the Howard Group

NO JURISDICTION RULING

Holds Court Cannot Interfere With Political Party's Procedure

JACKSON, Miss., May 16.— Attempt of Lily White Republican to exclude colored representatives from the party were finally defeated Monday. The Perry Howard Republican faction won a victory in the supreme court against Ex-Governor Geo. L. Sheldon, when the high court reversed and remanded the injunction case from Forrest County in which the Howard faction was enjoined from holding their primary elections under a call from the Howard State Republican executive committee.

Judge Smith, delivering opinion of the court, division A sitting, reaffirmed the former decisions of the court, holding that the courts have no jurisdiction to interfere in procedure of political party machinery under the primary election laws, even though the rights of members of the party may be infringed.

Judge Smith quoted from a specially concurring opinion of Judge Whitfield in which he said the courts would defeat the very purpose of the law if they undertook to interfere with and hold up elections, the time for which would pass before the case could be finally adjudicated.

The Hoover Payroll.

Disclosures make it obvious that money is the root of much of the evil in Republican politics.

Revelations made before the Senate investigating committee Thursday will do the cause of Herbert Hoover no good in his contest for the presidential nomination.

It is possible, of course, that Hoover may be in the position of the innocent bystander, just as was former Gov. Lowden of Illinois in the campaign eight years ago. The governor, who aspired to be the nominee of his party in 1920, knew nothing of the huge sum of money being expended to further his cause, but he suffered because of it, nevertheless.

The Hoover payroll, according to the revelations made to the Senate committee, is almost equal to that made up in Lowden's behalf in 1920, and money is being poured into the southern states in an effort to secure the delivery, through negro political leaders, of delegates who will agree to support Hoover for the nomination.

The handful of Republicans in the solid south group of states can do nothing, of course, toward helping to elect the nominee, but they are an influence to be reckoned with in grabbing the nomination for this candidate or that.

The dispenser of federal patronage in any of the southern states is a powerful factor in corralling votes among those who vote the Republican ticket. If it were not for the jobs to be filled there would hardly be enough Republicans in the solid south states to maintain an organization. Therefore the pie distributor is the one to whom candidates turn when convention votes are needed.

No one familiar with Republican politics in the south will be surprised to learn that the Hoover campaign managers were looking to negro leaders to deliver the delegates of certain states in this section. In more than one locality south of the Ohio River do the white Republicans make obeisance to a negro political boss.

However, the seriousness of the situation, as regards Mr. Hoover's campaign, is not in the selection of those who are to deliver the delegates, but in the fact that a fund of such huge proportions has been raised for the purpose of paying for the delivery.

As said, Mr. Hoover may know nothing of what is transpiring or to what lengths his sponsors are going, but what has been brought to light regarding the Hoover payroll is not going to enhance the cause of the man it was intended to help.

HERALD

Summit - N.J.

MAY 11 1928

COLORED REPUBLICANS

The formation of a "Colored Republican Union" in this city is to be welcomed, as a means of arousing a numerous element of the population to a more active sense of civic duty. We believe in such organizations in politics, just as we believe in church organizations in religious life.

To carry the analogy further, we might wish that all Republicans, of whatever race, were united in a single club, just as it is to be wished that all Christians were united in a single church. But as the latter has never, since the time of Paul and Apollos, been practicable so the former may never be anything more than a pious aspiration. Nevertheless we may expect the same fellowship, harmony and co operation for a common end to prevail in the one case that are found in the other.

We shall be pleased to record from time to time the progress and the effective activities of the new organization.

State Repubs Go For Hoover

State Convention Opens This Morning

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., May 15.—(AP)—Alabama Republicans meeting in six district conventions today chose six delegates to the national Republican convention pledged to support Herbert Hoover for the presidential nomination. In addition the other Alabama districts in previous conventions instructed their delegates for the commerce secretary, giving him nine of Alabama's 15 votes.

In only one of the six districts today did the Republicans fail to give their support to Hoover, when the Tenth District named one uninstructed delegate.

District One, the only remaining district, will hold its convention and name its delegate tomorrow immediately preceding the state convention, in which four delegates at large will be named.

Of Alabama's 15 votes, one is selected from each of the ten districts excepting the Seventh, which chooses two.

O. D. Street, Republican national committeeman for Alabama, said tonight he was sure Alabama would send 14 votes to the convention pledged to support Hoover.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., May 15.—(AP)—With more than 300 state delegates expected to be in attendance, Republicans of Alabama will open their convention here tomorrow for the purpose of perfecting a new organization and to name four delegates at large to the national convention of the party in Kansas City.

Three of Alabama's 15 delegates to the national convention already have been selected with instructions to support the candidacy of Secretary of Commerce Hoover for the presidency and that of O. D. Street as national committeeman from the state.

Eight other delegates from congressional districts will be named tomorrow at meetings here and in Montgomery, Decatur and Jasper.

Delegates from the seventh and ninth districts were named Saturday. T. J. Kennamer, of Birmingham, will represent the ninth district and Charles B. Kennamer, of Guntersville and B. L. Noojin, of Gadsden, the seventh district.

Street some time ago expressed the belief that the entire Alabama delegation would support Hoover although there have been vague reports that efforts are to be made at the convention here in behalf of former Gov. Lowden, of Illinois.

Former Gov. W. L. Harding, of Iowa, will be the principal speaker here.

SECOND FAVORS HOOVER

The second district Republican convention in session in Montgomery Tuesday indorsed Herbert Hoover for president, selected Frank Barchard, Sr., of Foley as a delegate to the Kansas City convention pledged to him and endorsed the administration of National Committeeman O. D. Street and State Chairman J. S. Swan.

Maj. J. I. McKinney, of Montgomery was elected alternate to the Kansas City convention. Frank Simmons, of Evergreen, presided over the convention as chairman with J. P. Knabe, of Montgomery, as secretary. Both Mr. Simmons and Mr. Knabe were reelected.

Twelve delegates will represent the second district at the state Republican convention in Birmingham Tuesday and they are all pledged to Herbert Hoover for president, to O. D. Street for national committeeman and to J. S. Swan for state chairman.

NEGROES GET G.O.P. POSTS, WHITES QUIT IN MISSISSIPPI

Lily Whites Quit When Two Negroes Are Put on as Delegates of Anti-Howard Faction.

Miss., May 3.—Four
t large from Mississippi were selected to
convention of independent Re-
licans to represent Mississippi
the National Convention at Kansas
City and the Leflore County delegation withdrew from the meeting because two of the delegates were Negroes.

B. F. Dulweber, chairman of the Leflore County executive committee, announced withdrawal on the grounds that the delegates were led to believe that the leaders would all be white persons."

Two groups of delegates were slated to go to the convention representing this state, since the Republican State Committee, headed by Perry W. Howard, Negro, chairman of the committee, recently selected delegates. A contest over the seating of the two factions was in prospect.

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The delegates were instructed to vote for Lamont Rowlands, Picayune, as national committeeman, and Mrs. Lida Oldham, Oxford, as national committeewoman.

Both delegations will go uninstructed so far as presidential nominees are concerned.

The Howard group was instructed to vote for the re-election of Howard as national committeeman from Mississippi and the re-election of Mary C. Booze, Mounds Bayou, as national committeewoman.

The convention of the independent Republicans was the outgrowth of a movement started by the Republican Party council in Mississippi, seeking to re-establish the party under white leadership, but with both races represented among its membership.—Atlanta Constitution.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

National Negro Voters League to Hold Meet

Gary, Ind., July 25.—In Kansas City, Mo., on the 14th day of June, 1928, in the Elks Rest of the Improved, Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World, there gathered race men from many sections of the country to consider the general and political welfare of the Negroes of the United States. The reason for this meeting being that the following resolutions which were presented to the platform committee of the Republican National Convention with the request that these resolutions or the substance thereof be made a part of the platform of the Republican party. This request was refused.

Resolution.

Whereas, The provisions of the Constitution of the United States, viz, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, are being openly and flagrantly violated in this, to-wit: that the colored citizens of the United States are being deprived of life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness, and

Whereas, An anti-lynching bill has been repeatedly defeated, and

Whereas, There appears to be a disposition and concerted effort on the part of the Lily White element of the Republican party to eliminate the colored citizen by discrimination, intimidation and chicanery; and,

Whereas, There has been discrimination on account of race and color in the classified service under the rules and regulations of the Civil Service Laws in respect to appointments when positions have been won by competitive examination; and,

Whereas, Segregation and discrimination in governmental departments in Washington, D. C., are still being practiced, now therefore, it is

Resolved, That we, the undersigned committee, appointed at an open meeting of delegates to the Republican National Convention and citizens of the United States representing the colored voters and citizens of the United States, do hereby petition the Republican National Convention at Kansas City, Mo., to encouch the following plank in its platform:

First, to protect the colored citizens in all their rights, civil and political.

Second, for a strict enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, in letter and in spirit.

Be it further resolved, That the Republican party go on record as protecting all citizens alike in the strict enforcement of the civil service laws of the United States.

The Committee: Earnest G. Tigington, Ind.; Geo. W. Lee, Tenn.; Olando J. Smith, Minn.; Chas. P. Howard, Iowa; Mr. Lewis, Illinois; G. A. Gilmore, Texas; Bishop A. J. Carey, Ill.; Oscar De Priest, Ill.; C. H. Valloway, Mo.; Mrs. Grace Wilson Evans, Ind.; Dr. Redmon, Miss.; James M. Burr, Texas; P. R. Crutchfield, La.; J. Finley Wilson, D. C.; Fred Dabney, Mo.; W. C. Hueston, Ind.

The second cause of the meeting was the precedent established by the Republican party at this convention in what was known as "The Texas case." This case presented in brief the question of whether party managers had the right to call conventions to select delegates to the Republican National Convention in State Conventions as a whole, or to follow the previously established rule of selecting some by district and some at large. It being made clear that to establish the rule of selecting all in State Conventions bars the Negroes in the Southern States from participation in these party matters and certainly prevents him from becoming delegates to party national conventions.

In the establishing of this race destroying precedent, many of the Negro delegates following factional leadership voted in the affirmative to the dismay of those who stand for race equality, by party and before the law. After due consideration, it was decided at the above meeting to form an organization to be known as the National Negro Voters League.

That said league should justify its existence as follows:

1. To have for its purpose the full enfranchisement of the American Negro.

2. To ascertain where the Negro stands in the Republican party.

3. To play with pitiless publicity upon those of our race who vote in political conventions and elsewhere against the race interests and then seek prominance and priority as the price therefor.

The meeting organized and elected temporary officers, and instructed said officers to issue a call for a meeting to be held in the City of Chicago, Illinois, for permanent organization and to agree upon and announce ways and means to carry out the purpose of the league.

Pursuant to this order a meeting of National Negro Voter's League is called to meet in the City of Chicago, Ill., on the 24th day of August, 1928, at 10 a. m., at Wendell Phillips High School. Said meeting to be composed of all those who were members of the temporary organization and those who come with a certificate of election from any church, political or socia club, lodge, subordinate or Grand, o who may be placed upon the temporary roll by the temporary officers.

Elected delegates are to send a copy of credentials to W. C. Hueston, chairman of executive committee, 1901 Broadway, Gary, Ind.

National Negro Voters League.

J. Finley Wilson, President, Washington, D. C.; Chas. P. Howard, Secretary, Des Moines, Ia.; W. C. Hueston, Chairman of Ex. Comm., Gary, Ind.

CHOICE OF G O P CAMPAIGN HEAD HAS BEEN MADE

No Definite Announcement Until Secretary Work Approves

HAWKINS SLATED TO HEAD COMMITTEE

Phillips, Simmons, Barnett, Holsey In Organization With Vann

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Compromise Personnel of Hoover Republican Campaign Committee:—

John R. Hawkins, Emmet J. Scott, Judge James A. Cobb, Albon Holsey and Claude Barnett Conferred with Walter F. Brown, white, Wednesday.

Their personnel as agreed on is John R. Hawkins to be chairman of executive committee having supervisory complete end of colored campaign. Albon Holsey, Ala., secretary; Wm. H. Lewis, Mass.; Louis B. Anderson, Ill.; Mrs. A. W. Hunton, N. Y.; Mrs. Myrtle Cook, Wr. Emmett J. Scott, D. C., J. D. Nail, N. Y.; and R. R. Church, Tenn., and other members.

Field Organizers

Homer Phillips, St. Louis is field organizer of the West with Chicago Headquarters.

Ernest Atwell, Phila., is Eastern organizer, working out of D. C. office.

Speakers Bureau

Roscoe Smimons, Chicago, heads speakers' bureau with Chicago office.

Claude Barnett, Chicago, is contact man working out of D. C.

Advisory Committee

There will be an advisory committee of fifty.

On Paid Status

Report is that Holsey and Barnett have been on paid status for several months before the Kansas City convention making a survey of the voting states.

They returned to D. C. and submitted a memoranda containing plans and personnel for conducting the campaign, declaring it based on sentiment prevailing in states visited by them.

This program was takin into account and names suggested will be added to complete personnel which Moton and Scott factions have agreed on.

Robert Vann, Pittsburgh is to handle publicity committee.

Karl Phillips and Charles Hall are on the general committee.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A definite announcement of the scheme of organization for the handling of the Hoover campaign among colored voters is expected this week from Chairman Hubert Work of the Republican national committee.

Tentative Draft

It was learned that a tentative draft of plans and personnel is in the hands of Walter F. Brown, white, assistant Secretary of Commerce, who was one of the Hoover chieftains in the preconvention fight. Mr. Brown is to have general supervision of the work among colored voters, it is said. Horace Mann white, who is functioning in the Munsey building as the director of campaign activities in certain southern states, has been relieved of the duty of supervising the colored work.

As a coincidence, with the selection of Brown to supervise the colored work, Clarence R. Vena, of Toledo, Ohio, his colored political ally arrived here. Mr. Vena first came up on the political scene here when Mr. Brown was appointed an assistant Secretary to help direct the Hoover fight for the nomination.

REPUBLICAN NAT. COMM. PLAYING UP TO K. K. K.

Propaganda on Racial and Religious Prejudice Sent From Mann's Office

The Republican party is conducting a campaign of bigotry in the South, notwithstanding the high-sounding declaration of Chairman Hubert Work of the Republican national committee when he assumed command that the Hoover campaign would be pitched on a high plane. It is playing with the Ku Klux Klan.

This discovery was made by two correspondents for daily newspapers when they visited the offices of Horace A. Mann in the Munsey building. Mr. Mann is seeking to lure disgrunted southern Democrats to the support of Mr. Hoover.

Publicity for southern newspapers appealing to racial and religious prejudices is being prepared in the offices of Mr. Mann, it is reported. This matter is distributed to the smaller newspapers in the South by the Fellowship Forum, a Klan organ.

Playing for White South

There is nothing to show that the matrices, plates, cuts and publicity in other forms being distributed by the Fellowship Forum to small southern newspapers

comes from the Republican national committee. But Mr. Mann is working for the committee and the preparation of this matter in his office under his direction is conclusive proof that it has the sanction of the Republican committee.

The distribution of this propaganda by the Klan organ is a part of the scheme to break the "Solid South." The Hoover campaign management has been led to believe that there is a possibility of Republican success in Virginia, North Carolina and Florida.

To Eliminate Negro

The condition upon which this could be accomplished, however, was stated to be the elimination of the Negro from leadership in the party in southern states. Walter L. Cohen, Republican leader in Louisiana for a quarter of a century, was deposed at the Kansas City convention. This was the first move to make the party in the South "lily white."

Following swiftly upon the adjournment of the Kansas City convention, Perry W. Howard, Republican natinoal committeeman for Mississippi, was indicted for alleged trafficking in Federal offices in his state. The Republican convention had already refused to confirm the selection of either Benjamin Jefferson Davis or Joseph H. Watson, both colored men, as national committeemen for Georgia.

The party having been stripped of its Negro leadership, the next move was the call of C. Bascom Slemp, one of the leaders of the lily white" movement, to headquarters for work in southern states.

Memphis, Tenn., Commercial-Appeal
Monday, July 23, 1928

Slemp Ought to Be Safe.

Our Washington correspondent, R. M. Gates, says it seems to be the opinion around Washington that C. Bascom Slemp, former secretary to President Coolidge, should function with finesse as an advisory director of the Republican fight to capture some of the southern states in November. Slemp functioned very effectively in lining up the negro delegates at the 1924 Republican convention. He had a large hand then in the distribution of patronage, and he held a whip even over the negro bosses who have been for some years now collecting money from white men and women who wanted to get and to hold federal jobs.

Some few years ago ugly charges were made against Slemp himself in connection with his patronage distribution, charges of a nature similar to those that have been brought out in Georgia, Mississippi and Tennessee. But this was before the passage of the law under which the indictments have been returned in Mississippi. So, obviously, Slemp is safe even if the allegations made against him for some years ago were true. The present law is not retroactive and previous laws may be barred by the statute of limitations.

Slemp has had plenty of experience in lining up negro delegations and this experience should serve him admirably in fighting for a political party that has maintained negro political supremacy in the southern states ever since it was returned to power almost eight years ago.

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.

JUL 26 1928

Republicanizing The South.

The Minneapolis *Journal*, a Republican newspaper, is among the Hoover organs which are trying to merge the South into the negro column, so far as effect is concerned, but leaving the negro out of the picture in wording, in order, of course to make the pill acceptable.

The drive in Texas is illustrative. Texas is both a Western State and a Southern State. It has, as a matter of fact experienced considerable infiltration of Northern men and capital, and the scheme they are trying to capitalize upon this year is led by former Governor O. B. Colquitt, who has not only bolted the Democratic party but is trying to lead the anti-Democratic parade.

He proposes to substitute anti-Democratic electors for straight out Republican electors, thus giving opportunity for the Democratic poison squad to knife Governor Smith and the Democratic party, and yet remain in the Democratic party. This is the scheme generally endorsed in the North and openly advocated by Southern Democrats who favor Hoover.

From a moral standpoint, any Democrat who would betray the Democratic party while that party is on the firing line is exactly in the same boat as the soldier who goes over and volunteers to fight with the enemy on the battle field. We have faith in Texans sufficient to convince us at this time at least that they will not participate in this sort of shady deal to any alarming extent.

Lovett Supporters Very Active

Malone Still Holds Lead

CITIZENS LEAGUE MEETS AT FRANKFORT

The Citizens League Met at Frankfort, Ky., July 19 and Passed the Following Resolutions. Read Them.

Be it resolved by the Citizens' League assembled in convention in Frankfort, Ky., this the 19th day of July, 1928:

FIRST: That we indorse the Hon. Herbert Hoover and Hon. Charles Curtis for president and vice president of the United States, and that we heartily endorse the splendid services rendered by our delegates in bringing about their selection at the Republican National Convention in Kansas City, Mo.

SECOND: That we view with mingled pride and gratification the services rendered by Dr. W. T. Merchant, delegate-at-large from our racial group from Kentucky, and that we feel that no mistake was made by the state in their selection.

We further feel proud of the splendid work accomplished by Dr. S. H. George, delegate from the 2nd Congressional District and also, that of Hon. I. Willis Cole, of Louisville, who served so acceptably as alternate from the State-at-large

THIRD: That we believe that it is not only possible, but probable that the electoral vote will be cast for Mr. Hoover for President. We pledge ourselves to do our utmost to accomplish this end.

FOURTH: That we feel assured of the necessity of a thorough organization of Colored Republican of Kentucky in order that the state may be placed reliably in the Republican column. However, we feel there are certain matters which if properly adjusted, will contribute largely to our success. We refer to the necessity of a colored organization manned and controlled by colored officials and charged with the responsibility of managing the campaign not only as to organization, speakers and publicity, but also to control its finances.

We further wish to call attention to the fact that the colored organization will be somewhat embarrassed at its inception unless settlement is made of some outstanding debts of the late gubernatorial campaign. Through an oversight on the part of the State Campaign Committee, these obligations were not settled, thereby, creating dissatisfaction in some quarters, which if not adjusted, might give couse for apathy. We have been assured by proper authority that these matters will be attended to and we feel that they will.

We feel that a colored organization is in better position to control affairs among our racial group than a white organization. And we hereby earnestly request and insist that the entire management of our campaign this year shall be so placed.

In view of the fact that Kentucky is now placed in the doubtful column we feel there is a real necessity that every vote be gotten to the polls. While it is true that 125,000 of our racial group go to the polls and vote the Republican ticket ,there are possibly an excess of 25,000 who do not go to the polls ,and we hope to have an organization to arouse these votes. We feel that if our advice is

Despite the intense heat with the subsequent temptations to accord as much as possible work of any kind, the interest in the Board of Education race is still unabated. Persons favoring Mr. Malone. Mr. Lovett and Mr. Frank are still hustling for these candidates. Other candi- who were named without their knowledge continue to receive votes, but their sponsors have not shown the enthusiasm of the three leaders' workers. These latter are getting for the men they favor.

This week, persons who favor Mr. Wilson Lovett as the Colored candidate, got busy and are making a dead heat of the race. Mr. Malone still leads, but his main supporter slacked up this week. Mr. Frank wants to retire, as his letter elsewhere shows. But his friends say they will prevail on him to remain in the race. The vote this week stands:

E. C. Malone, 586
Wilson Lovett, 497
John Frank, 301
J. Everett Harris, 191
Dr. M. A. Blackburn, 178
Lee L. Brown ,103
Mrs. Nellie Frye, 115
A. L. Garvin, 100
Len Haley, 99
Herley Pope, 75
Dr. A. C. McIntyre, 70
J. Bridgeford Sims, 83
Mrs. Nora K. Bell, 65.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

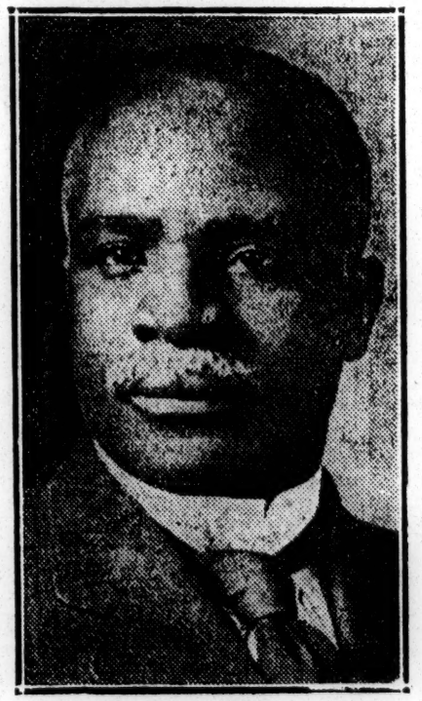
The Negro at Kansas City

By KELLY MILLER

THERE were fifty Negro delegates and alternates at the recent Republican Convention. A goodly proportion came from Northern districts. Their interests were mainly segregated and racial. The dominant issues of prohibition and farm relief did not arouse their emotions, nor stir their enthusiasm. After the manner of the Southern plan, the Negro representatives were shut in by domiciliary segregation.

The Negro delegates did not seem to figure in any effective way in the general procedure of the convention. In the main, they were lined up on the winning side—long in advance! The Afro-American has an instinct for picking the winner and getting on the bandwagon. The chief concern of the Negro political leaders was to secure the insertion of a plank insisting upon the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. They were not even able to have these amendments bracketed with the Eighteenth, whose enforcement was especially stressed as a party policy. But, true to the verbal traditions of the party, some slight reference had to be made to the Negro and his claims. The insertion of the splinter of a plank on lynching was only a complimentary gesture. It serves to remind the race that the Grand Old Party has not altogether forgotten the black ally.

A Negro delegate was assigned to make one of the four or five-minute addresses, seconding the nomination of Secretary Hoover. This he did creditably. I believe that this is the only instance where a Negro functioned conspicuously in the proceedings. The race undoubtedly impressed less



— Kelly Miller —

influence upon the Kansas City Convention than upon any like session since enfranchisement.

We can hardly believe that in 1884 John R. Lynch was chosen temporary chairman. As late as 1912 the late Henry Lincoln Johnson held the fate of the convention in the hollow of his hand. It was the emphatic and unswerving attitude of this bold black leader that determined the issue between Roosevelt and Taft, which put the Grand Old Party out of luck for the ensuing eight years.

But there is a darker semblance yet. The Negro was all but eliminated as a dominant force in any of the States. Walter Cohen, the little pelican war horse, was dethroned in favor of white leadership. He was personally allowed to retain his seat as a delegate merely to save the regnant party from throwing out a leading Negro without courtesy or consideration. Ben Davis lost the committeemanship in Georgia. Perry Howard alone survives, but even his temporary success has no assurance of permanency. The fact remains that throughout the South the lily whites are in the ascendancy.

The race owes President Harding an unrecognized political debt of gratitude. All had once before been lost to the Negro. When Judson Lyon was thrown off the national committee by Lincoln Johnson there was not a single Negro representative left in that august body. Lincoln Johnson fought his way to chieftainship. But when President Harding seized the reins of power, he decided to turn over to Negro control the States of Mississippi and Louisiana.

The national committeeship in Louisiana belonged to Cohen who, by abnegation, gave it to the very white man who has brought about his unhorsing. Such is political gratitude; but the outstanding fact remains, the Negro has been practically eliminated from trusteeship of the Grand Old Party.

There is little likelihood that this power will be restored. The great Republican Party is a practical body and, excepting the Roman Catholic Church, it is the most efficient organization on earth. It has no sentiment that will stand in the way of efficiency. It desires to build up a functioning Republican party in every State of the Union. Nowhere has this yet been accomplished under Negro leadership, certainly not since the days of Wright Cuney of Texas.

Negro leaders, for the most part, seem satisfied to traffic in delegates rather than build up strong local organizations which will induce every Republican to vote in local as well as national elections, even under restrictions by revised constitutions. In politics, as elsewhere, it is a case of the survival of the fittest.

Now we face the coming campaign with eyes wide open. There must be devised an entirely new set of reasons and arguments for racial support of Hoover and the Grand Old Party. Appeals to Lincoln and Sumner and Grant will not sway Negro votes as it did aforetime. Extravagant prophecy of what the new administration is going to do for the Negro has been done to death in previous campaigns, with sad disillusionment.

There are sufficient sound reasons and good-sense why the Negro should, in this campaign, prefer the Republican to the Democratic party, why Hoover should be chosen rather than Smith. But the Negro spellbinder must learn new speech. The one which he has used for the past forty years has lost its spell and potency.

"Gooseneck" McDonald Retires From Politics

Fort Worth, Texas, June 22.—William M. "Gooseneck" McDonald, veteran politician, on his return from the national Republican convention at Kansas City, Mo., stated that the granting of power in the South to lily-white factions of the Republican party has caused him to forsake politics. He will in the future devote his entire time to his business interests. Mr. McDonald fought bitterly against the seating of the Texas lily-whites and caused a furor when he appeared before the seating committee and denounced delegates from his state and the South who were seizing power without authority and rights.

"They have turned me down. I am going home and stay there and let the Republican party alone. The actions of the executive committee and the credentials committee show me conclusively that they do not want Simon-pure Republicans in the party. They have resigned themselves to a new custom of wanting only a patronage machine in the southern states," said Mr. McDonald.

FAIR PLAY

By Reporter.

We have read with regret the terrible predicament that Georgia G. O. P. was left in at the Kansas City convention, simply because the delegates elected by the people at home would not carry out the will of the people that elected them. Now, a word to the delegates that caused this disgraceful state of affairs. Why, you did not express yourselves in the state convention? You say Ben Davis has gobbled up all the jobs in the organization. Why did you not take him to task at home and not wait till you got to the national convention to kill him as national committeeman, and also, by your double dealing, cause your colored brother to lose out in politics for years to come. No, you sat down in the state convention and indorsed Davis with the rest of the delegates with a knife up your sleeve to kill him, also stifle the will of the people at the national convention.

Well, "Mr. Delegate to the National Convention," you have succeeded well in your unfair fight to unhorse Davis and, incidentally, while you were unhorsing Davis you unhorsed the Negro in politics in Georgia.

We call it an unfair fight because you knew well that as soon as you started a fight on Davis you would have the aid of the lily white, the Democrats and the Democratic press to aid you. You knew Davis would be a thousand miles away from his friends and you would be nurtured and succored by the lily whites from all over the country. You did not care about the consequences. If the public will read the names of the men they will see that the ones that betrayed Davis are the ones that have lived off their earnings, and have been made rich in their lifetimes by holding office in secret orders. What care they about consequences? They are living comfortably, so why worry?

We do not blame any man for aspiring, but we do not believe in a man resorting to dirty tricks and betraying an innocent people into the hands of a hostile enemy

Georgia Negro Repub Among Leaders Called In Office Sale Probe

ATLANTA, GA., June 29.—(AP)—Subpoenas were issued here today summoning Roscoe Pickett, chairman; John W. Martin, treasurer, and Ben J. Davis, negro secretary of the Georgia Republican State Executive Committee, to appear July 9 at 10 a.m. before the senate committee appointed to investigate alleged sale of postmasterships in the South.

The hearing will be held in Atlanta. The witnesses were ordered to bring committee records showing to whom, when monies were received and listing expenditures.

A senate resolution ordering the investigation was passed at the recent session of Congress following the suicide of a Democratic postmaster at Douglas, Ga., who left notes declaring that large "contributions" had been leved on him by the Republican state organization in return for the office. This charge was denied by the Republican state committee.

The investigating committee is composed of Senators Brookhart, Iowa; Lochner, Ohio, and Oddie, Nevada.

MOTON TO HEAD G. O. P. LEADERS

May Direct Personnel Of Campaign Among Race

GOES TO CAPITAL

Special to Journal and Guide

Washington, D. C., June 28—Robert Russa Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, successor of the late Booker T. Washington, looms as the probable dictator of personnel to direct the Republican campaign among colored voters. He arrived here Tuesday night for conferences with party leaders. His aid, Albon L. Holsey, has been here since last Saturday.

Dr. Moton became associated with Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, the Republican nominee for President, in connection with the Mississippi flood relief work. He served as chairman of the colored advisory committee which assisted Secretary Hoover.

Special to Journal and Guide

Washington, D. C., June 28—The scene of intense Republican political activity shifted back here from Kansas City immediately following the close of the Republican national convention June 15.

Numerous Conferences

The meeting of the special committee of the Republican national committee with Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover and Senator Charles Curtis, the Republican nominees for President and Vice President, last Thursday, afforded the opportunity for numerous conferences between the party leaders and Republicans from different sections of the country.

Georgians here for the meeting were Benjamin Jefferson Davis of Atlanta, Joseph H. Watson of Albany, and Dr. W. H. Harris of Georgia. They hoped to get the special committee to act on the contest between Mr. Davis and Mr. Watson for the place on the national committee for Georgia. The committee however, took no action.

Mrs. George S .Williams of Savannah was also here. She is the national committeewoman and got the assurance from Dr. Hubert Work the new chairman, that she would act in all Georgia matters until a national committeeman was chosen.

Perry W. Howard, the Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, broke a motor trip from Kansas City in order to be here for the meeting. He came from Chicago by train.

Others Here

Others who were here last week included N. K. McGill, of Chicago, and his brother S. D. McGill, of Jacksonville, Fla., who was elected on the Bean faction which was not seated; Roscoe C. Simmons of Chicago, Albon L. Holsey of Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and Claude A. Barnett, of Chicago.

The meeting of the special committee and the selection of an executive committee of the national committee were mere incidents. What colored Republicans are interested in mostly at this time is the selection of one of them to handle the colored end of the campaign.

Struggle For Post

The struggle for this post is desperate. There are three distinct groups fighting to control the selection. One is headed by Robert Russa Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, successor of the late Booker T. Washington. He is represented here by Mr. Holsey and Mr. Barnett. This group would have Homer G. Phillips, an attorney of St. Lous, Mo., to manage the colored end of the campaign. Mr. Holsey and Mr. Barnett conferred with Dr. Work's secretray last Monday.

The second group is headed by Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer of Howard University. He is proposing John R. Hawkins, president of the Prudential Bank, who seconded the nomination of Mr. Hoover in Kansas City, to head the colored end of the campaign. Mr. Hawkins has conferred with Dr. Work, outlining the policy he would follow if he should be selected.

Third Group

The third group is led by Mr. Howard. He denies that he is seeking the post for himself. He says that by virtue of being a member of the national committee, he is a member of the campaign committee, the national committee having charge of the entire campaign.

Mr. Howard says that he favors a program that would include prominent party workers in every section. Besides those who would be in charge of eastern and western headquarters, he would have an advisory committee and would make use of the services of such men, he states, as Robert R. Church of Memphis, Robert L. Vann, of Pittsburgh, William H. Lewis of Boston, Dr. Scott, Mr. Hawkins, Robert S. Abbott of Chicago, S. D. McGill of Jacksonville, Charles H. Calloway of Kansas City, Charles E. Mitchell of Institute, W. Va., Fred R. Moore and George W. Harris of New York, Thomas W. Fleming of Cleveland, Dr. J. H. P. Westbrook of Denver, W. T. Andrews of Baltimore, Phil Dabney of Cincinnati, Rev. Cassius Ward of Boston. Oliver Randolph of Newark Dr. W. G. Alexander of Orange, N. J., Oscar DePriest of Chicago, J. Finley Wilson, Charles H. Vena of Toledo, and others.

There is one man mentioned in connection with the work who is not seeking a job. He is Mr. Church. It is believed that he would accept if it were offered him by Dr. Work. At a conference held here in December when the national committee was in session for the purpose of selecting someone for this work, Mr. Church was agreed upon. At that time he declined, his reason being that those who offered him the place were not in position to give it.

Mr. Church is in Memphis. He has not been here since the Republican national convention.

THREE LEADERS BATTLE FOR G. O. P. RULE

Dr. Emmet Scott, Perry Howard, Dr. R. R. Moton Would Direct Campaign

HOOVER TO SELECT POLITICAL LEADER

Church Of Tennessee Might Accept Post If Offered Him

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Atlanta, Ga., Courier
Saturday, June 14, 1928

50 Negro Delegates Are Taking Part In Republican Meeting

Eleven Negro Alternates Also On Hand—They Come From Both North And South.

Fifty negro delegates and 10 alternates have seats at the Republican National Convention which is in session at Kansas City this week. This is a record. In previous years the Republicans in the South sent the most negroes to the National convention, but never before have so many States north of the Mason and Dixon line been represented by colored delegates. The migration of 700,000 negroes to the north, east and west after the world war has given Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio and New Jersey a large colored voting population.

The number of negroes by states is: Arkansas, 3; Georgia, 11; Illinois, 2; Kentucky, 2; Louisiana, 5; Maryland, 3; Michigan, 1; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 3; New Jersey, 1; Ohio, 1; Oklahoma, 1; South Carolina, 6; Tennessee, 1; and West Virginia, 2—Total, 50.

Alternates: Iowa, 1; Maryland, 3; Massachusetts, 1; Michigan, 1; New York, 2; and Pennsylvania, 2—Total, 10.

A majority of the negro delegates are for Secretary Hoover, but a stubborn minority is holding out for Lowden.

NEW YORK HERALD

JUL 28 1928

Georgia Negro Republican Claims Victory Over Foes

Davis, Ousted National Committeeman, Prints Story of Triumph

ATLANTA, July 27 (AP).—Ben J. Davis, Negro, ousted Republican national committeeman from Georgia, declares he has succeeded in removing his opponents from the state central committee.

"The Atlanta Independent," a Negro weekly newspaper edited by Davis, carried a story that Roscoe Pickett, of Jasper, Ga., had been displaced as chairman of the central committee, and G. F. Flanders, of Swainsboro, named to succeed him.

Seven other members of the central committee also were said to have been ousted and new members chosen to fill their places. The action was said to have taken place at a meeting last Monday, which was enjoined by Davis opponents from choosing Presidential electors.

Pickett fought the renomination of Davis at the Kansas City convention and Joe Watson, Albany Negro, one of those said to have been ousted from the committee, was Davis's rival. Pickett announced that Watson had been elected, but a Davis lieutenant challenged the vote and the convention finally referred the matter to the national committee. No announcement of a decision has been made.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

'BLACK AND TANS' MAY HOLD HOOVER'S FATE

Fight to Death Looms Over Southern Delegates.

LOWDEN THORN IN SIDE

Opening Battle for Seating Will Begin June 4, When the National Committee Will Meet—Contests Will Be Numerous.

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING,
The Commercial Appeal-Chicago Tribune Leased Wire.

WASHINGTON, May 18. — The Republican drama at Kansas City is to open with a spectacular struggle between Hoover and Lowden over possession of more than 80 delegates from southern states, where the Republican party exists on paper only.

Chairman William M. Butler called the Republican national committee today to meet at Kansas City June 4 to begin hearing contests of rival sets of delegates for seats in the temporary organization of the convention. The committee will decide the contests for the temporary roll of the convention. Then the credentials committee of the convention will hear and decide the contests all over again for the permanent role.

Settlement of these contests may determine the nomination as it did in 1912, when the national committee seated enough Taft delegates to control the temporary organization and the credentials committee upheld the decisions and thereby enabled the Taft delegates to control the permanent organization and renominate Taft over Roosevelt. There will be more delegate contests at Kansas City than in any convention since 1912.

Lily Whites Bob Up.

If Hoover should win all or nearly all the contests he would have close to a majority for the nomination. If Lowden should gain most of the disputed seats Lowden stock would go up tremendously and Hoover would suffer a setback.

Once more there will be aired as the prelude to the deliberations of a Republican national convention the clashes between the "lily white" and "black and tan" factions of the Republican party in the south. The lily whites are predominantly white, the black and tans predominantly black.

From Florida will come contests over the four delegates at large and over some of the district delegates. The principal scrap is over the manner of the selection of the delegates at large. There were two state conventions held, each claiming to be regular. The Hoover forces held one convention, which refused to recognize the leadership of George Bean, the national committeeman for Florida, because he would not line up for Hoover. This convention was directed from a neighboring hotel by Rush Holland, chief dispenser of Hoover money in the south. Bean, finding himself excluded from control, led his followers across the street and held another convention, which selected uninstructed delegates at large. The Hoover convention named Hoover delegates.

There are several contests in Georgia, the four delegates-at-large from which were instructed for Coolidge first and Hoover second. In Mississippi the zlack and tans, headed by Ferry Howard, negro national committeeman, are in conflict with the lily whites, led by former Gov. Sheldon of Nebraska and former Postmaster Charles U. Gordon of Chicago.

Howard "Double Crosser?"

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Republican.

Springfield, Ga., Herald
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Wurzbach, If Successful, Will Be Most Powerful Republican From Southern States.

(By Houston Chronicle Staff Correspondent)

Washington, D. C.—Much interest was shown here in the Texas Republican contest which will be heard in Kansas City next week.

With Representative Harry M. Wurzbach of Texas, only Republican congressman from any of the old Confederate states, pitted against National Committeeman R. B. Creager, who has enjoyed prominence since the advent of the Harding administration, it was believed the contest will be hard fought.

If Wurzbach is successful it will make him the most powerful Republican figure from the cotton states. If Creager is successful some observers believe that he has a chance to be in the next cabinet.

Creager occupies the strongest position held by any national committeeman in recent years, with exception of the late Cecil Lyons of Sherman, and if Creager should be unhorsed at Kansas City his career will be strangely like that if Lyons, the bosom friend of Theodore Roosevelt.

Lyons, in 1912, place his reliance on a state convention, at which he elected a solid delegation of 40 to the Chicago convention. The late Joseph B. Kealing of Indiana held that the state convention system employed by Lyons was irregular. He went to Texas and had conventions held in each of the 16 congressional districts then in the state.

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MacGregor, however, won and retained control until his death. He was succeeded by Mr. Creager, a MacGregor lieutenant.

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Position Does Not Affect Suit in Recent Election.

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Traditionally the Negro has been a Republican ever since he received the franchise. However, the Republican party has become as distinctly "Lily White" as the Democratic party and the Negroes here have come to the realization that they have nothing to gain from blind allegiance to either.

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The decision of the Negroes to vote for Smith has nothing to do with the mayoralty primary. The Negroes, according to some of their leaders, are of the opinion that the same organized forces opposing Smith are their foes, too. By voting for Smith they are fighting a common enemy, it is said.

Resentment of the Negroes against the Democratic party's action in the April primary cannot find expression at the polls unless an independent candidate offers against Mayor J. Fulmer Bright in the general election. It is not thought likely, however, tha the Negroes even then would go to the polls in any great numbers. Their 5,000 potential votes might play havoc, however, if organized for the purpose of scratching the Democratic ominee.

Just about half the quota for Richmond was elected at the primary in April. The Democratic State Central Committee prior to the election, passed a resolution that the delegates elected at the primary could fill the quota. The party plan specifies that the two camps together, but the way has not been smoothed as yet.

The delegates elected in April feel that they have authority to name their colleagues. The City Democratic Committee is of the opinion that the selection of the additional delegates is its job. Unless they get together, Richmond will send a contested delegation to Roanoke.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

'BLACK AND TANS' MAY HOLD HOOVER'S FATE

Fight to Death Looms Over Southern Delegates.

LOWDEN THORN IN SIDE

Opening Battle for Seating Will Begin June 4, When the National Committee Will Meet—Contests Will Be Numerous.

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING.
The Commercial Appeal-Chicago Tribune Leased Wire.

WASHINGTON, May 18. — The Republican drama at Kansas City is to open with a spectacular struggle between Hoover and Lowden over possession of more than 80 delegates from southern states, where the Republican party exists on paper only.

Chairman William M. Butler called the Republican national committee today to meet at Kansas City June 4 to begin hearing contests of rival sets of delegates for seats in the temporary organization of the convention. The committee will decide the contests for the temporary roll of the convention. Then the credentials committee of the convention will hear and decide the contests all over again for the permanent role.

Settlement of these contests may determine the nomination as it did in 1912, when the national committee seated enough Taft delegates to control the temporary organization and the credentials committee upheld the decisions and thereby enabled the Taft delegates to control the permanent organization and renominate Taft over Roosevelt. There will be more delegate contests at Kansas City than in any convention since 1912.

Lily Whites Bob Up.

If Hoover should win all or nearly all the contests he would have close to a majority for the nomination. If Lowden should gain most of the disputed seats Lowden stock would go up tremendously and Hoover would suffer a setback.

Once more there will be aired as the prelude to the deliberations of a Republican national convention the clashes between the "lily white" and "black and tan" factions of the Republican party in the south. The lily whites are predominantly white, the black and tans predominantly black.

From Florida will come contests over the four delegates at large and over some of the district delegates. The principal scrap is over the manner of the selection of the delegates at large. There were two state conventions held, each claiming to be regular. The Hoover forces held one convention, which refused to recognize the leadership of George Bean, the national committeeman for Florida, because he would not line up for Hoover. This convention was directed from a neighboring hotel by Rush Holland, chief dispenser of Hoover money in the south. Bean, finding himself excluded from control, led his followers across the street and held another convention, which selected uninstructed delegates at large. The Hoover convention named Hoover delegates.

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Texas Solon's Bloc Is Given Hearing

Republican National Convention Will Accord Both Blocs In State Equal Status; Victory For Congressman.

Washington, D. C.—The Republican National Convention has given formal notice that it will hear the Texas contest involving four delegates-at-large and 18 congressional districts, or 26 seats in all.

The manner of the hearing was regarded as a victory for the Wurzbach following in that it agreed to take the cases up at large separately and to hear the districts one by one instead of hearing the case involving the entire 26 en bloc.

The Wurzbach faction elected by districts, and at large only in state convention, whereas he Creager faction elected the entire 26 in state convention.

A similar proceeding was followed in 1912 when the national convention heard the contests by districts and unseated the Cecil A. Lyons faction, all of whom were elected in state convention. So far as the printed statement given out is concerned, neither side is recognized as contestant or contestee, but the statement indicated that for the purposes of the hearing they are regarded as on equal footing.

Hearing of contests from Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, three from Tennessee, Texas and Porto Rico are to begin next Monday. Texas probably will be reached Wednesday or Thursday of next week or later, as the states are taken in alphabetical order.

Can Southern Voters Line Up With Hoover's Negro Leaders?

(From Houston (Tex.) Post-Dispatch)

The adage that "politics makes strange fellows" is well illustrated in the case of a few southern democrats who are serving notice they will support Commerce Secretary Herbert Hoover in the event Governor Al Smith is nominated by the democratic party.

For Mr. Hoover, personally and through his campaign managers, is catering assiduously to negro G. O. P. wardheelers and patronage dispensers throughout the south.

Only a short while ago, moved by the hope of winning states where the colored republican vote is heavy, Mr. Hoover abolished the segregation arrangements prevailing in the Washington offices of the department of commerce and threw the negroes indiscriminately among white workers, most of the latter being girls. Southern protests against the Hoover order abolishing segregation have been made in vain.

Among the campaign disbursements listed by Rush Holland, one of Hoover's organizers in the south, the heaviest handouts seem to have been made to negro bosses whose activities have been under fire in connection with patronage abuses.

In various other ways Hoover and Hoover campaign organization have shown a tender solicitude toward the colored vote. It is doubtful if any other republican presidential candidate of recent times has gone quite so far to emphasize views of social as well as political equality between to colored and white races. This yearning to pelase the negro appears to be newly-born in Mr. Hoover's mind. The fact that it is politically inspired does not make it less conspicuous.

Southern democrats who prefer to forget the color line rather than to support Al Smith in case he is nominated will have the privilege of contributing a Hoover campaign fund for negro bosses of the Perry Howard type to spend.

By dropping into the department of commerce offices at Washington, D. C., they can see the Hoover ideal of social equality at work. In the campaign they can glad-hand various negro national committeemen and other prominent colored members of the Hoover army. They can make an honest effort to deliver the southern states over to G. O. P. rule, which in nearly every instance is on a black-and-tan basis.

By his own official action, taken at the express demand of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, Mr. Hoover has said that he believes in the breaking down of segregation rules which protect the colored as well as the white race.

By his action through authorized agents, Mr. Hoover has made it plain that he will go any length to secure the southern negro vote. Naturally, he will be constrained to deliver in patronage what he receives in support.

If Governor Smith and Mr. Hoover are nominated by the respective parties, some of the strangest partnerships ever witnessed in the south will be formed. Southern democrats, with the nightmare of reconstruction only one generation behind them, going over in at least an occasional instance to a republican candidate who prefers to obey orders from the Harlem Black Belt rather than to heed the protests of the south against the mingling of negro and white workers, elbow to elbow. Southern democrats working side by side in the south with negroes of the Perry Howard brand.

Truly, politics makes strange bedfellows.

Hoover Gains Strength With New Delegates

Butler, National Committee Chairman, Perplexes Secretary's Friends

Strategy Suggested

May Be Move To 'Draft Coolidge' Is Belief

KANSAS CITY, June 5.—(AP)—Seeking to assess the exact strength of Herbert Hoover in his quest for the Republican presidential nomination, those who will do the voting next week cast about tonight amid considerable perplexity in an effort to find out where William M. Butler stands.

The way in which he has expressed himself in the balloting on contested delegates has caused a great deal of discussion, and delegates already on the ground are watching the political weather vanes closely to see if forthcoming developments will give the secret away.

More than as chairman of the Republican National Committee, Butler's position seems to be of first importance to the delegates because they are taking into consideration his close friendship with President Coolidge. Until recently he was put foremost in that group which favored Mr. Coolidge for another term notwithstanding his declaration that he was eliminated from consideration.

When the first dozen or so ballots had been cast in the contest hearings, a number of views were expressed to explain Butler's consistent voting against the forces friendly to Secretary Hoover. But shortly most of these had to be scrapped because on several occasions during this afternoon's balloting, the chairman voted for the instructed Hoover delegates.

When his position on the earlier ballots was noted, the suggestion was put forward in some groups that Butler might be trying to clip Mr. Hoover's wings in order that he might not be brought out too far in front and thus foreclose the possibility of a "draft Coolidge" movement. Others, however, suggested that the Massachusetts man's action might be explained by his desire to see the Hoover forces well to the front in the hope that they would be able to nominate their candidate on the first ballot, leaving the way open for the Coolidge forces to rally to the president's support if they should be able to do so.

Whatever the explanation may be, Butler's action in voting against the Hoover forces on many occasions has left his friends in a state of perplexity. Some of them had expected that he would be the leader of the Hoover forces on the floor of the convention, but he has given no indication that he will do anything of the sort.

Although Butler, the close friend of President Coolidge, stood out against the Hoover delegates at large, he switched later, voting to seat Judson M. Grimmet, a Hoover man, as delegate from the Fourth Louisiana District.

Two contests filed by members of the Cohen faction against Louisiana district delegates were not pressed. They were those in the Third and Eighth Districts. Cohen had informed the committee that he was not opposed to any candidate and thought Southern delegates should be guided in their choice of a nominee by the prevailing sentiment among delegates from Northern states.

In the case of Lowery it was contended in his behalf that he had been regularly named, members of the Kuntz faction "voting" at the district convention, at which he was selected and later naming an opposition candidate of their own.

Hilles proposed the seating of Lowery and to the surprise of many committee members, Ralph E. Williams, of Oregon, who has been conducting the Hoover fight in committee, seconded his suggestion. Williams explained that the committee in its decisions yesterday, had established the precedent of refusing to recognize the credentials of voters.

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Supporters Must Make Clean Sweep in G. O. P. Committee on Contests.

TEXAS DELEGATION IN HOOVER COLUMN

Three Georgia Votes Included in Disputes; Cabinet Officer's Backers Are Jubilant.

Kansas City, June 6.—(AP)—Herbert Hoover stands tonight greatly strengthened as a presidential candidate by the rulings of the republican national committee on delegate contests, the last of which have been decided.

Smothering opposition, his supporters in the committee came within an ace of making a clean sweep of it—losing only one seat where they made a fight, and picking up more than 60 sure votes. No other candidate benefited to any extent.

Those who are toiling to put the commerce secretary over on an early ballot in the national convention here next week were jubilant, not only over the additional strength amassed for their man, but over the effect they claimed it would have among any wavering leaders and delegates.

Foes of the cabinet officer conceded they had suffered a setback, but they insisted that Hoover was far from in and there was still enough water to go over the dam to wipe out his big lead for nomination.

Working through the dinner hour tonight, the national committee disposed of the last of the contests which in all involved 75 of the 1,089 convention seats. Before calling it a day, however, it took up the question of fractional voting and decided not to interfere with delegations which had been expanded in size by giving some or all members a part of a vote.

The Hoover forces wound up their fight over contested delegates with a show of strength which toppled every obstacle. A block of 26 votes from Texas, the entire delegation, was definitely put in the Hoover column in the face of perhaps the most stubborn fight conducted during the three days of hearings.

As the count stood after the last of the contests had been disposed of, Hoover had added these votes, originally challenged, to his string:

Florida—Nine, giving him the entire delegation of ten from that state.

Kentucky—Two, insuring him the support of the full 29 delegates.

Louisiana—Ten of 12.

Mississippi — Twelve, the entire delegation.

Tennessee—Three, indicating that he would have most of that state's 19 votes on the first ballot.

Texas—Twenty-six, the entire delegation.

All of these votes—61 in all—either are pledged or instructed for him. All had been in dispute, although most of them had been included in the claims of the Hoover managers which have put his convention strength near the 545 majority, needed for nomination.

In addition to the delegates he bagged for a certainty, Hoover is expected by his managers to have the support, along with other delegates from that state, of three district delegate votes from Georgia involved in the now settled contests.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

TEXAS SENDS TWO DELEGATIONS!

As a result of the split between the Creager-Nolte and Wurzbach-Littleton factions, the Republicans of Texas are sending two sets of delegates to the Republican National Convention, which meets at Kansas City, June 12, 1928, when candidates for president and vice-president of the United States will be nominated.

The Creager-Nolte delegation goes instructed to vote for Herbert C. Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination as long as there is a reasonable chance for the commerce secretary's nomination, while the Wurzbach-Littleton delegation goes uninstructed.

Despite the talk by Mr. Creager from the convention floor at Dallas, that he is not a "lily-white" and that he is not a Negrophobe, it is interesting to observe that out of the 26 delegates and 26 alternates chosen by the Creager bloc, not one single Negro was chosen; yet some of the leading colored Republicans of the state were active in the pre-convention campaign for Mr. Hoover, and a few of these black Hooverites sat as regular delegates in the Creager state convention.

In this connection it might be fitting to state just here that two or three of these colored Hoover supporters, who held seats in the Creager-Nolte parley, were urged to ally themselves with the Wurzbach-Littleton faction—even on the morning of the convention—with the assurance that they would be taken care of as delegates and alternates to the national confab on the Wurzbach-Littleton uninstructed delegation, notwithstanding the fact that the said colored delegates were Hoover partisans.

Contrasted with the attitude of electing an entire white, anti-Negro delegation by the Creager-Nolte combination, the Wurzbach-Littleton forces honored several Negroes with delegateships, one from the state-at-large and several from congressional districts where district conventions were held May 10, 1928, when the voters of these federal units, in keeping with Republican customs, laws and usages (even in Texas) elected their delegates and alternates to reprsent their districts at the Kansas City convention.

This action of the Wurzbach-Littleton forces, i. e., the election of congressional delegates and alternates, has placed the Creager-Nolte congressional delegates and alternates on the defensive; and instead of the Wurzbach-Littleton district delegates being contestants, they are the contestees; and the Creager-Nolte district delegates elected at the Dallas convention, due to the fact that the so-called "regular" organization did not call nor hold district conventions, will be styled as the contestants in the contests for seats from the eighteen congressional districts of Texas.

Mr. Creager and his partisan followers will have a very difficult job explaining to the national leaders of the Republican party—who had already insisted that Negro Republicans be given a fair and equitable representation on all delegations coming from Southern states—why no colored Republicans are on their "lily-white" delegation, and why there are so many such delegates represented on the Wurzbach-Littleton delegation!

To be perfectly frank, Mr. Creager's all-Nordic delegation is not representative of Texas Republicans; for there are over 750,000 colored citizens residing in this state, with perhaps one-fifth of this number qualified as regular Republican electors; while the vote cast for the Republican gubernatorial candidate in 1926, representing chiefly the white Republican vote in Texas, was barely above 30,000.

Running for reelection to the United States congress from the Fourteenth congressional district, Congressman Harry M. Wurzbach the only Republican elected to the highest legislative body in the nation from a purely Democratic state, received almost as many votes in his 1926 race in his district as the Creager-Nolte candidate for governor received throughout the entire Lone Star State.

The only real Republican organization in Texas, which gets out votes and makes a respectable and commendable showing, is in the Bexar County section, which has elected a Republican congressman biennially since 1920, when the Harding landslide swept the republic.

It was to assist and contribute some part in bringing about such a situation in Harris County and the Eighth congressional district that impelled The Informer to accept a local harmony movement and endeavor to work out a program which would make this county and district a powerful one in Republican affairs, both from a local, state and national standpoint.

The Informer knew that no strong, virile Republican party could be built up and maintained in this district without the Negro vote; for there are over 60,000 colored residents in Houston and Harris County alone, to say nothing of the large colored population in Fort Bend and Waller counties, which comprise this congressional district.

It was our hope that the same type of harmony program could be effected throughout Texas, and it is to be regretted that the Creager-Nolte regime is going to jeopardize the Hoover cause and candidacy merely because of the "rule or ruin" policy of its leaders, and their unwillingness to heed the advice of men who are more interested in party growth and perpetuity than in fussing and fighting over the spoils of office and distribution of federal patronage.

The Informer is not attempting to serve in the role of a seer or prophet, but this paper cannot see where the national leaders of the Republican party can refuse to recognize a delegation headed by the lone Republican congressman from said state, especially when it is borne in mind that the congressman's faction controls the votes of Texas, while the other faction merely controls the party machinery and federal offices.

The Wurzbach-Littleton faction believes in a Republican party to change its political complexion or partisan affiliations; but "of the people, by the people and for the people;" while the Creager-Nolte bloc holds tenaciously to the doctrine that the "Republican party in Texas must be a white man's party."

If the Republican National Convention, through its party leaders, does not want to see its standard-bearer led as a lamb to the slaughter in November (if the Democrats nominate Governor Alfred E. Smith at their Houston powwow), they will think twice, yea! thrice, before seating any all-white delegation, as against a mixed delegation, from any purely Southern state; for black voters in several of the Northern states constitute the balance of power, and they have organized their forces and agreed to back Al Smith, if the Republicans do not treat their Southern brothers right at the Kansas City convention.

The Informer is still a staunch supporter of Herbert C. Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination, and it is not trying this paper is merely giving expression to the sentiment of more than 150,000 Republicans in Texas, who have been disfranchised, outlawed, segregated and ostracised by the so-called regular Republican leaders in Texas for the past eight or twelve years.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

TEXAS SENDS TWO DELEGATIONS!

As a result of the split between the Creager-Nolte and Wurzbach-Littleton factions, the Republicans of Texas are sending two sets of delegates to the Republican National Convention, which meets at Kansas City, June 12, 1928, when candidates for president and vice-president of the United States will be nominated.

The Creager-Nolte delegation goes instructed to vote for Herbert C. Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination as long as there is a reasonable chance for the commerce secretary's nomination, while the Wurzbach-Littleton delegation goes uninstructed.

Despite the talk by Mr. Creager from the convention floor at Dallas, that he is not a "lily-white" and that he is not a Negrophobe, it is interesting to observe that out of the 26 delegates and 26 alternates chosen by the Creager bloc, not one single Negro was chosen; yet some of the leading colored Republicans of the state were active in the pre-convention campaign for Mr. Hoover, and a few of these black Hooverites sat as regular delegates in the Creager state convention.

In this connection it might be fitting to state just here that two or three of these colored Hoover supporters, who held seats in the Creager-Nolte parley, were urged to ally themselves with the Wurzbach-Littleton faction—even on the morning of the convention—with the assurance that they would be taken care of as delegates and alternates to the national confab on the Wurzbach-Littleton uninstructed delegation, notwithstanding the fact that the said colored delegates were Hoover partisans.

Contrasted with the attitude of electing an entire white, anti-Negro delegation by the Creager-Nolte combination, the Wurzbach-Littleton forces honored several Negroes with delegateships, one from the state-at-large and several from congressional districts where district conventions were held May 10, 1928, when the voters of these federal units, in keeping with Republican customs, laws and usages (even in Texas) elected their delegates and alternates to reprsent their districts at the Kansas City convention.

This action of the Wurzbach-Littleton forces, i. e., the election of congressional delegates and alternates, has placed the Creager-Nolte congressional delegates and alternates on the defensive; and instead of the Wurzbach-Littleton district delegates being contestants, they are the contestees; and the Creager-Nolte district delegates elected at the Dallas convention, due to the fact that the so-called "regular" organization did not call nor hold district conventions, will be styled as the contestants in the contests for seats from the eighteen congressional districts of Texas.

Mr. Creager and his partisan followers will have a very difficult job explaining to the national leaders of the Republican party—who had already insisted that Negro Republicans be given a fair and equitable representation on all delegations coming from Southern states—why no colored Republicans are on their "lily-white" delegation, and why there are so many such delegates represented on the Wurzbach-Littleton delegation!

To be perfectly frank, Mr. Creager's all-Nordic delegation is not representative of Texas Republicans; for there are over 750,000 colored citizens residing in this state, with perhaps one-fifth of this number qualified as regular Republican electors; while the vote cast for the Republican gubernatorial candidate in 1926, representing chiefly the white Republican vote in Texas, was barely above 30,000.

Running for reelection to the United States congress from the Fourteenth congressional district, Congressman Harry M. Wurzbach the only Republican elected to the highest legislative body in the nation from a purely Democratic state, received almost as many votes in his 1926 race in his district as the Creager-Nolte candidate for governor received throughout the entire Lone Star State.

The only real Republican organization in Texas, which gets out votes and makes a respectable and commendable showing, is in the Bexar County section, which has elected a Republican congressman biennially since 1920, when the Harding landslide swept the republic.

It was to assist and contribute some part in bringing about such a situation in Harris County and the Eighth congressional district that impelled The Informer to accept a local harmony movement and endeavor to work out a program which would make this county and district a powerful one in Republican affairs, both from a local, state and national standpoint.

The Informer knew that no strong, virile Republican party could be built up and maintained in this district without the Negro vote; for there are over 60,000 colored residents in Houston and Harris County alone, to say nothing of the large colored population in Fort Bend and Waller counties, which comprise this congressional district.

It was our hope that the same type of harmony program could be effected throughout Texas, and it is to be regretted that the Creager-Nolte regime is going to jeopardize the Hoover cause and candidacy merely because of the "rule or ruin" policy of its leaders, and their unwillingness to heed the advice of men who are more interested in party growth and perpetuity than in fussing and fighting over the spoils of office and distribution of federal patronage.

The Informer is not attempting to serve in the role of a seer or prophet, but this paper cannot see where the national leaders of the Republican party can refuse to recognize a delegation headed by the lone Republican congressman from said state, especially when it is borne in mind that the congressman's faction controls the votes of Texas, while the other faction merely controls the party machinery and federal offices.

The Wurzbach-Littleton faction believes in a Republican party to change its political complexion or partisan affiliations; but "of the people, by the people and for the people;" while the Creager-Nolte bloc holds tenaciously to the doctrine that the "Republican party in Texas must be a white man's party."

If the Republican National Convention, through its party leaders, does not want to see its standard-bearer led as a lamb to the slaughter in November (if the Democrats nominate Governor Alfred E. Smith at their Houston powwow), they will think twice, yea! thrice, before seating any all-white delegation, as against a mixed delegation, from any purely Southern state; for black voters in several of the Northern states constitute the balance of power, and they have organized their forces and agreed to back Al Smith, if the Republicans do not treat their Southern brothers right at the Kansas City convention.

The Informer is still a staunch supporter of Herbert C. Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination, and it is not trying

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

The Republican Convention which met Friday of last week was one of the best attended and most enthusiastic ever held in the State.

Among the delegates the utmost harmany and accord prevailed. Under the leadership of Mr. Roland R. Marchant and Mayor Broening all appearance of friction seemed to have disappeared and the entire slate of delegates proposed in a resolution by Mr. Geo. W. Lawson was elected without a dissenting voice.

Former Governor Goldsborough, the next U. S. Senator for Maryland, occupied the spotlight in the convention and was given repeated ovations. It was a convention of Republicans, militant Republicans and represented every class and race in Maryland. Colore dmen and women occupied seats in the convention and from the convention were sent to the National Convention to take part n the selection of Herbert Hoover as the party's standard bearer for president, and to re-elect former Senator Jackson as National Committeeman for Maryland.

We want to congratulate the Republicans of Maryland upon the splendid work of the convention and Mr. Marchant for his wise leadership and his ability to unite the factions and bring about a united party support which will mean the election of Gov. Goldsborough for Senator and the Hoover presidential electors.

When the campaign is opened an effort is to be made to secure votes for the Democrtic party from the Negro graup. It is reported that a Negro Club is to be formed or is forming to rally Negro voters for Al Smith and the Solid South that will dominate him. On June 26th the State Democratic Convention will mee in Baltimore; Negroes who may entertain a friendly attitude toward the Democratic party might do well to observe whether in the entire body of delegates that make up the Democratic convention in June there be a single Negro delegate and what recognition Negroes will receive in that convention.

The Republican Convention is now a matter of history of which we believe all Republicans will be proud.

Thomasville, Ga., Times Enterprise
Tuesday, April 10, 1928

BLEASE ATTACKS HOOVER FOR HIS NEGRO TACTICS

Declares Commerce Secretary Forbid Racial Segregation of Races in Census Bureau.

RAPS REPUBLICANS

For Patronage Methods and Defends Superiority of White Race in the South.

Washington, D. C., April 10. (AP)—Reading into the record today newspaper story which appeared several days ago that Secretary Hoover had ordered negro clerks in the census bureau to be located on tne floor with white persons, Senator Blease, Democrat, of South Carolina, declared such action would foreclose any hope of the Republicans breaking the "Solid South" at the next election.

The article appeared in the Washington Post and it was said today at the department that at the time a statement was issued explaining that a small census bureau divisional organization made up of negroes had been broken up in the bureau because racial segregation was forbidden.

Senator Blease had read a letter from a "white woman" whose name was not revealed complaining of the action and terming the negroes in the bureau in which she worked "Hoover chocolates."

"This is exactly what brought the Republican party into disrepute in the South," Blease said, "and made its name a stench in the nostrals of all white people.

"In the South we believe the white race superior to the negro race and we never expect to permit a social equality between the two. If this Hoover policy is continued there need not be any dreams among the Republicans of breaking the Solid South."

Blease also complained because the postoffice department had refused to remove a postmaster at Anderson, S. C., who he claimed was a resident of Savannah, Ga.

Referring to "Joe" Tolbert, Republican national committeeman in South Carolina, as the patronage boss in that state, Blease charged that Tolbert was receiving money from postmasters and declared "that's why they're holding their jobs." He also said he knew of a South Carolina rural mail carrier who had lost his job because he had refused to help pay the expenses of a delegate to the Kansas City convention.

Making much of the postmaster situation at Anderson, Blease accused both President Coolidge and Postmaster General New of violating the law by retaining a non-resident of the state as acting postmaster. He also charged assistant Postmaster General Bartlett had knowingly made untrue statements regarding the situation.

The South Carolina Senator told his colleagues that after the Anderson postmaster died last December, his son, who had been separated from his father since childhood, was brought into the state and made acting postmaster.

Declaring the postoffice department had no intention of calling for civil aservice examinations, Blease said it was the plan to keep the appointee on the job until December. By that time, he said, he would be a legal resident of South Carolina. Even at that Blease insisted, he is under thirty and ineligible for permanent appointment.

Four Thousand Dollars Buys Negro Race!

Correspondent Denounces Acceptances Ot Filthy Lucre By So-Called Leaders.

Daniel W. Chase
501 South 16th St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Washington, D. C., May 28.—Nation-wide interest is being developed among the respectable Negro leadership throughout the country, because of the information in the daily newspapers included in the report of the testimony by Rush Holland, former assistant attorney general, to the Senate Campaign Funds Committee, which involved two of the designated Negro leaders, Perry W. Howard and Ben J. Davis. Both of these Negroes are on the Republican National Committee, and Mr. Holland stated in his testimony that he had paid each of them two thousand dollars in his activities to influence sentiment in favor of the Hon. Herbert Hoover for president.

When the Senate Committee questioned Mr. Holland as to the money he had paid out, they asked "what is the money used for?" To which Mr. Holland's reply was: "I cannot say, but I can say that it was paid out."

Leading Negroes throughout the country are turning over in their minds the same question that the Senate Committee propounded. Now they know that two thousand dollars apiece was paid to their political leaders, they are interested to know how the money was used by the recipients. Their reaction is that the money was used, as usual; because neither of these leaders has any unusual reputation, so far as the public is aware, for distributing all they receive, if any of it. There were some little additional courtesies which Mr. Holland admitted to,—such as giving Perry W. Howard $200 per week for maintaining headquarters in Washington, which must indicate that Washington, D. C., is not the only headquarters for Mississippi Negro Republicanism, but for the northern, eastern and western states as well. Northern, eastern and western Negro leaders express themselves as questioning the judgment of the Hoover managers in being so gullible as to even suspect that the Mississippi and Georgia colored bosses have had or will have any influence on their attitude toward the presidential candidates.

The only part of the procedure that softened their mental impeachment is the insignificant price paid for the assumed promised delivery of the Negro voters. Some however, either hope or fear that the total award or reward may have been figured on a larger basis, and that the testimony thus far only exposes a first installment.

Many enthusiastic colored rooters for the Hoover cause feel that their efforts, although unbargained for, have been more far-reaching and effective than Mr. Holland's investment. Because considerable campaigning is going on among Negroes in favor of Governor Alfred E. Smith, the Negro Smith enthusiasts welcome this revelation regarding Howard and Davis, believing it will add much toward influencing the major portion of the 5,600,000 Negro voters in Smith's favor when the real election battle begins. If Hoover is put "over" at the National Republican Convention in opposition to the drive to elect Al Smith for president, it is certain that Perry Howard's political activities will be investigated. At these surely need a thorough and much-needed cleansing. What a price for a race of men! all events, such episodes (?) as

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REPUBLICAN CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE RULES OUT ALL PROTESTS AGAINST 'BOB' CHURCH

Kansas City, Mo., June 13.—R. R. ("Bob") Church, of Memphis, Negro politician, credited with being boss of the Negro vote in Tennessee Tuesday night retained his place as the only Negro on the Volunteer State delegation, but only after a brisk fight before the credentials committee of the Republican National Committee.

The committee voted unanimously to seat him after an effort had been made to declare his seat vacant, and to seat no delegate.

Church, coming from the Tenth District, and his alternate, were contested by Jim Quinn as delegate and Mrs. H. True, both of Memphis, as alternate.

The contest already decided in favor of Church by the national committee, was based on an agreement between Church, G. T. Taylor, ousted postmaster at Memphis, and H. O. True, now dead. The agreement was that each should appoint one-third of the delegates to the county committee which was to call a mass convention to name a congressional committee.

The contests, represented by John E. McCall, Memphis attorney, charged that Church had bolted the agreement after it was ratified by a county convention and after Taylor and True had each named his one-third of the delegates.

Church denied this, asserting he had abrogated the agreement, and that it was null.

DELEGATE J-CROWED

REPUBLICANS COMMITTEE APPOINTED LOCAL COLORED COMMITTEE AND REFERRED COLORED MEMBERS ELECTED ON DELEGATES TO THESE FOR SEPARATE HOTELS FROM THE REGULAR DELEGATION—SAME AS IN 1924—ELECTED COLORED SHOULD HAVE OBJECTED—WERE ELECTED OFFICIALLY BY VOTES—DR. B. E. ROBINSON AND OTHERS REFSED AND WON IN 1924

The Republican party in its Convention arrangements at Kansas City certainly did draw the color line in asking Colored delegates to take

DR. B. E. ROBINSON

Alternate who Refused Jim-Crowism in 1924

rooms apart from the regular delegation, just as in 1924. The method is shown by the following sample letter sent out to Colored delegates North as well as South, the body of which read thus:—

Dear Dr. Robinson,

Mr. Charles Nichols, Executive Secretary of the Massachusetts delegation has asked us to make reservations for you during the Republican National Convention.

We are reserving three rooms for your delegation in the residence of Mrs. Maude Olyden, 2333 Tracy for yourself, Mr. Monroe Mason and Mr. Walter Foster. These rooms will be $2.00 per day each.

Will you kindly confirm direct to Mrs. Olden your approval of this reservation and give the date of your arrival.

Yours very truly
HOUSING COMMITTEE,

By Myrtle Foster Cook,
Housing chairman for our Race

Dr. Robinson's Manly Stand in 1924 as Alternate

In 1924 Dr. B. E. Robinson of Boston took a successful stand for his rights. We give the correspondence. The first letter come unsolicited as follows:—

Hotel Lincoln, largest and best race hotel in Ohio, Mr. and Mrs. David Hawkins, Mgrs., 2473 East 40th St., Cleveland, Ohio,

Dear Friend:—

We are sending under this cover letter confirming reservations made for you by the National Republican Housing Committee at Hotel Lincoln and we assure you of rates and service that will be pleasing. Write particulars at once. We are

Yours obligingly,
HOTEL LINCOLN,
Per: D. Hawkins

National Republican Convention Committee for Cleveland, 705 Federal Reserve Bank Building, May 12, 1924.

Mr. Dave Hawkins, Manager, Hotel Lincoln, East 40th & Scovill, Cleveland, Ohio, Dear Mr. Hawkins:

Confirming telephone conversation of this morning, will you kindly arrange reservations at Hotel Lincoln for the accommodation of the following named persons during the period of the Republican National Convention in June: For Mr. Robert M. Stevens and wife, Pittsfield, Mass., one double room with bath. For Dr. Benj. E. Robinson, 440 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass., one room. For Mr. Munroe Mason of the Blue Helmet, a Boston newspaper, one room.

Kindly forward your contract for execution to each of the above gentlemen at addresses given, and conduct such further negotiations as may be necessary with the various parties direct.

Very truly yours,
A. J. KENNEDY,
Vice Chairman

Robinson Protests to Republican Chairman

Dr. Robinson at once protested to Chairman Butler as follows:

May 28, 1924

Hon. William F. Butler,
Chairman Republican National Committee, 70 Franklin Street, Boston, Mass.

My dear Mr. Butler:

I am in receipt of communications from Mr. A. J. Kennedy, Vice-Chairman of the Republican Convention Committee for Cleveland.

Mr. Kennedy has seen fit, without consultation, to make reservations for me at Hotel Lincoln in Clevelan. As a citizen of Massachusetts and a duly elected member of the delegation, I expect to remain with the same through the period of the Convention. Anything to the contrary, I shall expect immediate advices directly from you.

Very truly yours,
B. E. ROBINSON

Robinson's Reply to Colored Hotel Owner

May 28, 1924

Mr. D. H. Hawkins,
Hotel Lincoln,
2473 East 40th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Sir:

In reply to your communication of recent date, I am of opinion that reservations have been made at Hotel Hollander for our delegation.

Very truly yours,
B. E. ROBINSON

Chairman Butler "Came Across"

That Chairman Butler and the Mass. Republican Committee respected the protest is shown by the final letter for charges for the room at hotel with rest of delegation as follows:

Massachusetts Delegation Headquarters, The Hollenden, Cleveland, June 9, 1924.

Dr. Benj. E. Robinson,
Hollenden 255,

My dear Dr. Robinson:

The charge of your room furnished you in the Hollenden is $49. As I desire to get these charges out of the way before the train returns, will you please send a check to me at Room 578 Hollenden Hotel.

Very truly yours,
JESSE B. BAXTER,

(Treas. of Mass. Delegations at Cleveland)

The Guardian hopes, that Walter Foster, Esq., backed by the new leader, Mr. Parkman, stuck with the delegation to which he was elected by the voters of Massachusetts.

—G—

JUNIOR BUNION DERBY RUNNER HELPED GO BACK HOME

New York, N. Y., June 14, 1928.—A group of theatrical people headed by Bill (Bojangles) Robinson have arranged a special midnight benefit performance at the Lafayette Theatre for Tuesday, June 19, to aid T. Josephs, the 15 year old Negro boy who completed the C. C. Pyle cross-country race from Los Angeles to New York, secure funds to return to his home in California.

According to reports, young Josephs is a member of a large fmaily and his father is paralyzed and unable to support his family. It was this fact that induced young Josephs to enter the cross country race. He finished 15th and was therefore ineligible for a prize.

BOB CHURCH WINS FIGHT WITH WHITES

Kansas City, Mo., June 15.—The United States if continued to be controlled by a Republican administration plans to quit Haiti, stated Senator Simeon D. Fess of Ohio Tuesday in the keynote address before the National Republican convention in session here.

"When law and order become well established and assurance of a progressive government is [illegible] in the case of Cuba and Santo Domingo, we will withdraw," the senator declared.

The enforcement of laws is held fundamental by the Republicans, asserted the keynoter in stating that the Republican party stands for respect of law. "It condemns the violation of law. Its prosecutions are without respect to rank or party, and are conducted by the judicial branch of the government," Senator Fess stated.

Fifty delegates-at-large and ten alternates have seats in the session, which makes a record for Republican national conventions. In past years the South sent more delegates than it has here now, but never before have so many northern states been represented. The migration of 700,000 citizens to the East, North and West have given Pennsylvania, Michigan, New York, Illinois, Ohio and New Jersey a large voting population.

The number of delegates are divided among the states as follows:

Arkansas, 3; Georgia, 11; Illinois, 2; Kentucky, 2; Louisiana, 5; Maryland, 3; Michigan, 1; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 3; New Jersey, 1; Ohio, 1; Oklahoma, 1; South Carolina, 6; Tennessee, 1, and West Virginia, 2. Total, 50.

Alternates—Iowa, 1; Maryland, 3; Massachusetts, 1; Michigan, 1; New York, 2, and Pennsylvania, 2. Total, 10.

A tremendous fight to rehabilitate the Republican party in the South and place control in white hands exclusively is expected before the convention closes. Sensing the situation, southern delegates who have power at present are preparing to resist the movement with a united front.

Indications point to a concentrated effort on the part of white members of the party in the South to universally establish lily white organizations in that section of the country. This plan, leaders point out, would be very difficult to carry out due to the increasing power of the party members in the North who are beginning to control the party policies.

Hearings before the credentials committee Tuesday night started the fireworks celebrating the defeat of southern leadership in the case of Walter L. Cohen, Louisiana party leader and customs comptroller for the port of New Orleans. The veteran politician was whipped in his second attempt to win 12 seats for his faction and the lily white delegation from Louisiana, headed by Emile Kuntz, national committeeman. Cohen gained a seat in the convention as a lone district delegate.

"Wil you take your fight to the floor?" he was asked. "No, I'm not a trouble maker," the veteran replied. "I see no reason for carrying the fight to the floor."

The real fight appeared when the lily whites of Tenessee opposed the seating of Robert R. Church, West Tennessee party leader. The credential committee ordered Church seated for the permanent roll. The seating of Church saved the Tennessee delegation from being all white. In the testimony of the white contestants for Church's seat, it was stated that Church had entered into political agreements with T. Will Taylor (white) for the disposition of political appointments, including the office of the recently deposed postmaster of Memphis. The power of the Tennesseean was demonstrated when the postmaster, a dark horse, was appointed at the suggestion of Church. Since then the lily whites have been at him with hammer and tongs. Further proof of his influence in his state

was shown Tuesday night when A. V. McLane (white), delegate from Tennessee, told the committee that "Church must be seated if we are to carry Tennessee for the nominee and elect five Republican members of congress, as we hope. We need his support."

As the members in the Republican party in the South loses ground his brothers in the North, East and West gain. This is clearly shown by the attitude of convention managers toward delegates from the different sections.

The rows that come every four years over delegates from the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Florida irritate G. O. P. leaders. There is a great deal of talk here of a clean-up down there after this convention is over.

Supporters of Gen. Leonard Wood, it was stated here today, spent more than $40,000 trying to round up the southern delegates to the Chicago convention in 1920, and immediately after President Harding was inaugurated several active members of the Republican national committee representing western states, went to Atlanta and organized a party group to take over administration affairs there. This effort fell flat after a few months and the old crowd resumed control. The program launched then may be taken up and pressed again, and extended to three or four other States.

Any such plan will be opposed by Howard, Davis, Church and other leaders in the states involved, on the ground that it interferes with their rights to local self-government. That is a problem for the future, but it is receiving considerable consideration now.

In the meantime the delegates are in bad humor. They do not like the arrangements here. They tried to prevent segregation, but now find themselves parked at out of the way places, far from their white associates

NO PROFIT IN G. O. P. RACE

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 14.—(A. N. P.)—The Negro has profitted little financially from espousing the cause of various candidates for the Republican nomination for the presidency of the United States, if the reports circulating here are true. This, too, has revived the old report that white politicians had made a "gentleman's agreement" that they would not spend money among colored politicians."

Whether there is any ground for the report this correspondent does not know, but it is a fact that the brethren have not been on the "receiving end to any extent. The Lowden group has spent literally nothing. In fact, it is said that their colored field agent, Melvin Chisum, was "donated" to them.

The Hooverites have shown a bit more liberality but the scant $2,000 which testimony revealed had been advanced Perry Howard and Ben Davis, which the daily press has been playing up, will do little toward paying the expenses of a campaign or a political convention, according to those who know. Perry W. Howard, Mississippi's astute national committeeman, presented expense accounts which showed that he was $4,000 "in the red" because of train fares, board bills, advertising bills, and the like which were necessary. On the other hand, Creager, the white committeeman from Texas, admits he received $7,500 from Hoover forces.

While little has been said about the matter, it is known that the leaders are not satisfied with the manner in which they have been ignored in doling out the finances, and are beginning to place credence in the legend of the "gentleman's agreement."

COHEN TO TAKE HIS BATTLE TO FOLKS AT HOME

Kansas City, Mo.—(ANP)—That Walter Cohen plans to take the fight to seat his entire deleagtion in the G. O. P. convention, to the country at large was indicated here Friday when friends of the Louisiana veteran urged Negroes throughout the country to take up the cudgel for him and injected the attitude that Cohen's defeat was an indication that the G. O. P. favored the lily-whites instead of the regular Republicans.

Cohen's faction lost the contest before the national committee of the Republican party, but he was granted a seat through the magnamity ofmfwyp seat through the magnanimity of National Committeeman Emil Kuntz, and he Hoover forces. The comptroller of the port of New Orleans was against Secretary Hoover and had instructed his delegation to oppose the nomination of Hoover. It was reported that Kuntz was the first to announce that he was with Hoover and this made it necessary for Cohen to seek another canditate.

Leaders who declare that the seating of the Kuntz faction is not a turn to the lily-whites, as the Kuntz faction has several Negroes in its number, among whom are some of the most prominent Negroes of Louisiana.

They also predict that the old warhorse from Louisiana will find little support among the "home folks" due to the report that he refused to take part in the organization of the Civic League, when he was asked o assist in the organization of the group which now boasts of several hundred members.

Kuntz and Cohen have been at each other's throats for some months and injunctions have been sought, received, and thrown out. The victory of the Kuntz faction, in spite of the show of generosity which gave Cohen a seat, has done nothing to alleviate the ill-feeling which has existed.

HOOVER REFUSES TO COMMIT SELF ON APPOINTM'TS

Tuskegeeans Attempt to Have Homer Phillips Head Colored Voters

The Tuskegee influence is seeking to make itself potent in national politics. The first major move was made Monday. Albion L. Holsey, secretary of Tuskegee Institute and representative of Major Robert Russa Moton, its principal and Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, put forth Homer G. Phillips, a lawyer, of St. Louis, to head the work among colored voters in the next campaign in the event that Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, should be the Republican nominee for President. They sought the commitment of Mr. Hoover to this plan.

This move failed. Mr. Hoover, it is reported, would not commit himself. The choice of a colored Republican to direct the work among colored voters in the next campaign, they were told, would be left with the nert chairman of the Republican national committee. be left with the next chairman of the national committee will lie with the nominee. Usually he is the pre-convention campaign manager of the nominee. If Mr. Hoover should get the nomination at Kansas City, the choice may be among James W. Good, Dr. Hubert Work and C. Bascom Slemp.

Dr. Moton, Mr. Holsey and Mr. Barnett were associated with Mr. Hoover in his relief work among the flood sufferers. They were members of his colored advisory committee.

G. O. P. LEANS TO SOUTHERN LILY-WHITES

Cohen Faction Loses Out in Louisaiana Contest; Mississippi Seated

Decisions smacking strongly of forcing the Negro out of Republican leadership in the South were made this week by the Republican national committee in its hearings on the contests in Southern states.

The faction from Louisiana headed by Walter L. Cohen, comptroller of customs at that port, was denied seats in the convention Tuesday, and the "lily white" delegates headed by Emile Kuntz, national committee man from Louisiana, were seated.

Monday afternoon, the Florida delegation headed by national committeeman Bean, which contained several Negro delegates, was denied seats and a rival "lily white" faction seated.

Cohen Seated

So alarmed did white leaders become over the growing storm of dissatisfaction among the Negroes present that on Tuesday noon, following the denial of seats to the Cohen faction, Mr. Cohen himself was given a seat as a delegate from the First congressional district. This was done as a sop to Cohen and the colored delegates and was accomplished by persuading a "lily white" delegate to withdraw.

Negro Leaders with Lily White

The surprising aspect of the Louisiana fight, to the Negro spectators, was the fact that the four Negro members of the national committee voted against Cohen and for the lily white faction.

As soon as the time came to vote, Perry Howard, national committeeman from Mississippi; Ben Davis, national committeeman from Georgia; and Mrs. George S. Williams, national committeewoman from Georgia all left proxies with men who voted against Cohen. Mrs. E. P. Booze, committeewoman from Mississippi cast her own vote for the lily whites.

In the Texas hearing Wednesday, William G. McDonald, of Fort Worth, Tex., denounced the methods by which the Creager faction had selected delegates. Mr. McDonald was with the Littleton faction which was denied seats at the convention. The Creager faction is openly and avowedly "lily white".

Church Wins

In the hearing Wednesday morning, Robert R. Church, powerful Memphis leader, was seated by unanimous vote, the committee not even taking the trouble to go into a closed executive session. Mr. Church is the only Negro on the Tennessee delegation of nineteen.

The white speaker against seating Church (Mr. Church himself did not even go to the hearing) declared in one minute that Church had no power or influence in Tennessee and in the next breath said Church "knocked at the White House door and out came a federal judge; knocked at the White House door again and out came a postmaster."

The high point of the hearings was the speech of Mr. Cohen Tuesday morning in defense of his delegation. The comptroller arrived at the sessions late because, as he explained to the committee, other cases had been scheduled before his and he thought it would be three or four hours before he would be needed.

The little veteran took off his raincoat and plunged into the task of winning seats.

"All my life," he said, "I have served the Republican party. The men on the other side of this table are 'overnight Republicans'—many of them registered Democrats—who have been brought here to drive Negroes from the leadership in the South."

Mr. Cohen asserted the Kuntz delegates were elected at Alexandria, La., where Kuntz knew Negroes could not go. His wit and humor kept the committee laughing, even to Chairman Butler, while he drove home sharp logic in support of his contention. He is regarded as the most picturesque figure thus far revealed in the convention picture.

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Party Affiliation.

LILY-WHITEISM WOULD DESTRO

Every Republican President who has underta[illegible] up a white man's party in the South, under the leade[illegible] whites, has failed and lost control of his party. Back in th[illegible]ys President Hayes, before we were born, there are echoes from [illegible]ose [illegible]stant days, that he attempted to reverse the policy of his immediate predecessors, and he is hardly spoken of in history among the Presidents, Democratic or Republican, who left a lasting impression on the public mind. Mr. Taft, who departed from the councils of his party and undertook to give patronage in the South as consideration to encourage white leadership and to invite white men into the Republican councils, made a dismal failure, and before he retired from office lost complete control of his party in the country. President Roosevelt, who tried to stage a come back with promoting and backings of the lily white stripe, is remembered in the party as the man who wrecked the institution, and gave the Presidency to the Democrats. The failure of the lamented Pres. Harding is of too recent occurrence to mention. It was he, who made the monumental failure, under lily white leadership, of all the Presidents since Lincoln; and had he lived, the party could not have wisely renominated him for the reason, he had altered the votes of fourteen million Negroes in this country from the party. They were the same old Republicans that loved Lincoln, and voted for the party because of its principles and policies, but they could not stand the Harding policies.

The lily whites are busy in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana in trying to displace the regular organizations, which Mr. Hoover must have, if he receives the nomination, and the election afterwards. These men, by here and there grabbing the Hoover popularity and converting it to their personal use, and claiming they are responsible for it, are trying to persuade the Secretary that if the Secretary is nominated, he can carry the South over Al Smith. This is purely political bunk propagated for the purpose of controlling Federal patronage in case of the Secretary's nomination and election. These self-appointed managers of the Hoover campaign in the South have two motives in view, one to express their hatred for the colored folks, and the other to get hold of the Federal patronage in the event of the Secretary's election.

They are representing to the Secretary's friends that the Ku Klux are intact, and that they will line up, to a man, against Al Smith, and as a result of this alienation Mr. Hoover can carry the South, or certain states as no other Republican aspirant can. They figure that they can make the Secretary's friends believe that the impossible can be done. Next to the lily whites, the Democrats hate the Negro most, and they do not hate Smith enough to vote for anything that looks like Negro political ascendency. They know, too well, that Republican success means Negro participation and party control in governmental affairs.

We are not blaming Secretary Hoover for these conditions. These conditions are being thrust upon his inexperienced friends, who are trying to nominate him. They are being imposed upon, and we can warn them that if they want the Southern Negro vote in the Kansas City Convention, the only way to get it, is through the state organizations as presently constituted, and if they want the votes of the fourteen million Negroes in America, they will have to steer clear of Lily Whiteism and Ku Kluxism, for these are two elements in our political life that the Negro steers clear of, and is afraid of anything that looks like them. It is written that any Republican candidate that alienates the Negro vote in this country will lose the Presidency, and any President who strays from the old, well-beaten path of Republicanism, blazed by Abraham Lincoln, and kept afresh by Republican Presidents, with a few exceptions since then, and fully and wholly maintained and perpetuated by Calvin Coolidge, will prove a failure as those have done who have gone on before him, who strayed from the path of equal opportunity and exact justice to all.

Lincoln lived, fought and died for a government for the people, of the people, and by the people; for the idea that there is no just government without the consent of the governed; and any Republican President who departs from these fundamentals of free institution is going to fail. The government knows no color, or religion. "A man is a man for a that" and that government which will specifically provide for one class of people at the expense of the other, will finally perish from the face of the earth.

The lily whites are like a man without a country. The Democrats [illegible]n't have them, because of their treachery, incompetency, and hy[illegible]sy, and the Republicans refuse to let them in their camp, for the [illegible] their Democratic contemporaries kicked them out of their back [illegible]

ORGANIZATION SCORES IN G. O. P. CONVENTION

County Convention Watches Well-Lubricated Machine.

JOHN FARLEY IS IGNORED

"Lily Whites" Given Places Among Names Submitted, But Merely to Appease Them. Spears' Name on All Lists.

Organization forces under R. R. (Bob) Church, negro, scored a complete triumph at the county Republican mass meeting at the courthouse yesterday.

The assembly room was packed with adherents of the "Grand Old Party," who came to say "aye." All things were approved with a smoothness and rapidity that spoke of days of careful planning.

Only two mild murmurings arose to disturb the serenity of the meeting, and the first offered from the floor of the convention was smothered in an avalanche of "ayes."

J. M. "Jim" Johnson called attention to the fact that it was a "harmonious" meeting, and that somehow or other the name of his friend, John Farley, attorney, had been omitted from the list of 74 delegates to the state convention at Nashville, May 2.

Is Roared Down.

Thomas Phelan, whose election as permanent chairman was put through in short order, called attention to the fact that Mr. Farley's name could not be added because the list of delegates had been completed. And the convention in a mighty chorus of "ayes" agreed with him. Mr. Farley and Mr. Johnson are identified with the "Lily White" group of the party here.

After the meeting E. M. Kinney requested the removal of his name from the list of delegates to the state convention, and it was so done by Lieut. George W. Lee, negro, who was re-elected secretary. One or two complained that they were supposed to be on "such-and-such" a list after the convention adjourned and they were told that thigs would "be straightened out."

An interesting development of the meeting was that Harry Spears, a "Lily White," was named as a delegate to the congressional convention to be held here Feb. 4, as a member of the county committee of 45 and as a delegate to the state convention.

The convention unanimously passed a resolution endorsing Congressman J. Will Taylor, national committeeman from Tennessee, an distributor of patronage in the state. They praised the administration of President Coolidge.

Committees Named.

These resolutions were read by Herbert L. Harper, assistant district attorney. Mr. Harper, Dave Hanover and W. H. Bentley were appointed by Mr. Phelan to compose the committee on resolutions. R. R. Church, Lester H. Brenner and George Poole were named on the committee on delegates and C. H. King, Lindsay B. Phillips and H. W. Wilkerson were named on the committee on organization.

Church read the lists of delegates and made a motion for their adoption and their adoption immediately followed. The Shelby County committee is the most important.

The following were appointed to the county committee, at least 32 of whom are "organization Republicans." A careful perusal of the list shows that a good many of Acting Postmaster G. Tom Taylor's strangest supporters were left off.

T. H. Phelan, C. H. King, H. L. Harper, G. T. Taylor, L. H. Brebner, Lindsay B. Phillips, Dave Marks, Dave Hanover, Arthur Brode, Winstead Johnson, Joe Marks, William Flowers, William Vorus, George Blagden, John E. McCall, John R. Walker, S. E. Murray, C. L. Hicks, Yandel Haun, Harry Spears, George Poole, C. C. Wagner, L. A. West, N. C. Clower, H. W. Wilkerson, Henry House, the Rev. S. Woodward, the Rev. R. J. Petty, T. H. Hayes, B. M. Roddy, M. B. Burnett, J. R. Wright, R. R. Church, A. M. McCullough, M. Thornton, G. W. Lee, secretary; G. L. Williams, R. Q. Venson, J. E. Walker, M. S. Stuart, B. C. Wright, George R. Jackson, G. W. Atkins, R. B. Wilson and T. Wade.

To Congressional Meet.

Delegates to congressional convention: R. L. Harper, L. H. Brenner, L. B. Phillips, A. Brode, Dave Marks, Dave Hanover, Joe Marks, C. H. King, George Poole, G. Tom Taylor, Thomas Phelan, William Flowers, John E. McCall, Harry Spears, L. A. West, G. W. Lee, H. W. Wilkerson, J. R. Wright, M. Thornton, R. B. Wilson, Thomas Wade, Guy L. Williams, R. R. Church, M. B. Burnett, B. M. Roddy, T. H. Hayes, S. Wood, Henry House, M. S. Stuart and Will Bentley.

State convention delegates: Joe Marks, Dave Marks, Dave Hanover, Arthur Brode, H. L. Harper, L. H. Brenner, Tom Phelan, George Poole, G. T. Taylor, Carroll Bell, S. E. Murray, Omar Jewell, L. B. Phillips, E. R. Wright, Joe Menke, J. N. Pumphries, Mrs. L. M. Geldert, Mrs. J. S. Shortle, Mrs. H. O. True, Mrs. Arthur Brode, Mrs. L. B. Phillips, Mrs. Dave Hanover, Mrs. S. E. Murray, Mrs. F. M. Kneeland, Mrs. R. B. Logan, F. P. Cooper, Mrs. Laura Jackson, Mrs. T. S. Brown, J. H. Ramsay, Ed Pass, William Vorus, George Blagden, William Flowers, John R. Walker, John E. McCall, J. M. Johnson, John Q. Eaton, Yandel Haun, Harry Spears, E. C. Swineheart and Ross Mathews.

All delegations will vote as a unit, the convention agreed.

It is interesting to note that the name of Ross Mathews, Republican election commissioner, is omitted from the county committee and the delegates to the congressional convention.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

JAN 9 1928

WILL THE NEGRO BOLT?

When a member of Congress, a Republican from the home State of a Republican President virtually advises negroes to bolt his own party, in an address in New York City, the descendants of abolitionists sit up and take notice. George Holden Tinkham is a lawyer, a Harvard graduate and so strong in his district, which is part of the City of Boston, that in the 1926 election the Democrats did not think it worth while to nominate a candidate against him. Mr. Tinkham says this at a meeting presided over by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the Crisis:

> The day has come when national elections in the United States can no longer be half constitutional and half unconstitutional, if the negro will assert such rights and powers as he possesses by refusing to vote for a party which unconstitutionally and lawlessly allows his disfranchisement.

Mr. Tinkham has the enthusiasms of a Charles Sumner or a Wendell Phillips. He is consistent. Academically his logic is unanswerable. Under the Fifteenth Amendment Congress has the right to take from the Southern States such representation in the lower house and in electoral votes as is based upon populations that are no factor in the voting because of terrorization or juggled election laws. This right has not been exercised. It could have been exercised by the Republican party in the last session of Congress; an apportionment is long overdue. Conceivably it might be exercised in the present session, for on this issue the "insurgents" would certainly follow their party in the Senate as in the House. However, it will not be exercised. Mr. Tinkham knows that as well as the rest of us do.

Yet it is an unquestioned fact that every white man in the North is wronged by having his vote count for only half of what a white man's vote counts for in Mississippi or South Carolina, and in the makeup of the electoral colleges and of the House of Representatives, the Caucasians of the North are half disfranchised by existing conditions.

G. O. P. Ranks In State Split

Dawes, Hoover, Lowden Are Favorites

BY ATTICUS MULLIN

Republican ranks in Alabama are split wide open over the candidates for the Republican nomination for President. Dawes, Hoover and Lowden are the favorites.

Alabama will be entitled to fourteen delegates in the Republican convention at Kansas City. Each district in the state is entitled to one delegate except the seventh district which is entitled to two delegates. Three delegates will be named from the state at large. The reason the seventh district gets two delegates is because of the heavy vote in the seventh district.

The delegates are usually chosen by district conventions or district committees with three delegates at large to be named by the state convention.

Those who are familiar with Republican politics in Alabama express the opinion that the delegates who will represent Alabama at the Kansas City convention, will represent the Coolidge, or administration wing of th party in the event President Coolidge decides to throw his support to any particular candidate. It is pointed out that the office holders in the Republican party in Alabama, that is the ins, always control the delegates to national conventions.

One prominent Republican who is on the outside looking in, expressed the opinion in Montgomery Thursday that President Coolidge will take no hand in the selection of a nominee for the presidency. He says in that event there will be quite a scramble among the Lowden, Dawes and Hoover factions with the outcome in doubt. However, it is known that probably a majority of the office-holding Republicans are for Dawes for president in the event President Coolidge sticks to his "I do not choose."

It is regarded as certain that Republican National Committeman Oliver D. Street, of Guntersville, will wield the commanding influence in the selection of Republican delegates from Alabama to the Kansas City convention. Mr. Street, so far as is known, has not indicated who he will favor.

RACE RESENTS G.O.P. SLIGHTS

Ready to Forsake Republicans For Failure to Keep Promises

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Feb. 1.—What is characterized as slighting of the colored citizens of Philadelphia by the Republican party is being bitterly resented by colored political leaders here.

Warning has been issued that the Negro electorate of this city is ready to desert the Republican party in the coming Presidential and Senatorial campaign.

In a letter written to District Attorney John Monaghan by George H. Grant the tenseness of the situation was brought out.

The purpose of the letter was to remind the District Attorney of the fact that during the recent campaign John C. Asbury and G. E. Dickerson, colored attorneys told of an interview wherein he was reported as saying that if he were elected he would do something to satisfy the colored citizens.

Grant's letter read in part:

"While nothing has been published as to your complete selection of assistants as yet, may I respectfully ask you to consider the appointment of a colored man to such position in your office? It would be keeping faith that what Mr. Asbury and Mr. Dickerson led the colored people to believe would be done."

PERRY HOWARD COMES OUT FOR SECT'Y HOOVER

Assistant To Attorney General Declares Race Will Be Safe

TWO RACE MEN ON NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Benjamin J. Davis of Georgia and Mr. Howard Are Men Named

Hon. Perry W. Howard, Assistant to the Attorney General, member of the Republican National Committee for Mississippi, has just returned to Washington from a trip to Mississippi in the interest of the candidacy of Secretary Hoover for President.

Mr. Howard received an enthusiastic welcome from the people of his home State and he reports that next to President Coolidge, Secretary Hoover is Mississippi's choice.

He has announced himself for Hoover, declaring that the Secretary is an ideal candidate and believes that the interests of the Negro group will be safe in Mr. Hoover's hands if elected.

Mr. Howard and Hon. B. J. Davis, of Georgia, are the only two colored men on the National Committee. Mr. Davis has also declared for Hoover and says Georgia's delegation will cast a solid vote for the Secretary.

'Lily-Whites' Defeated in Party Plans

Jackson, Miss., Feb. 10.—"Lily white" Republicans were outmanuvered at the meeting of the Republican state committee of Mississippi here on Feb. 1.

They came into the meeting with a set of demands regarding the procedure to be followed in the election of delegates to the county, district, state and national conventions. Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi and state chairman, who presided, without permitting the reading of these demands, referred them to a special committee. This committee reported that the demands of the "lily white" Republicans were preposterous.

Seek Power in South

The avowed purpose of the "lily whites" is to gain control of the Republican organization in Mississippi and exclude members of the Race from participation in the councils of the party. They have secured a charter from the state. They sought recognition in Washington, but were advised that the organization, of which Mr. Howard is the head, is the regular Republican party in Mississippi.

The activities of the "lily white" Republicans have seemingly cemented all factions of the regular Republican party in Mississippi.

The latest coalition includes Dr. S. D. Redmond, Thomas I. Keys of Ocean Springs, Eugene P. Booze of Mound Bayou, W. L. Moon, E. L. Patton, George S. Goodman of Holly Springs, W. W. Phillips of Kosciusko, Dr. D. W. Sherrod of Meridian, T. G. Ewing of Vicksburg, Dr. R. L. Johnson, C. T. Butler of Meridian, Rev. P. E. Frisby of Cannonsburg, W. H. Holtzclaw of Utica institute, Dr. A. W. Dumas of Natchez and Diamond Cox.

State Meet Called

The Republican state convention was called to meet here on March 14. The eight district conventions will meet on March 13. Dr. Redmond, William Holtclaw, Prof. Goodman, Mr. Booze and C. A. Whittington (white) of Tutwiler were elected to fill vacancies on the state committee. The state committee passed resolutions indorsing the candidacy of Herbert Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination in the event that President Coolidge cannot be drafted. Mr. Howard will manage the Hoover campaign in Mississippi.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican,

11TH DISTRICT G.O.P. ENDORSES HOOVER PERSONS AND DAVIS

Convention Held at Waycross Elects E. W. Brinkens Delegate to National Convention.

Waycross, Ga., Feb. 29.—Herbert Hoover was unanimously indorsed for President of the United States by the Eleventh District Republican Convention, in session in Waycross Wednesday. Independent

The convention also gave a hearty indorsement to the administration of Calvin Coolidge.

Ben J. Davis, of Atlanta, was recommended as National Committeeman from Georgia. The following officers were elected: Chairman, T. C. Williams, of Waycross; vice chairman, L. W. Brown, of Screven; secretary, Dr. R. N. Jackson, of Brunswick. 3-1-28

E. W. Brinkens, of Camden County, was named as delegate to the national convention with Sam Purvis, of Irwin County, as alternate. Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. H. C. Scarlett, of Waycross chairman of the Ware County Republican Committee, was host. Ben J. Davis, editor of the Atlanta Independent and National Committeeman, was present.

The convention was held in the Ware County court house with more than a hundred present. Ogden Persons was unanimously indorsed for appointment as United States Judge for the Middle District of Georgia to succeed Judge W. J. Tilson.—Atlanta Constitution.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

Star

FEB 21 1928

A Negro Fourteenth Ward Hoover-for-President Club was organized last night at a meeting at 3400 Hardesty avenue. O. M. Scott was elected president. Other officers are Albert Nash, vice-president; Oley Jacobs, secretary, and Silias Bozier, treasurer. The organization, it was said today, was supporting the Hoover delegation filed Saturday by Judge George E. Kimball.

SUN
ATTLEBORO, MASS.

FEB 29 1928

The Negro in Ohio

On account of the great interest being manifested in the approaching Ohio election of delegates to the National Republican convention, to be held at Kansas City in June, every phase of the situation in the Buckeye State is being carefully analyzed.

Of the eighty-eight counties in the state there are 33 in which approximately 93 per cent of the colored voters live, and nearly 80 per cent of these live in sixteen counties, which rank, in importance, in the order named: Cuyahoga, Hamilton, Franklin, Montgomery, Mahoning, Clark, Summit, Lucas, Greene, Butler, Stark, Jefferson, Belmont, Loraine, Ross and Muskingum. Among the cities there are 45 having from 200 to 30,000 colored voters, and the total vote equals nearly 82 per cent of their voting strength in the state. About 68 per cent of these, however, live in the eight cities ranked in the order of their importance as follows: Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, Youngstown, Springfield, Toledo and Akron.

In the state as a whole, Negroes of voting age, males and females, represent about 4 per cent of the total number of persons, all classes, 21 years of age and over, and about 11 per cent of the Republican vote as cast in the State at the Presidential election of 1924.

NEW YORK
HERALD

FEB 19 1928

Negro Selected By Republicans For Convention

Rev. Richard M. Bolden, Harlem Religious Leader, Is Slated as 21st District Delegate to Kansas City

Precedent Annoys Tiger

Democrats Embarrased by Decision to Send 'Lily White' Group to Texas

Following a conference yesterday of Republican leaders of the Assembly districts comprising the 21st Congressional District, which includes the bulk of the Negro population of Harlem, it was learned that the Rev. Richard Manuel Bolden, pastor of the First Emanuel Independent Church, of Harlem, has been agreed upon as delegate to the Republican National Convention.

Dr. Bolden is recognized as an outstanding religious leader of his race in this city, and his friends are sure that his selection as a delegate to the Kansas City convention will show the sincerity of the New York Republican County Committee in recognizing Negro voters.

Former Assembly Candidate

Dr. Bolden is executive chairman of the Denominational Preachers' Meeting of Harlem. He was once a candidate for member of the Assembly against Assemblyman Abraham Grenthal, who was instrumental in selecting him for delegate.

The Congressional district includes large portions of the 19th and the 21st and smaller portions of the 13th, 22d and 23d Assembly districts, and extends from West 125th Street to the northern end of Manhattan Island.

The selection of a Republican Negro delegate from the 21st is not unexpected, as the Republican Negro vote is steadily growing in Harlem, but Governor Smith and Judge Olvany, Tammany leader, are embarrassed by the precedent set by themselves in 1924.

Demand Precedent Be Kept

In order to gain favor with the Negroes four years ago, Governor Smith, the late Charles F. Murphy, then Tammany leader, and Civil Service Commissioner Morton, Negro Tammany leader of Harlem, selected Dr. Paul A. Collins as a delegate to the Madison Square Garden convention. The Negro Democrats now demand that Tammany shall adhere to this precedent. But the conditions this year make it doubtful about Tammany adhering to the precedent, for the Governor is doing his best, through trusted agents, to placate the none too friendly South. The Southern leaders would not welcome a Negro delegate at the Houston convention.

If the convention were again to be held in Madison Square Garden, probably a Negro delegate would be sent, but with Houston as the convention city it makes a great difference.

There is some talk in Tammany circles about the advisability of electing a Negro as delegate with a white alternate, and then let the alternate go to Houston, but such a subterfuge, it is thought, would merely aggravate the matter.

"That was an interesting and clarifying article in the Herald Tribune to-day about Tammany drawing the color line against a national convention delegate," said Dr. Bolden at his home, 105 West 130th Street. "The precedent set in 1924 by the Governor and his friends attracted wide attention, and resulted in thousands of Negroes voting for Smith for Governor.

"In New York, Chicago, Indiana, Cincinnati and New Jersey the Democrats of late years have sedulously cultivated the Negroes, assuring them that their place was in the Democratic party. They persuaded thousands to leave their natural affiliation. The Negro voters of the nation will set back and watch what Tammany Hall will do this time."

HOOVER AND DAVIS DELEGATES ARE ELECTED IN SIXTH

J. J. Wright and Sol Clemons Elected Delegates to National Convention by 6th District.

Macon, Ga., Feb. 29. — Last Thursday the Republicans of the Sixth Congressional District met in Bibb County court house, Macon, Ga., for the purpose of electing delegates to the Kansas City Convention, and the re-organization of the district for the next four years. The meeting was well attended and proved a harmonious and helpful session. Independent

Colonel J. J. Wright, of Forsyth, Ga., and Dr. Sol C. Clemons, of Macon, Ga., were elected delegates to the Kansas City Convention, and Prof. G. W. Drake, of Thomaston, Ga., alternate. 3-1-28

Dr. A. M. Wilkins, of Griffin, Ga., was elected district chairman, and Prof. G. W. Drake, secretary. The Coolidge administration was endorsed, and Secretary Hoover's candidacy was endorsed for President, the convention believing that Mr. Hoover came nearer reflecting the views of the President. The convention believed that he would carry out Mr. Coolidge's policies. Benjamin J. Davis was endorsed for National Committeeman, to succeed himself, and the delegates instructed to vote for him. The resolution was offered by the Hon. O. M. Duke, of Butts County. Mr. Duke has nominated Mr. Davis for National Committeeman every time he has been elected since the death of Colonel Henry Lincoln Johnson. Mr. Duke has been asked to prepare suitable resolutions to express the views of the Republicans of Georgia at the State Convention next Saturday.

Fifteen counties compose the district, and each county was represented. The convention was addressed by National Committeeman Davis and others.

EIGHTH DISTRICT REPUBLICANS MET LAST SATURDAY

Dr. W. H. Harris Elected Delegate to Kansas City and District Chairman. Meeting Harmonious.

Republicans of the Eighth Congressional District of Georgia met in the Clarke County court house today at noon and elected a delegate and an alternate delegate to the National Republican Convention which meets in Kansas City June the 12th, 1928. They also reorganized the Republican Executive Committee for the Eighth District. Independent

W. H. Harris was elected delegate and Prof. P. J. Blackwell, of Elberton, was elected alternate delegate to the Kansas City Convention. 3-1-28

W. H. Harris was elected chairman of the Executive Committee. W. P. Harris was elected vice chairman and E. D. Strand was elected secretary. G. A. Cuningham, treasurer. Atlanta, Ga.

The convention endorsed Cool-

idge's administration and also endorsed Hoover's candidacy for the Presidency in the following resolutions:

Coolidge Endorsed

"Whereas the administration of Calvin Coolidge, having proved powerful in achievement, able in execution and broadly humanitarian, one of the greatest in the history of the American Republic,; therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Eighth Congressional District Convention of Georgia, in convention assembled hereby endorse his administration. extend to him our sincerest congratulations and pledge to him our full support. We also urge him to stand for re-election and call upon our delegate from this convention to vote for him if the opportunity comes to nominate him. In case he refuses to be nominated, then we urge our delegate to stand for that wonderfully equipped and broad-minded statesman Herbert Hoover, for President of the United States.

"Be it resolved, that we endorse our National Committeeman, B. J. Davis, and thank him for the wonderful work he has done and is doing to promote the interest of the Republican Party in Georgia.

"Resolved also that these resolutions be spread upon the face of our minutes and published in the leading journals of the state.

"Resolved further, that we urge every man and woman in the state who believes in the principles and policies of the Republican Party to register and vote in the coming election. A vote is a citizen's protection. Protest yourself with this weapon."

The convention was harmonious throughout. Both white and colored delegates entering heartily into the discussions which caused Republican enthusiasm to run high throughout the meeting.

The delegates felt that the Kansas City Convention will nominate the next President.—Athens Banner-Herald.

BAR NEGROES FROM MISS. G.O.P. MEETING

Injunction Signed. Order Restrains Colored Republicans From Active Participation

ACCUSE PERRY HOWARD

Leader's Faction Is Naming Delegates Illegally The "Lily Whites" Charge In Petition

Special to the St. Louis Argus.

GREENVILLE, Miss., Mar. 1.—An injunction restraining the Perry Howard faction of the Republican party from holding a convention in Leflore County Wednesday was served by Sheriff Sam Coleman Tuesday on J. A. Evans and C. H. Page, leaders of the faction which had called the meeting.

The injunction was issued at the instance of George Sheldon, now a planter living in Washington County, and former governor of Nebraska, who is taking a leading part in the efforts of the white Republicans in Mississippi to secure control of the party machinery.

The writ was issued from the chancery court of Forrest County and apparently part of a series of writs served in various parts of the state in the fight for party control.

Special to the St. Louis Argus.

HATTIESBURG, Miss., Mar. 2.—Perry Howard, National Committeeman from Mississippi and his coterie lost the first round in their battle with Mississippi "lily-whites" Republicans Tuesday, when Chancellor T. P. Dale ruled that there was no illegality in a restraining order against them which he signed Monday.

What Faction Barred.

Mr. Howard is chairman of the Republican State Committee now in power in Mississippi, and his opposing faction's bill, on which the restraining order is based, charges that Mr. Howard to perpetuate himself and his associates in office has conspired to control and manipulate the affairs of the Republican party in Mississippi and to exclude all persons unfriendly to his faction. The bill asks not only the court order restraining them from holding or participating in the alleged beat or district conventions but that they be enjoined from representing themselves as the Republican party in Mississippi and electing delegates to the National Republican Convention and naming electors to be voted on as Republican presidential electors for Mississippi.

Negroes Feel Injustice.

Race Republican leaders throughout the state sorely wrought up over the restraining order which goes into effect just two days before the beat elections were to be held.

Arguments of counsels for the colored Republicans asking that the file be removed and the injunction destroyed on, the ground that the court had no jurisdiction over political party actions was heard by Chancellor Dale as were the arguments of complainants who include about 32 prominent white Republicans in this state who have organized a "lily-white" Republican committee.

Safer Than the Sec

IT HAS OFTEN BEEN SAID that the Negro, in order to be effective politically, should divide his vote, nationally as well as sectionally. It was argued that the Republican party would give the Negro more consideration if it were not so certain of his support; that even if the Negro were not strong enough to turn a national election he held the balance of power in many Congressional districts.

THESE ARGUMENTS, if addressed to any other group, would be sound enough. The trouble is that they do not fit the case of the Negro. Granting that the Negro has cause to be dissatisfied with the Republican party, where can he go if he leaves it? To the Democratic party? And what is there in the policy, program and conduct of the national Democratic party to attract the Negro?

LILY-WHITE REPUBLICANS OF NEW ORLEANS TAKE STEPS TO HALT WALTER COHEN

New Orleans, La., March 2.—The fight waged by the lily-white Louisiana Republicans, under the leadership of Emile Kuntz, collector of customs, against Walter Cohen, veteran politician and comptroller of customs, took a new angle last Thursday when Judge William H. Byrnes Jr. in the civil district court issued a preliminary injunction to restrain Cohen and ten of his followers from attempting to exercise the functions of members of the Republican state central committee or from attempting to select delegates to the National Republican convention at Kansas City, June 12.

Eleven members of Kuntz's lily-white faction last week obtained a temporary restraining order against the Cohen supporters and Cohen and the other defendants were cited to show cause why a preliminary injunction should not be issued. The lily-whites claim to have been elected members of the state central committee at a "convention" at Alexandria on Jan. 31.

Cohen, through his attorney, W. O. Hart (white), attempted to introduce evidence to show the meeting at which the committeemen were selected was illegal, but the bench ruled it out on the plaintiff's objections. Cohen contended that the committeemen were duly elected at the regular meeting of the organization, Feb. 6, in the L'Union Francaise building.

The court ruled that if the meeting was illegal and the plaintiffs were usurpers then it was up to the defendants to institute an intrusion into office suite because their rights to hold the offices could not be questioned in injunction proceedings.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

-:- The Political Desert -:-

By KELLY MILLER

GENERALLY speaking, the political movement of the Negro is retrograding. For the decades of the present century he has been sinking to lower and lower levels on the scale of political consideration. From Roosevelt to Taft was a great fall; from Taft to Wilson seemed like passing through zero in changing from a positive to a negative quantity; there has been little or no recurrent tendency under Harding and Coolidge.

The Negro himself is putting forth no effective effort to better the situation. Under the next administration he will do well to hold his own, albeit he has little to hold. The threadbare process of corralling delegates to the national convention every four years has all but worn itself to a frazzle. The delegates are not only becoming fewer and fewer in number but less and less in importance.

The national committeemen are accorded the secondary control of state patronage. Only white men may be appointed to important places in Mississippi and Georgia. Messrs. Howard and Davis have their say as between bad, good and indifferent white men. This gives them considerable influence which they undoubtedly use to advantage to the Negro group.

These two men are trustees of the Republican Party and are on the inside of the cup. Their effective power consists in helping to choose the candidate when the contest is close. In the gigantic battle now focusing between Hoover and the allies they must needs manoeuvre strategically. An unlucky decision will dislodge them from leadership. That either of them would have a Negro successor is extremely unlikely. Fragile as this thread is, it is the only hold the Negro has on national politics.

The Negro's influence on legislation or administration is weak to the point of impotency. We cannot induce Congress to enact laws for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, as under the Constitution it is its bounden duty to do. Affirmative legislation seems at present out of the question. We are unable to induce the administration to abolish departmental segregation or to fairly enforce the civil service law.

All of this may seem to be a gloomy picture, but it is painted from the facts with absolute faithfulness. And yet there are signs of promise in the sky. In the future the Negro will derive his power from local rather than from national political activity.

Like charity, political advantage and advancement will begin at home. Already Negroes vote unrestrictedly in all elections—local and national—in the great states of the North and West, as well as in the border states of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri. In the South we have seen recently several hopeful indications.

1. For several years Negroes in several southern states have declared themselves Democrats and sought the rights of suffrage under party regulations.

2. The success of Robert Church in Memphis, Tenn., is the most encouraging indication which has manifested itself for several decades. Tennessee has no law restricting the franchise along racial lines; it requires a poll tax of white and black alike. Many whites, and many more colored voters, fail to meet this requirement and thus disfranchise themselves.

Under the stimulation of Mr. Church's influence, twelve thousand colored voters actually qualified and cast their votes for the least objectionable of two Democratic condidates.

3. We learn from Associated Press dispatches that for the first time since reconstruction the Republican Party in Louisiana has put in the field a full ticket in competition with its Democratic rival. This action is calculated to stimulate every Republican to qualify, even under restrictive conditions, and to cast his vote as elector for the officer by whom he is to be governed. It is only by means of rival parties that the Negro may hope to regain his vote in the South.

Where there is only one party the ordinary citizen hardly takes the pains to go to the polls, only to vote for the inevitable. Theodore Roosevelt saw this when he projected in 1912 to form a competing party in every southern state, under the leadership of competent and courageous men who had the standing and influence requisite to bring things to pass.

Herein Negro leadership has been a dismal failure. It has limited its endeavor wholly to corralling national delegates and becoming patronage mongers. It has never seriously undertaken to put a rival ticket in every state and county and encourage every citizen to qualify and vote for the official of his own choice.

For the traditionally Republican Negro to complain that he is shut out from the Democratic primary is grotesque enough. The protest against such discrimination is righteous to the extent that it infringes upon the fundamental rights of citizens. But fundamentally each state needs two competing political parties.

The organization and operation of political machinery are rather expensive. It becomes, therefore, rather difficult for Negro men to organize, manipulate and control such agencies. Nor have they generally the resources, the resourcefulness and contact to make such movements successful.

It seems to be in the South a choice between the leadership of the arrogance of the "lily whites" and the impotence of the black and tan. Here again Robert Church points the way. Tennessee is a state of great wealth where the whites constitute the bulk and strength of the Republican Party and yet he leads the black cohorts and is a power of recognized potency in the general council of the party. He fights "lily whiteism" to a standstill; points the way for every Negro to vote effectively: at the same time keeps in the front ranks of the party leadership. With no disparagement to the others, it seems to me that Bob Church is the noblest Roman of them all.

PERRY W. HOWARD OUTWITS LIL WHITES

PERRY W. HOWARD
Nat. Rep. Committeeman

Re-elected National Republican Committeeman.

The state and District Republican conventions of Mississippi have been held and the Lily-Whites snowed under.

The big four from the state this time is composed of two colored and two white with the four votes split into half and eight persons representing the state at large.

The eight are: Perry W. Howard, John H. Cook, L. [illegible]ese, E. E. Robertson, W. [illegible]hoon, S. D. Redmond, George F. McClellan, N. D. Robinson.

Five of the above are white and three colored.

But the delegation taken as a whole—district and state—there is an even number of colored and white.

Perry W. Howard was re-elected National Republican Committeeman and Mrs. Mary C. Booze was re-elected National Republican Committeewoman.

Some of the alternates at large are from among the foremost white women of the South—the same being true of the delegates at large.

The whole crux of the situation was whether or not the Lily-Whites could succeed in getting other injunctions to prevent the regular organization from holding its conventions in due time. But the Lily-Whites were unable to keep up the injunction business and now that the conventions were held there will be no question as to the regularity.

The district delegates are as follows: First, G. B. McCuen; second, G. S. Goodman; third, Eugene P. Booze; Fourth, W. W. Phillips; fifth, C. J. Hyde; sixth, Thomas I. Keyes; seventh, F. S. Swalm; eighth, A. M. Redmond and E. L. Patton

PLANS GO ON FOR SEGREGATION OF G.O.P. DELEGATES

Little Chance Seen For Any Change In Convention Plan Of Jim Crow Housing

KANSAS CITY, MO., April 18—There is little chance that the present plans for the segregation of colored delegates to the G. O. P. convention here will be changed, as all pains are being taken to provide separate housing facilities.

In a letter transmitting to members of the Republican national committee contracts for hotel accomodations for their delegates, Charles F. Curry, secretary of the local committee on housing arrangements, advised the national committeemen that the contracts he inclosed did not include arrangements for the accomodations of colored delegates.

Mr. Curry told the national committeemen that if there are any colored in their delegations, they should forward their names to him so that he could turn them over to a committee of

local colored persons that has charge of the housing of colored delegates.

Has Accomodations

He stated that excellent accomodations in a colored hotel and the colored Young Men's Christian Association would be provided for colored delegates. The housing of delegates in the Street Hotel, a small place, and the branch of the Y. M. C. A., has the approval of the committee on arrangements of the Republican national committee.

Protests against the segregation of delegates have been received by the Republican national committee

Benjamin J. Davis, Republican national committeeman of Georgia, has written Conrad Mann, chairman of the local committee, that he and the other colored delegates from his state, comprising eleven of Georgia's sixteen delegates, would expect accomodations equal in all respects to those of white delegates and that "rooms with bath and telephone were wanted." A copy of this letter was forwarded to William M. Butler, chairman of the Republican national committee.

"Applesauce"

Mr. Mann replied to Mr. Davis that "We desire to accord Negro delegates and visitors the same courteous and considerate treatment which we alway show our own Negro population.,, Colored Republicans regard this statemen as "applesauce."

At previous conventions there has been no segregation. In seeking the convention, Mr. Mann promised Mr. Davis and Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, when he solicited their votes for Kansas City that there would be no segregation and they would be able to obtain any kind of hotel accomodations.

INJUNCTION IS SOUGHT BY 'LILYWHITES'

Say Cohen Faction Is Bent On Subverting Action Chosen Committee

NEW ORLEANS, LA., April 25—Charges the Walter L. Cohen, comptroller of customs, and a dissatisfied minority of Louisiana Republicans had entered into a conspiracy to commit illegal and fraudulent acts to subvert all legal actions and proceedings of the Republican state committee, were made last Wednesday by M. C. Norman, chairman in an application to Judge Walter L. Gleason of the civil district for a writ of injunction.

Judge Gleason signed an order for Cohen and 22 members of his faction to show cause on April 28 why they should not be enjoined and restrained from issuing a call for the purpose of illegally forming another committee, from holding any meetings, or doing any acts in cofiict with the duly constituted committee.

"Contemptuous Disregard"

Chairman Norman alleges that Cohen and his followers have "deliberately and with contemptuous disregard of the laws governing authorities of the Republican party, conspired together by illegal and fradulent acts to subvert every legal act and proceeding of the committee and to defeat the legal effect thereof."

Those made defendants in the injunction suit are: Walter L. Cohen, James L. Higgins, J. O. Kaelin, Victor J. Collins, Henry E. Braden, Frank Labit, Arnold L. Moss, Joseph Geddes W. E. Weeks, Gus Oetrling, and Frank B. Smith of New Orleans parish; C K. Miller, of Allen Parish; J. I. Lowery and Ernest Dulferes, Ascension parish; F. D. Benjamin, Avoydlies parish; J. Stewart Thompson, Calcasieu parish; H. F. Eddy, Cameron parish; Beverly V. Barranco, East Baton Rouge parish; C. W. Row, Oberville parish; Benjamin Freeman, Jefferson Davis parish; Mrs. Jane Perrin, St. Bernard parish; J. A. Richard, Targipahoa parish and Wade McGee, Washington parish.

Judges Cited

The districe judges of Ascension and East Baton Rouge parishes refused the injunctions to restrain C. H. Lowery and B. F. Barranco from attempting to exercise the functions of committeemen, and on Wednesday, attorneys representing the duly constituted committeemen applied to the supreme court for writs of certiorari and mandamus. The trial judges have been cited to show cause why the writs of mandamus should not be issued.

The effect of the order was to halt the "convention" called by the Trump committee, which met several weeks ago on call of Mrs. Perrin, former vice-chairman of the regular committee. The gathering of the Cohen faction to set up a convention organization was held at noon Thursday in the French Union hall. At the close of the convention the election of four delegates-at-large to the national Republican convention at Kansas City was announced. Delegates announced were J. L. Higgins New Orleans, ousted chairman of the state central committee; B. V. Barranco, of Baton Rouge; Mrs James Perrin and James Lewis, Jr., of New Orleans.

SAYS G.O.P. BETRAYS RACE

Failure To Enact Anti-Lynching Law Is Scored

DEMANDS ACTION

By JAMES HOWARD

Washington, D. C., April 24—Federal prosecution of citizens and officials who have any part in lynchings is proposed in a bill introduced by Representative Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin. Citizens would be liable to five year imprisonments and $5,000 fines for taking part in a lynching mob, and police officials who deliberately fail to take necessary precautions to prevent lynchings would be liable to twice that penalty. Communities in which lynchings occur would forfeit $10,000 for each lynching.

Fail To Keep Promise

In an interview with Mr. Berger he made the following statement:

"Four years have elapsed since the Republican Party pledged itself to the enactment 'at the earliest possible date' of a federal anti-lynching law, so that the full influence of the federal government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime. During those four years, 100 were killed by lawless mobs, while the Republican party, with a majority in both houses sufficient to carry policies that were beneficial to special interest groups, failed to keep its promise to outlaw lynchings.

Voters Are Betrayed

"This betrayal of those whose votes the Republican leaders obtained by making this platform pledge is an encouragement to lawless communities to continue the barbarous practice. In 1927, 16 people, entitled to the protection of our laws, were lynched, seven of them in the State of Mississippi alone, which holds the record for the year. The first duty of a government is to maintain the authority of its laws over the territory it governs. That duty our government has failed to perform.

Law Is Needed

'I hope congress will not adjourn until a genuine effort is made to enact a federal anti-lynching law. While thousands of people are being paid to spy on those of their fellow citizens who may be taking an occasional drink, and millions of dollars are being spent annually to deal with this petty lawlessness, not an effort is made to punish acts which bring injury and death to people, many of whom are innocent, and all of whom are entitled to protection under our constitution.

"It is not only the duty, but it is clearly within the power of congress to enact this legislation. In the fifth section of the 14th amendment, congress is given the power to enforce constitutional guaranties, and that power is broad enough to authorize the enactment of the bill I propose My bill is stronger than other anti-lynching bills that have been proposed. There are teeth in it. But is is not any stronger than the exigencies of the situation require or the menace which it is intended to deal with justify."

A GEORGIA MARTYR

The late L. F. Peterson, former Postmaster of Douglass, Ga., raised himself to the rank of martyr when he committed suicide after killing his assistant, J. T. Kirkland. The late Mr. Peterson was short in his accounts with the government, was removed from Office and with Atlanta penitentiary staring him in the face preferred to shuffle off his mortal coil meanwhile en route also shuffling off his assistant's coil.

Before suiciding he wrote a letter to his Congressman blaming the Republican party, it is said, for his downfall and woes. And this, of course, is sweet morsel to the Hons. Harris and George, Senators of the White people of Georgia, because Ben Davis, National Committeeman for Georgia, is colored. They say nothing about the Republican State chairman because he is white. It appears that they want the country to believe that Ben Davis is the whole Republican party of Georgia.

Every four years just preceding the presidential campaign this howl about corruption is set up with always the Negro in the foreground. No effort is ever spared by Southern Democrats in Congress to abuse, vilify and slander the Negro whether in politics or not. Their first and chief labor is to destroy the confidence and faith of their Republican colleagues in Congress and the country at large in the Negro, eliminate him completely from politics and subordinate him entirely, completely, thoroughly, without redress or the right of complaint to the will of the white man of the South.

And to this end they work energetically and without ceasing. A crooked postmaster adds murder to his theft of government money then kills himself. He leaves a letter in which it is said he blames the contributions he was "forced" to make to the Republican party for his lapses. Watering at the mouth for an opportunity to attack the Negro those pure and holy Democrats, Messrs. Harris, George and Lankford rush into print in denunciation of Ben Davis for bringing about the death of the dead embezzler. Instead of waiting to investigate and learn how much poker playing, playing the ponies, prohibition bootleg and dallying with wantons may have brought their protege to the gates of the penitentiary they bellow about corruption, etc., and threaten investigation. We vote for investigation and hope Republican Senators will have the guts to couple with the corruption charged investigation of corrupt elections made so by disfranchisement of Negroes.

Politics

Republican

Party Affiliation

THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

Palmetto Leader Columbia S.C. 2-18-28

On the 9th of February, as great a farce in the name of a State Convention was pulled off as ever occurred in this state. Negroes had better keep in mind that they cannot afford to take part in or acquiesce in unfairness. "Boss" Joe Tolbert may be able to afford it—it pays him to keep up the farce of a Republican party. But everyone with any sense knows that there is no such thing as a Republican party in this State. There is nothing but a little organization maintained on ignorance and by the unblushing use of money—in many instances just a promise of money, for he doesn't even play fair with the poor ignorant devils after they have trustingly voted as he tells them to do. Some of "Boss" Tolbert's faithful henchmen tell us that we ought not expose the system. But wy shouldn't we? Is he not debauching and degrading our people? And that too with the aid of some Negroes who care nothing for real welfare and uplift of their own people. They are only concerned with a free trip to the national convention, or perchance, the "Boss" may back them with his money in running as a delegate from a district.

But to the convention: The "Boss" had spent money right and left in an effort to get the "right" kind of delegates to the State Convention in an effort to defeat Attorney N. J. Frederick, who was running as delegate at large without the permission of the man who who has grown so great that he boasts of owning the Negroes of South Carolina, or at least the faithful ones who, every four years in particular, he gathers together and orders them what to do or who to "elect."

"Electing" a man as temporary chairman who had never attended a political convention before in his life, and perhaps ignorant of the rottenness that characterizes the policies and practises of the "Boss", the farce was on. While the carefully picked committee on credentials was pretending to hear contests, different speakers were called upon by the chairman who—sad to say—was a preacher. After calling up two ladies to speak, the convention spontaneously sent up a shout for "Frederick, Frederick." The Attorney responded with a speech, the likes of which, for plain facts and a denunciation of the rottenness that prevails as well as the bunk upon which the Negroes have been fed for all these years, had never before been heard on such an occasion. So effective was the attorney's speech that the "Boss" sent out a call for some of his faithful ones to take up the gage. An officeholder responded, white, of course. Why shouldn't he? His effort, however, was in vain. Next appeared a preacher by the name of Wm. Howard—a Negro. Yes, a Negro, trying to show that the present conditions of the Negro as a Republican is all right and the "Boss" ought be voted a medal of honor because under his reign the black Republicans in this State have descended from high and honorable position to that of spitoon cleaners or door-minders. The convention, however, was in no mood to listen to such stuff after the Attorney's plain dissection of facts and conditions and proceeded to howl the gentleman down.

The "Boss" sensing that all was not right, was scared to risk a vote and had his chairman—may we say innocent?—to declare the ticket of the "Boss" "elected." For once, the "Boss" had "the fear of God" placed in his heart. He had spent hundreds and hundreds of dollars. Attorney Frederick had spent none, but unlike other conventions, there were many men of independence and thought there, who were not interested in the same old bunk handed out year after year, nor could be swayed by the disreputable dollars of the "Boss."

Having "elected" their ticket, the independent minded delegates organized and really elected a ticket of their own, and of real colored men—not fellows who never in all these years had an independent idea in their heads. These kind of men the "Boss" has never cared for. His long suit is picking men who jump when he pulls the strings or sneeze when he takes his snuff. But the fight is on, and the Republican National Committee will have to decide the matter at Kansas City in June. The clean minded, independent Negroes mean to have decency in South Carolina or know the reason why. The time for kings and emporers have passed, and this State must be rid of such, and' by all means, free itself of the degrading and damnable practises of the worst influence that has operated among colored people since the days of the carpetbaggers and scalawags.

Mississippi Lily Whites Are Out-Maneuvered

Courier Pittsburg 2-17-28

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 9.—"Lily-white" Republicans were outmaneuvered at the meeting of the Republican State Committee of Mississippi here on February 1.

They came into the meeting with a set of demands regarding the procedure to be followed in the election of delegates to the county, district, state and national conventions. Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi and state chairman, who presided, without permitting the reading of these demands, referred them to a special committee. This committee reported that the demands of the "lily-white" Republicans were preposterous.

The avowed purpose of the "lily-whites" is to gain control of the Republican organization in Mississippi and exclude Negroes from participation in the councils of the party. They have secured a charter from the state. They sought recognition in Washington, but were advised that the organization of which Mr. Howard is the head, is the regular Republican party in Mississippi.

The activities of the "lily-white" Republicans have seemingly cemented all factions of the regular Republican party in Mississippi.

The latest coalition includes Dr. S. D. Redmond, Thomas J. Keys of Ocean Springs, Eugene P. Booze of Mound Bayou, W. L. Mhoon, E. L. Patton, George S. Goodman of Holly Springs, W. W. Phillips of Kosciusko, Dr. D. W. Sherrod of Meridian, T. G. Ewing of Vicksburg, Dr. R. L. Johnson, C. T. Butler of Meridian, the Rev. P. E. Frisby of Cannonsburg, W. H. Holtzclaw of Utica Institute, Dr. A. W. Dumas of Natchez and Diamond Cox.

The Republican state convention was called to meet here on March 14. The eight district conventions will meet on March 13.

Dr. Redmon, Mr. Holtclaw, Prof. Goodman, Mr. Booze and C. A. Whittington, white, of Tutwiler, were elected to fill vacancies on the state committee.

The state committee passed resolutions endorsing the candidacy of Herbert Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination, in the event that President Coolidge cannot be "drafted." Mr. Howard will manage the Hoover campaign in Mississippi.

IN FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CONVENTION HELD IN CHATHAM COUNTY

Journal, Savannah, Ga. Feb. 18, 28.

A few days ago Republican politics in Chatham County and the First Congressional District look serene.

The National Committeeman came into Chatham County and the 1st Congregational District and in the most amateurish and clumsly manner stirred up discord and strife by trying to dictate who should be chairman of the county and delegates to the State Convention.

Not learning anything by the rebuke administered him by the county organization, he again attempted to dictate in his over-bearing and dictatorial manner who should be the delegate to the National Convention, and again was slapped in the face, by the district convention disregarding his command who should and who should not be elected delegate to the National Convention.

He used poor judgment, to say the least, and was badly advised whom the Republicans of Chatham County and the First Congressional District would follow.

His go-between, J. G. Lemon, was unable to muster enough following to make out a ticket to the State Convention, and had to draft several persons who were not at the County meeting, and who were not with him and had no idea of following him anywhere nor in anything. Lemon certainly made a poor showing in the County Convention where he attempted to take the organization from the regular party, altho, we are advised he had been promised to be seated by the National Committeeman and he assured those who would follow him that they would be cared for, and seated right or wrong.

Out of about three hundred persons present he could not muster a half dozen, and boost of being the only educated Negro in Chatham County, and the leader of the dum rats, failed miserably to materialize, as it should have failed.

Again the National Commtteeman awarkedly forced Prof James of Statesboro in the race for delegate to the National Convention, hoping by his prestage, as National Committeeman to be able to overawe the county delegates and by other methods, not commendable, force the election of Poor Prof., but but again his clumsy hand showed so plainly that it was a foregoing conclusion he would loose, and he did.

We would advise the National Committeeman to stay out of the affairs of the local organizations, during the election period as he did when the time came to make appointments. When the time came to make appointments, he used a go-between to turn the office over to the outsiders, and booted the regular organization out by disregarding them.

The National Committeeman made such a mess of affairs in Chatham County and the First District that we would advise him hereafter to stay at home and let Clark Grier and Joe Watson do his scouting. Had he kept out of Chatham County and the First District all would have been serene, with an endorsement of the entire administration for the past four years.

SOUTH CAROLINA POLITICS AND MINISTERS

Palmetto Leader Columbia S. C. 2-18-28

Let it be understood at the outset that we are referring to things as they are in South Carolina and nowhere else, and to Republican politics as exist today. To put it mildly, present-day politics are not good for ministers. They are demoralized thereby. Anything ministers enter into actively ought feel their uplifting influence. Their very presence ought be a guarantee that fairness, justice and decency will prevail. They certainly ought not to be a party to dirt or degrading practices, nor willingly become a beneficiary of such. The ministers as a rule are just the same as the most ungodly trickster. For some reason or other, "Boss" Tolbert's brand of politics seems to mesmerize them. And he is dumb indeed who does not know that this "Boss" has reduced to a science the controlling of his delegates by the dirty use of money or the use of money in backing certain ones whose greatest glory is being elected a delegate to some of his series of conventions and finally to a national convention. That is all Republican politics mean to Negroes in South Carolina. The "Boss" "electes" nice, docile delegates and forgets all about them until the next "electing" time. The ministers are just as anxious and eager to be "elected" as the other fellows, nor do they care how it's done. This fact was disgustingly illustrated last week and ministers were not only the beneficiaries of the debauching of the ignorant of their own people, but were parties to it. "Boss" Joe bought up some Negroes like a cattle buyer buys hogs and other animals. They were given first a big dinner and afterwards paid off in money. This occurred at the Richland county convention. Ministers allowed themselves to be placed on the "Boss'" ticket which was voted for by those poor bought devils. Ministers knew it and themselves voted that ticket solidly. They were elected and grinned all over themselves, rejoicing that they had done a good day's work. But at what a price! The degradation of their own people whom they should have been trying to uplift. And then the State Convention! But we will say no more. All who attended know what happened and how. Even a preacher there tried to uphold, defend and protect the malodercus practises of his "Boss," but the convention howled him down, remembering that he previously had blasphemously said: "Jesus Christ hadn't done more for the Negroes of South Carolina than Mr. Tolbert." And yet some people wonder why the church is losing its hold on intelligent Negroes.

PANDEMONIUM REIGNS IN G. O. P. MEET

Says Jesus Could Do No More For Negroes Than Has Nat. Committeeman

The American Baltimore, Md. 2-18-28.

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Two opposing delegations to the National Republican Convention emerged from a lively tilt between Tolbert and anti-Tolbert forces when the smoke of the battle died away in the state convention held here Thursday.

Although, as has been the case for the last 18 years, Tolbert, with his well oiled machine was about to steam roller through his state, the plans were halted when the opposition, headed by N. J. Frederick, nearly gained control.

Frederick Bolts

Frederick, who has been popular since his conduct of the Aiken cases, got the floor shortly before the election of National Convention delegates, and seeing the trend of affairsthe Rev. J. C. White, Tolbert ad-herent, and pastor of the Zion Baptist Church here, attempted to put the slate over. There was confusion and in the wild pandemonium, two delegations were named and claimed by both sides to have been elected.

The Tolbert delegation wts J. W. Tolbert, S. L. Lepart, J. E. Dixon and J. H. Goodwin. The Frederick forces named Dr. W. M. Porter, Dr. Wilson of Florence, E. R. Riley andW. C. Johnson.

Contest

A contest is expected before the credentials committee of the National Convention.

The Rev. Wm. Howard, Columbia minister, is said to have declared during one of the sessions, that Jesus Christ Himself could not do any more for the Negroes in South Carolina than has Tolbert.

Cohen Credentials First Received

Courier 2-11-28

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 9. —The credentials of the first delegate elected to the Republican national convention, which will be held in Kansas City, Mo., June 12, were received at the offices of the Republican national committee here last Friday. They are for Walter L. Cohen, comptroller of customs at New Orleans, La.

Cohen was elected to rep- the first congressional dis- of Louisiana.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

THAT STATE CONVENTION

Palmetto Leader

Columbia S.C.

2-18-28.

Any one conversant with Republican politics as it is played in South Carolina if called upon to write up a state convention could have written several weeks ago what would happen at the meeting of the State Convention which convened in the State's capital, Thursday, Febraury 9th and had same sterotyped and ready for press the next morning and would not have missed any of the doings of the convention so far as the electing of the delegates, because Boss Tolbert had been over the State and had given orders to his appointed County chairmen as to what to do in their County Conventions and who to allow to be elected to come to the State Convention, and those elected were to be ordered to vote for a set of men designated by Boss Tolbert and all of these orders were carried out to the very letter as far as humanely possible by all the County Chairmen and the convention would have rolled off as forecasted by any well versed politician who happens to live in South Carolina, had Boss Tolbert not made the ONE mistake of borrowing a corrupt preacher from among the ranks of the Baptist preachers of the State to preside as Temporary Chairman of the convention assembled. Everything went along as planned. The convention was called to order by Boss Tolbert. Dr. H. C. Hardy, of Spartanburg, was called to the platform to lead a song; after which prayer was offered . Boss Tolbert made his usual howl about his loyalty to the party and called upon everybody to support his administration, had a roll call and ordered the convention to accept Rev. J. C. White pastor of the Zion Baptist Church, as their chairman for the day and Rev. White got up and made a nice little talk about what he was going to do along the line of giving every delegate in the hall a fair show; after which he pulled a tablet out of his pocket on which was written his orders. He appointed a committee on Credentials and while the committee was in the anti-room laughing up their sleeves at the hypocrisy of the whole thing, the convention delegates were being entertained by talks from various ones. Mrs. Rebecca Walton, Dr. M. A. Evans spoke; after which the delegates called for Lawyer N. J. Frederick and Boss Tolbert being in the anti-room and not out on the platform to coach Rev. White, Rev. White made the mistake of hearing the call o fthe people and allowed Lawyer Frederick to come upon the platform to speak. When Lawyer Frederick finished speaking, it was clearly evident that the convention was not at all for Tolbert and S. O. S. was sent to Boss Tolbert and he designated the henchman, Rev. William Howard of ("Jesus Christ himself could not do any more for South Carolina niggers than has Mr. Tolbert") fame brought about by making a discredit of Christ ability in his trying to picture Boss Tolbert on the convention floor, and another man whose name I do not recall just at present, but who is the postmaster at Georgetown, be called to answer Frederick. They met howls and cat calls from the delegation and pandomian reigned for more than half an hour, when L. A. Hawkins went up and prevailed with the chairman to give Frederick a 5 minutes rebuttal to whatever might be said and an agreement was reached and the two henchmen spoke. They said something but it evidently made no impression for the delegates were not in favor of whatever it was they wanted them to accept. When they sat down Frederick came back to the platform, but the Credential Committee and its cue and came in to report and Frederick at the sound of the gavel from Chairman White had to step down. The Credential Committee's report being adopted, the way was cleared for the electing of delegates to the National Republican Convention. Louis Waller, of Greenwood, got the floor and made a motion that we suspend the rules of the convention and elect J. W. Tolbert, S. L. Leapart, J. E. Dixon and J. H. Goodwin as delegates to the National Convention. The motion was seconded and the chairman, after stating the motion asked for objections. Delegates from all parts of the convention hall rose to offer their objection but the Tolbert steam roller had been ordered into action. Amid crys of not ready and I object, Chairman White was heard to exclaim "the 'ye's' have it and the ticket stands elected." The convention immediately went to pieces. Chairman White must have frightened himself, not having the pleasure of driving Boss Tolbert's steam roller before, for he immediately left the chair and went back stage as soon as he could disentangle himself from those who tried to prevail with him to come back and give them a fair deal as he so said he would do. The act came so unexpectedly until quite a few of the delegates could not just exatcly understand what had happened, until Delegate L. A. Hawkins came upon the platform and rapped for order. When order was obtained Hawkins stated that what had been done was all illegal and suggested that the convention proceed to elect a ticket, he being elected chairman and Dr. Wilson, secretary. After some discussion among the delegates W. M. Porter of Spartanburg, Dr. Wilson of Florence, E. R. Riley of Gaffney and L. A. Hawkins of Columbia were offered to the convention and upon motion they were elected as the delegates to the National Convention. Four alternates were also elected; after which a motion was made to adjourn the convention, and thus the curtain fell on the 1928 State Convention of the Republican party of South Carolina.

For the last sixteen years the people of this state, both white and colored, have been trying to rid themselves of the Tolbert rule. Many ways have been tried but the steam roller has managed to crush out every effort before it could materialize, but viewing the convention and the high handed act of the Temporary Chairman, we see a glorius opportunity open for the elimination of Boss Tolbert for all time. The Tolbert ticket is clearly illegal and if Rev. J. C White has in mind of ever doing something for his people and the party in partilcular the time is now. Rev. White holds the future Tolbert rule in the hollow of his hand. He has but to admit that he erred and the Tolbert ticket will be thrown out by the National Committee and with it will go J. W. Tolbert, National Committeeman. Rev. White can redeem his mistake and become famous. His name is in line for the historian of fame or shame. Will he make himself a name by giving the people back what he robbed them of or will he hang his head in shame for robbing the people for whatever it was Tolbert gave him?

W. M. P.

HOWARD, REPUBLICAN COMMITTEEMAN, PROTECTED BY THE COURT

Reporter

2-22-28

MERIDIAN, Miss., Feb. 20.—E. E. Roberts, secretary of the Republican group headed by Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman, declared in a statement here today that opposition to the party affairs in Mississippi under Mr. Howard was inconsistent, and speaking of the attempt made by the faction known as the Republican Council in Mississippi, Mr. Roberts is quoted as saying, "Just how an incorporated party would work and just who would have the rights in such a party I am unable to say."

Birmingham News

The word council was added to the name of the party headed by the former Governor George L. Sheldon of Nebraska, now a Mississippi planter. The charter was refused by the court and Mr. Perry W. Howard is still in charge of affairs in Mississippi, notwithstanding the pie counter hunters and rate haters continue to disurb and make trouble.

AN INSULT AND CHALLENGE TO NEGROES

Negro Republicans received quite a jolt this week when it was learned that the head of the Republican party in the State had branded Negro policemen as inefficient. Argus

This statement from Dr. E. B. Clements, Republican National Committeeman, was in answer to a letter written by Attorney John A. Davis, in which he cited the refusal of the local police board to employ Negroes as police officers as one of the reasons why Negroes were seeking alignment with Democrats.

The statement regarding Negroes as policemen coming from the head of the Repubican party in the State is very significant. It comes both as an insult and a challenge. The sweeping charge that Negroes as policemen are not efficient, is not only an insult, but libels the Negro Race. It also shows the attitude of the Republican party in the State toward the Negroes and challenges him and says; "what are you going to do about it?" 3-24-28 St. Louis Mo

Dr. Clements' statement shows the question of Negro police has been discussed with him as the head of his party in the State, and that a very definite conclusion has been reached among the party leaders; and we all know the results. The present police board has not added a single Negro to the force in St. Louis. There is a reason for this indictment against the Negroes by the Republican leaders of the State. Dr. Clements, Governor Baker, Mayor Miller, Collector Koeln, ex-Mayor Kiel, Henry Kortjohn, Arthur Freund, Allen Orrick, Oliver T. Remmers, nor any of the rest of the party leaders would DARE say that the Irish, Jews, Germans, Italians or what not were unfit for police duty. But, they all figure that the Negro is incapable of being insulted. They figure that the Negro belongs to the G. O. P. regardless of the treatment received at the hands of the party leaders, and the sad part about it is, some of the Negroes themselves haven't sense enough to know when they are really insulted.

Of course, Dr. Clements does not know what he is talking about. He has been "fed up" on that stuff by propaganda coming from the local police board. The truth of the matter is, Negroes make just as good officers as the whites, when the test is made on the square. The present police board is prejudiced against the Negroes of the city generally, hence it is they, themselves, who are insufficient and unfit for public office.

The statement by Dr. Clements is a reckless disregard for the truth. We are satisfied that he has not made an honest effort to ascertain the facts in the matter. We challenge him to prove his assertion, and if he refuses to accept this challenge, then let him acknowledge that he was honestly mistaken as to facts.

So far as we are concerned in this matter, we are willing to find colored men in the City of St. Louis from 200 to 500 in number and match them against a like number of whites and require them to go through any test physically or mentally in a fair or even reasonablly fair competition for police jobs, and let them stand or fall on their merits.

We make this confession of faith in the Negro because we know something about his history in this country. We know he has never been found wanting when given a man's chance, whether in war or whether in peace.

Of course, we cannot change our color. If the question of color is to enter the equation, then we will say it is chargeable only to Him who has of one blood created all men to dwell on this earth together, and He has fashioned them according to His own will.

TINKHAM OPENS FIGHT TO END DISFRANCHISEMENT OF NEGRO

Washington, D. C., March 7.—(By A. N. P.)—Southern legislators wh odefend the disfranchisement of the Negro and the nullification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the federal constitution were severely arraigned Tuesday in the House of Representatives by Congressman George Holden Tinkham, Republican of Massachusetts, in a highly documented ninety-minute speech in support of a resolution he has already introduced to force the Congress to reapportion southern representation according to voters, as required by the Fourteenth Amendment. Reporter

Mr. Tinkham's speech was deliberately prepared as an objection to speeches made earlier in this session of Congress by Southern men, notably Senator Carter Glass and Claude Swanson of Virginia, who had sought to maintain that the South was legally and morally justified in perfecting "ingenious devices" with which to deprive and cheat the Negro of his vote. 3-10-28

The South's argument is to the effect that the Fifteenth Amendment prohibits the denial of suffrage on grounds of race, color or creed, but does not mention other grounds which the South employs. Mr. Tinkham holds, however, that it was the intent of the makers of the amendment to safeguard the Negro's suffrage by providing for the restriction of representation whenever the suffrage right was abridged. Birmingham, Ala.

It has been significant that during all the exchanges regarding Negro suffrage, Southern senators and representatives have defended their course with much more warmth and support than Northern senators and representatives have shown in defense of the constitution. During Representative Tinkham's long and important speech, a speech dealing with issues fundamental to our system of government, Republican and Democratic members of the House left the chamber until Congressman Blanton of Texas was forced to call the attention of the speaker to the fact that there was much less than a quorum present. Objecting to Tinkham's speech, Blanton said:

"There are only about twenty-five Republicans and about twenty-five Democrats here, but if the gentleman from Massachusetts does not care whether anybody hears him or not, he can go on so far as I'm concerned."

Immediately following his address, Tinkham was attacked by Tillman of Arkansas, who boasted that this is a white man's countrq, that he is for white dominance, and who asked Tinkham from what race or people he had ascended or descended.

Prominent Southerners who have said much about the enforcement of the Prohibition Amendment were taken to task by Tinkham. One of these is William Gibbs McAdoo, described by Tinkham as a "conspicuous sympathizer with the nullification of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Nineteenth Amendments."

"It is the height of hypocrisy, mendacity, and fraud to assert that the failure to pass legislation to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment nullifies the constitution unless it is admitted that failure to pass legislation to enforce the Fourteenth, the Fifteenth Amendments nullifies the constitution," Tinkham asserted.

He concluded his speech with the following paragraphs:

"The theory of our government is that of a union of equal states, the essence of which is that all the states shall have equal political power and that the vote of a citizen of the United States in one state shall be the equal of the vote of a citizen of the United States in any other state. Disfranchisement in the southern states impairs the political rights of every other state and of every voter in every other state. The question has become a question of the equality of white men. Shall the state possess equal political power, or shall one-fourth of the state possess double the political power possessed by the remaining states? Shall all white persons possess equal political power, or shall each white person in the disfranchising states possess double the political power possessed by each white person in the remaining states? This is the concern of everv white citizen who wishes to preserve and defend his own political rights.

"There can be no more deadly assassination of the principles that our Union is a union of equal states and that all American citizens are entitled to the same privileges and immunities and are equal than the fact that in certain states of the Union one vote is equivalent to one and one-third votes or one and one-half votes in other states, made so in part by craftily drawn legislative enactments, partisan administration of election laws, and by fraud, in violation of constitutional mandatory requirements that representation shall be reduced where disfranchisement exists.

"At this moment United States Marines are in Nicaragua, it is said authoritatively, (to guarantee constitutional and fair elections). **What can the government who sent the marines to Nicaragua 'to guarantee constitutional and fair elections' there make to the demand that the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments of our constitution be enforced here by federal statutes?**

"The Congress of the United States has no moral right to ask the citizens of the United States to obey laws which it enacts when it has refused to obey the plain commands of the constitution in relation to its own elections and the election of the president. For America to pose before the world as dictator of international morality and sponsor of international ethics with her national representatives elected in flagrant and defiant violation of her constitution is the height of national hypocrisy.

"Honest and constitutional government does not today exist in the United States with the nullification of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and the Nineteenth Amendments."

In part response to Tinkham, Congressman Tillman, Democrat of Arkansas, said:

"Going back a little, white men, let me tell you something. Do you know that in all the world there are 31,000,000 square miles of land controlled by colored people. Now get this: There is only 22,000,000 square miles of land controlled by white people. Do you know that in the world there are 1,700,000,000 human beings, and 500,000.000 only are white, and 1,150,000,000 are colored.

"The last war was a white man's war, and 10,000,000 of the bravest and best men of the country who were white were killed. The white people are not increasing rapidly like the colored people. They have smaller families; and I can see the time when a rising tide of color may submerge the proud white man; and yet everything under God's sun, practically, that is worth a 'continental,' can be traced to the intelligence, activity, and morality of the white man."

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

HOOVER AND THE "RACE QUESTION"

Some of the white daily newspapers of the South, and particularly one local daily, seem to be greatly perturbed and excited with the order recently issued by Secretary of Commerce Herbert C. Hoover abolishing racial segregation in his department at Washington, D. C.

Raising their customary howl and waving the incendiary flag of "social equality," these Nordic editors are running true to bourbon form in their editorial tirades upon and bitter invectives against Mr. Hoover; contending that he has established "social equality" in his department at the national capital, and that his nomination and election to the presidency will endanger "white supremacy," and enthrone "social equality" between the colored and white races, resulting in interracial rancor, domestic disorders and internecine strife.

Mr. Hoover is one of the most outstanding advocates of efficiency, and this recent order of his, which abolished the segregation of colored employees in his department (a practice he inherited from a preceding administration), was issued to insure and assure a larger degree of efficiency and proficiency in his department, and not to force members of the two races together along social lines.

There can be very little sociability or fraternizing among employees if they give their employer an honest day's labor!

Mr. Hoover's attention was called to the fact that many colored employees, who were under the civil service rules and were getting salaries for a higher grade of work, were segregated and forced to do work below their classification, in order to keep all colored employees segregated in certain sections of the department.

When Mr. Hoover discovered that colored civil service employees drawing $2400 per annum, were assigned to $1800 per annum posts merely in order to segregate said colored employees, he readily recognized the fact that the government could not afford to pay such salaries to employees for a higher type of work and then these same employees, merely because of racial prejudice be shunted off in some corner of the building and made to do work below their civil service classification and salary scale.

In abolishing racial segregation from his department, Mr. Hoover has simply done his duty as any other patriotic American ought to do under similar circumstances (Dr. Hubert Work has also issued a similar order in his department—interior), and the question or issue of "social equality" is not only far-fetched, but it is in reality begging the question and trying to make a mountain out of a mole-hill, a game at which some of these Southern white editors are quite adept.

Whenever some black man is given a post or portfolio which brings him in contact with whites, some of these Dixie alarmists become unduly excited and begin to visualize the black menace gripping, enveloping and subduing the nation and relegating "white supremacy" to the archives of antiquity.

Under Democratic governors in several Northern states, Negroes hold important posts, work besides white men and women, and little is ever heard from such sections regarding the bugaboo of "social equality."

During the two national administrations of President Grover Cleveland a Negro served as registrar of the United States treasury, with quite a number of white employees connected with said department; and even the late President Wilson, when first elected to office, tendered this same position to an Oklahoma black Democrat, who declined to accept the post.

Tammany Hall, chief backer of Governor Alfred E. Smith for the Democratic presidential nomination, has several Negroes occupying official positions in the same rooms with whites in New York City, and these Southern newspapers are not showing any alarm at this situation.

In fact, New York City has a strong and powerful colored Democratic organization, and the issue of "social equality" is never raised when it comes to distributing some of the pie to the "faithful" ebony-hued Democrats.

If Negroes and whites, working side by side, are placed in the category of being "social equals," then numerous Southern plants and industries are guilty of instituting and maintaining a policy of "social equality" between the white and colored races.

For the lack of a better term, so many white Southerners confuse "social intermingling" with "social equality," neither of which can be regulated by law, custom or force; for no edict, power or statute can compel persons to be social equals who are not favorable to or inlined along such lines.

These belated attacks upon Mr. Hoover by these Dixie newspapers will have no appreciable effect upon his candidacy, and The Informer is of the opinion that they could serve their Democratic party in the South to far better advantage, if they would keep their editorial eyes on Tammany Hall and the "sidewalks of New York!"

Just to refresh some of these Southern white editors' minds on the origin, history and tradition of the national Republican party, perhaps it will not be amiss to remind them that Mr. Hoover's party sprang into existence principally on the issue of human rights, liberty and freedom, with the enslaved Negro as the fundamental cause for the birth of this new political party; and from 1860 until 1928 the Republican party has not only been the Negro's bulwark of safety, but this same party has been instrumental in upholding, safeguarding and maintaining American ideals and institutions.

In fact, it has been the only political party in the country big enough, courageous enough and democratic enough to occupy such high ground, and all the howlings, rantings and cavortings of a coterie of Dixie editors can not sway Mr. Hoover from his course of holden duty, nor destroy the faith and confidence the rank and file of Americans have in the party of Lincoln, Grant, Roosevelt, Coolidge and Hoover!

COHEN SEATED AS DELEGATE AT CONVENTION

However His Faction Is Defeated By Emil Kuntz, Hoover Supporter

DAVIS AND PERRY HOWARD ALSO SEATED

Howard Delegation Instructed For Hoover, Wins Decision

Kansas City, Mo.—Walter L. Cohen, Comptroller of Customs at New Orleans, was seated Thursday by the Republican National Committee as a delegate from the First District of his State, but his action was defeated by Emil Kuntz, white, National Committeeman and supporter of Herbert Hoover.

The Louisianans were seated after a fight that continued until a late hour and then, with little or no debate all interests united to seat the Perry Howard delegation from Mississippi. Both the Mississippi delegations were pledged to Hoover and the question was merely one of allowing the Hoover members of the National Committee to decide which group they wanted.

The Hoover leaders decided to seat the Howard group from Mississippi and carried their decision through with dispatch.

Delegations led by Ben Davis, National Committeeman from Georgia, and Perry Howard, Committeeman from Mississippi were seated.

One of the results of the committee votes taken was to keep Perry Howard in the saddle in Mississippi. A contesting delegation sought to keep Howard and his group of delegates out of the convention, but Howard, whose delegation is instructed for Hoover, got the decision by acclamation.

The Hoover pre-convention strength is now assured through the action of the national committee in seating practically the whole of the Hoover Southern delegates during the three days' hearings which ended late today.

These delegates include nine from Florida, two from Kentucky, eleven from Louisiana, twelve from Mississippi, two from Tennessee and twenty-six from Texas. An anti-Hoover delgate, Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, was seated, as were three from Georgia who are pledged first to Coolidge and then to Hoover. Four Lowden delegates from South Carolina went through by default when the contest was withdrawn. Both groups of contestants from Porto Rico were unpledged.

Before preceeding with the Texas contest the committee heard the contest in the tenth, or Memphis district of Tennessee. The committee without a roll call, voted to seat R. R. Church, Republican leader, of West Tennessee.

Hoover Seeking Unity At Kansas City

Secretary Of Commerce Continues To Increase Delegate Slate

Enthusiasm Strong

Entire Texas Delegation Is Seated

KANSAS CITY, June 6.—(AP)—The entire Texas delegation of 26 instructed for Secretary of Commerce Hoover was seated today by the Republican national committee.

In addition, the commerce secretary picked up three certain votes from Tennessee when a contest in the Third District was withdrawn and a delegate committed to Hoover was seated from the Tenth District.

The Texas result brought the total number of votes placed in the Hoover column by decisions on contests up to 62. The only other presidential candidates to gain at all was Frank O. Lowden, who was assured the support of the four delegates at large from South Carolina by the withdrawal of a contest.

Nearing the end of the hearings, the committee early tonight seated two uninstructed delegates from Porto Rico—Harry F. Bezosa and Germanica S. Belabal.

The seats had been contested but those who had challenged their credentials failed to press their case.

NEGRO DELEGATE SEATED.

KANSAS CITY, June 6.—(AP)—Herbert Hoover's presidential stock was given another boost today when decisions of the Republican national committee placed another batch of contested delegates definitely in his column.

Without the formality of a roll call the committee recognized the credentials of four delegates-at-large from Texas, instructed for the commerce secretary. It also placed on the temporary convention roll a negro delegate whose selection had been challenged. He also is a Hoover supporter.

Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois, benefited when withdrawal of a contest against the South Carolina "big four," which is credited to him, was ratified. The motion to do so was offered by a Hoover booster.

The Tennessee Hoover delegate seated was "Bob" Church, a Memphis negro whose right to sit in the convention had been challenged by Jim Quinn, also of Memphis. Counsel for Quinn accused Church of trafficking in Federal patronage and of violating an agreement to divide Republican political power in the Memphis district. Church's counsel insisted that he had been selected a delegate in an orderly way and was entitled to a seat.

The South Carolina delegation at large which was recognized today is headed by "Joe" Tolbert, national committeeman and supporter of Lowden.

ENTHUSIASM RUNS STRONG.

KANSAS CITY, June 6.—(AP)—Enthusiasm for Herbert Hoover ran strong today as opposition in the Republican national committee continued to be upset and more Hoover delegates were placed on the temporary roll of the national convention.

The group opposing Hoover's nomination, having as its backbone the formidable block of delegates pledged to Lowden, still held the hope it could stop the cabinet member but his own supporters, pointing to the continued favorable trend in delegate contest hearings actually began to talk of a nomination on the first ballot.

With the opening of the convention less than a week away, the one big enigma about which revolved a perfect swarm of uncertainties was the "draft Coolidge" movement. It was conceded freely that if the president should take some step to dissuade those who persist in their intention of voting for him, Hoover would be a heavy gainer and measurably nearer the nomination on the first roll call.

For Hoover Second.

In several states, delegations are more or less committed to Coolidge if he will run and then to Hoover if they become convinced that the president intends to leave the White House. Unless some definite disclaimer comes from Mr. Coolidge, there will be a large block of votes for him on the first ballot.

Evidence that the Lowden group intends to press the candidacy of the former Illinois governor with vigor was seen in the new plans laid at his headquarters to bring his availability to the attention of the delegates. More rooms were provided in the Baltimore Hotel and his managers set about having everything ready for Lowden himself to take charge when he reaches Kansas City.

Along with the increasing confidence in the Hoover camp, delegates found interest in speculating on the outcome of the "farmers' revolt" which has been heralded by some agricultural leaders. A breaking down of some of the early enthusiasm for a monster demonstration was noted in the convention city but a number of farm relief advocates already on the ground pointed out that the bulk of the corn belt leaders are still to come to Kansas City.

Apparently the advance notices from several Middle Western centers of a pilgrimage involving thousands of farmers have disconcerted some of those who are expected to lead the demands for farm relief along the lines of the vetoed McNary-Haugen bill. While declining to be brought openly into dispute with some of their workers who insisted such a pilgrimage would eventuate, a number of corn belt delegates frankly contended that a demonstration of usual size was impossible.

Watson Rather Weak

The point was made that Senator Watson, of Indiana, was able to get only one-third of the farmers of his state to the polls in his fight with Hoover, in spite of the fact that he emphasized strongly that the real issue at stake was farm relief of the McNary-Haugen variety. Some observers held that inasmuch as the planting season has started the possibility of many farmers leaving their homes has become even more remote.

Among the group which is working unceasingly to block the nomination of Secretary Hoover there was presented occasionally the name of Curtis, of Kansas, who was regarded as offering a way out of a deadlock in the event neither Hoover nor Lowden could be put over. The Kansas senator has not yet reached the convention city and his campaign on the ground is therefore awaiting its big impetus.

Whatever the speculations at this stage of the perliminaries concern themselves with, in the background is the realization that the final alignments among delegates may yet be in the making. A number of prominent party leaders still are to come, including Secretary Mellon, who will have a lot to say on what the big Pennsylvania delegation does, and various senators who frequently take a hand in the final selection of a nominee.

HOOVER GROUP SEATS THE LILY WHITES AT K. C.

Florida And Louisiana Race Delegates Are Thrown Out

PERRY HOWARD IS REPORTED IN DEAL

Mississippi Delegation Proxies Voted To Oust Cohen Group

KANSAS CITY, MO., (By Carl Murphy)—With the Hoover machine dominating, The Credentials Committee of the National Republican Convention seated the lily white delegations from Florida and Louisiana, here Tuesday.

Contest hearings were heard before the entire G. O. P. National committee seated significantly in Aarat Temple which is the Hoover headquarters.

McGill Loses

The Florida delegation headed by S. D. McGill who claimed that his opponents held the convention in a hotel which excluded Negroes, was defeated. McGill claimed that the opposing delegation was lily-white but this was denied, the opposition point out John Scott as a colored member of their delegation. They clinched their case by having McGill admit that he and others attended the convention and only bolted when they found themselves out-voted. The vote against McGill and his delegation was 51 to 33.

Walter Cohen Seated

Walter L. Cohen argued his own case against Louisiana lily-whites. The committee was in an uproar when Cohen, arising to shed his rain coat found himself in his suspenders. In his hurry to reach the committee room he had forgotten to don his top coat.

His eloquent appeal to seat his life long Republican delegation over Emile Kuntz's lily-whites, many of whom were Democrats up to this year, was applauded.

Mrs. Jane Perry, white, pleaded with the committee to seat the Cohen delegation, declaring that Cohen had made it possible for white women to participate in politics in that State.

Cohen, himself, was voted a seat, but the Hoover steam roller crushed all members of the Cohen faction except J. H. Lowery by a 53 to 45 vote.

Cohen admitted that his delegation represented the minority but he declared that the majority called the convention in Alexandria, a town where Negroes are not welcome and where two olored men were lynched last week because their brother shot the sheriff.

It was not a question of white leadership, said Cohen. Kuntz, his wife and son, are all white, while Cohen is half white.

Perry W. Howard, Benjamin Davis, Mrs. Mary Booze and Mrs. George Williams under reported agreement with Hoover forces absented themselves and their proxies voted against Cohen. The same line-up is expected to operate against Bob Church when the Tennessee contest is held.

Perry Howard Seated

Perry W. Howard and his delegation from Mississippi was seated by the committee. The report is that in return for his action in the Cohen and Church cases, his delegation and the Davis-Georgia delegation will be recognized by the Hoover machine.

The last contest to be held is the District of Columbia. Aaron Bradshaw, white, and Aaron Prioleau, Lowden delegates, will probably lose to Lincoln Townsend and John Hawkins, Hooverites. Hoover's three high-powered lawyers, including ex-Senator Irvine Lenroot, who voted against Cohen and McGill, were absent when the Howard delegation was seated.

Howard and S. D. Redmond in brilliant attacks stamped opponents as Democrats and soreheads.

Church Wins

With Hoover attorneys arguing his case, R. R. Church was seated as Tennessee delegate by acclamation.

Recalling that Perry Howard and Benjamin Davis received $2,000 each to handle Hoover campaign in their states ex-Representative Hary Wurzbach challenged their right to sit on National Commitee and vote on contests brought by non-Hooverites.

Tolbert Delegation

The South Carolina faction, headed by National Committeeman Tolbert, white, was seated over L. A. Hawkins, by agreement. The Tolbert delegates were: Samuel Lephart, Leslie Dixon, John Goodwin. Alternates were: L. C. Walters, Fred Redfern, Ben Madden and Edwin Sawyer.

Davis Contest Settled

Ben Davis' Georgia delegation settled their contest without a hearing.

R. B. Creager delegation, from Texas, which opposed Representatives Wurzbach, the only Republican Texas Congressman, was seated with only one vote opposing.

The Florida contest is expected to reach the floor of the State Convention

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Party Affiliation.

Republican.

An Issue and Political Expediency

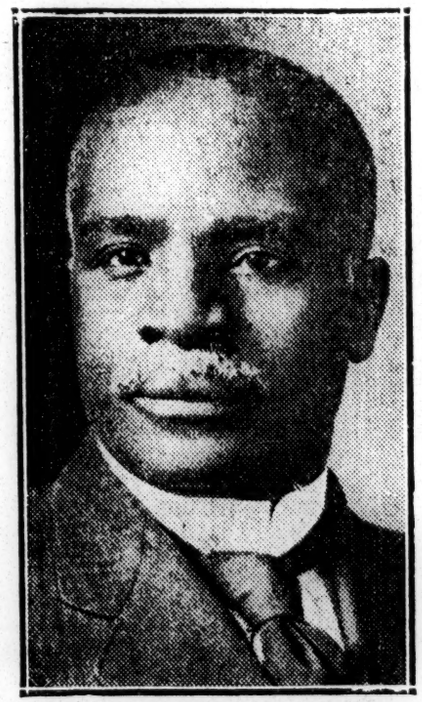
By KELLY MILLER

THE National Republican Convention has engaged to bind the Grand Old Party to the unequivocal enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. Borah and Butler met. The exponents of the drys and the wets locked horns. Borah won before the Republican Convention, as he did last year in public debate. The Eighteenth Amendment involves a double moral issue.

The very nature and essence of prohibition is moral. In all of the ages of history strong drink has been looked upon as an evil; temperance has been regarded as a virtue. A firm and determined espousal of the cause of temperance constitutes the only great moral commitment of the Republican Party since its original adoption of the cause of human freedom and manhood rights.

The Eighteenth Amendment at this time focuses the issue of the integrity and inviolability of the Constitution and the law. No party can hope to bid for public favor and openly advocate the annulment of organic law. I expect to see the Democratic Convention at Houston endeavor to outdo its Republican rival in avowing allegiance to the Constitution. It is a safe bet that Smith will outdo Hoover in lip homage to this great instrument. But party platforms are designed to attract voters, rather than to express sincere conviction.

The regret is great that the Grand Old Party did not choose to be as specific in its avowal to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as the Eighteenth. Herein lies a moral inconsistency. We gather from



— Kelly Miller —

press reports that the Negro contingency of the convention, some fifty strong, fought manfully for the inclusion of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, along with the Eighteenth, in the specific declaration. In this they were defeated. Their attitude must be applauded in general terms.

However, I have not learned of a single Negro participant, either at the convention or in the preliminary campaign, who openly and avowedly advocated prohibition on basic principle, with the single exception of the national committeeman from Georgia. Their tactics were rather vindictive and retaliatory.

They declared to the managers of the party: "If you insist on enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment, then we will also insist in the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments." The moral force of their contention was immeasurably weakened, because they failed to uphold prohibition for its own essential merit. It is a much greater virtue to uphold law as law rather than to select designated portions of the law promotive of peculiar interest of the race for emphatic advocacy.

The Republican Party and its candidate have been firmly committed to the Eighteenth Amendment. They are also committed, in general terms, to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Let the Negro enter the campaign with unreserved devotion to the cause of prohibition, with the kind of zeal and ardor that the true reformer would exhibit, if all the rest of the Constitution were fully enforced.

As I said in a previous release, I have little hope that the enforcement of the Civil War Amendments will be brought about by direct action. There is nothing in the present temper and purpose of the American people to justify such optimism. They rather, the American people, are disposed to persuade themselves to say, with Senator Borah, that these amendments are not being disobeyed, at least in the letter. Even the Southern people will sooner or later forget to remember the alleged horrors of reconstruction and the fancied dread of Negro domination. But more than all, deep-seated and far-reaching political, industrial and social forces are steadily making for the observance of political equality.

The enfranchisement of women, the shift of Negro population to the free States of the North, the lessening of racial pressure on the Southern area, the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, all tend towards this grand consummation devoutly to be wished.

I believe that the election of Mr. Hoover will contribute powerfully in the right direction. It is too much to hope that he will stress with equal emphasis all three of these amendments. The Republican platform on which he stands does not do so.

We face the coming campaign with eyes wide open. The chief proposition, as far as we are concerned, is the Eighteenth Amendment, with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as corollaries. We would, if we could, reverse the order and make the corollaries the leading proposition.

REPUBLICAN
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

JUN 30 1928

NEGRO AT KANSAS CITY

Prof Miller Notes Decline of Political Influence of His Race

To the Editor of The Republican:—

There were 50 Negro delegates and 10 alternates at the recent Republican convention. A goodly proportion came from northern districts. Their interests were mainly segregated and racial. The dominant issues of prohibition and farm relief did not arouse their emotions, nor stir their enthusiasm. After the manner of the southern plan, the Negro representatives were shut into themselves by domiciliary segregation. The great Methodist Episcopal conference had met in the same city several weeks previous. The colored contingency was similarly disposed of. Neither politics nor religion runs as deep as the color line.

The Negro is learning painfully the purpose of the Nordic to set a social separatrix which shall operate as effectively as the decimal point in arithmetic. The basic question is, what power has he to alter or affect that purpose? It operates with baleful effectiveness alike in education, religion, politics and social procedure. All of our bombardment does not seem to budge it.

The Negro delegates did not seem to figure in any effective way in the general procedure of the convention. In the main, they were lined up on the winning side long in advance. The Afro-American has an instinct for picking the winner and getting on the band wagon. The Negro contingent held its own racial caucus. It constituted only 5 per cent of the enrolment of the convention. The chief concern of the colored political leaders was to secure the insertion of a plank insisting upon the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments. The colored troops fought nobly, but to no avail. They were not even able to have these amendments bracketed with the 18th, whose enforcement was specially stressed as a party policy.

But, true to the verbal traditions of the party, some slight reference must needs be made to the Negro and his claims. Cerberus must have his sop. The insertion of the splinter of a plank on lynching was only a complimentary gesture. It serves to remind the race that the Grand Old Party has not altogether forgotten the black ally who was formerly held in such high regard and esteem. The insertion will not be without indirect benefit. It serves to keep fresh in the mind of the American people the enormity of the evil of lynching. I do not believe that a single Negro will be deceived thereby. It will certainly not be stressed as a campaign issue.

A colored delegate was assigned t make one of the four or five minut addresses seconding the nominatio of Secretary Hoover. This he di creditably. I believe that this is th only instance where a Negro func tioned conspicuously in the proceed ings. The race undoubtedly impress ed less influence upon the Kansa City convention than upon any lik session since enfranchisement. We can hardly believe that in 1884 John R. Lynch was chosen temporary chairman. As late as 1912, the late Henry Lincoln Johnson held the fate of the convention in the hollow of his hand. It was the emphatic and unswerving attitude of this bold black leader that determined the issue between Roosevelt and Taft, which put the Grand Old Party out of luck for the ensuing eight years. What a swift descent from the political hights of those days to the low level of this day!

But there is a darker semblance yet. The Negro was all but eliminated as a dominant force in any of the states. Throughout the South the lily whites are in the ascendency. The Negro politician has given up the ghost, without expectation, if not without hope, of resurrection.

The race owes President Harding an unrecognized political debt of gratitude. All had once before been lost to the Negro. When Judson Lyon was thrown off the national committee by Lincoln Johnson, there was not a single Negro representative left in that august body. Lincoln Johnson fought his way to chieftainship. But when President Harding seized the reins of power, he decided to turn over to Negro control the states of Mississippi and Louisiana. The national committeeship in that state belonged to Cohen, who by abnegation gave it to the very white man who has brought about his unhorsing. Such is political gratitude. But the outstanding fact remains, the Negro has been practically eliminated from trusteeship of the Grand Old Party. He is now holding on only by a tenuous thread which the scissors of political fate are ready to clip.

We face the coming struggle with eyes open. There must be devised an entirely new set of reasons and arguments for racial support of Hoover and the Grand Old Party. Appeal to Lincoln and Sumner and Grant will not sway Negro votes as it did aforetime. Extravagant prophecy of what the new administration is going to do for the Negro has been done to death in previous campaigns and said disillusionment. Only the simple will bite at that bait. Denunciation of the Democrats and dread of southern fire eaters, if Smith succeeds, will no longer frighten the simple. The southern fire eaters eat as much fire under Republican as under Democratic national authority.

There are sufficient sound reasons and good sense why the Negro should in this campaign prefer the Republican to the Democratic party, why Hoover should be chosen rather than Smith. But the Negro spellbinder must learn new speech. The one that he has used for the past 40 years has lost its spell and potency.

KELLY MILLER.

Washington, D. C., June 21, 1928.

KANSAS CITY CONVENTION IS DEPLORED

Called Least Productive Gathering Of Party In Its History

BY SIDNEY GRAHAM

The 1928 national confab of the Grand old Republican party in Kansas City, Mo, last week, was not particularly replete with thrills and surprises. It was more or less cut-and-dried affair with the results tallying fairly well with advance notions and expectations. The usual excitement of picking the presidential candidate was over before it started. Opposition to Hoover was weak and scattered from the start, and was completely demoralized by the sudden withdrawal of Ex-governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, who quit the race when the platform seemed not to make adequate provision for the farmers. The platform, too, was drawn up without a great deal of excitement. Most of the planks were abstract and wordy, and with the exception of those dealing with agricultural and prohibition questions, none of them occasioned a great deal of debate. All in all, the convention was run through in a hurry and the delegates were making reservations for their homeward trips almost before they had unpacked their suitcases.

Black Man Ignored

One principal thing for which the 1928 convention of the Republican party will be remembered, however, is the manner in which the black man, the most reliable and faithful ally that the party has ever known, was ignored, neglected and insulted at almost every turn. It is the general opinion throughout the United States that the 1928 convention promised less good to the black man than any that has ever gone before. "Lily-white delegations from the southern states were consistently seated in preference to the representatives of the abused colored people of that section. Segregation was openly and shamelessly practiced not only in the hotels, restaurants, etc., in the city at large, but in the convention hall itself where the party of Lincoln Mckinley, and Roosevelt was supposed to be carrying on the cause of true democracy and equality. Black delegates were there in reasonable numbers, and strong sentiment against them. The "Law Enforcement" plank was adopted, tacitly assumes that the Eighteenth amendment is the only poretion of the constitution that is being violated to any alarming extent at the present time, and therefore mentions that amendment only. The plank, credited to Senator Borah, of Idaho, who has often indicated a friendly and sympathetic attitude toward the Caucasian south in its treatment of the black man, reads thus:

"We reaffirm the American constitutional doctrines as announced by Geecrge Washington in his farewell address, to wit:

"The constitution which at any time exists until changed by the explicit and althentic act by the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all.'

"We also reaffirm the attitude of the American people toward the federal constitution as declared by Abraham Lincoln:: : : : :

" 'We are by both duty and inclination bound to stick by the consituttion in all its letter and spirit from beginning to end. I am for the honest enforcement of the constitution. Our safety, our liberty depends upon preserving the constitution of the United States, as our forefathers made it inviolate '

"The people through the method provided by the constitution have written the eighteenth amendment into the constitution. The Republican party pledges itself and its nominees to the observance and vigorous enforcement of this provision of the Constitution."

Other Groups Favored

Singularly—and insultingly—enough, the black Americans were about the only large large group which the farm aid plank inadequate, yet a great deal in the platform is occupied with citing the problems of the farmers and the remedies which the Republican party has instituted already and intends to institute in the future, if kept in power. Says the plank in part:

"The Republican party pledges itself to the enactment oflegislation creating a federal farm board clothed with the necessary powers to promote the establishment of farm owned and controlled stabilization corporations or associations to prevent and control surpluses through orderly distribution.

"We favor adequate tariff protection to such of our agricultural products are are affected by foreign competition.

"We favor, without putting the government into business, the establishment of a federal system of organization for cooperative and orderly marketing farm products.

"The vigorous efforts of this administration toward broadenitng our exports market will be continued.

"The Republican party pledges itself to the development and enactment of measures which we place the agricultural interests of America on a basis of economic equality with other industry to insure its prosperity and success."

Praises Women

The labor group is also given considerable attention in the platform, and even women as a group are praised for their record in public office. Indian citizens and immigrants are given sympathetic mention with remarks about "the priceless heritage of American citizenship," but the part of the platform relating to colored Americans is so remote and obscure that it would hardly be found at all were it not for the heading "The Negro" which northern newspapers condescend to put over it. It takes up about half an inch of print and is as follows:

"We ernew our recommendation that the Congress enact at the earliest possible date a federal anti-lynching law so that the full influence of the federal government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime."

This bare, cold statement, intimating as it does that lynching is the only grievance that the American black man has, and having been already made and ignored in the platform of folr years ago, is not creating any enthusiasm among the leaders of black Republicansism, but with nowhere as yet to turn, they feel still forced to follow the Republican banner and make the best of what they can get through their local or state power.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO THE G. O. P.?

(St. Louis Argus.)

During the recent Republican National Convention, which was held in Kansas City there was a little act here and a little talking there, which indicates that the G. O. P. as a party is undergoing certain changes that will in the course of time spell the elmination of the Negro, particularly those of the South, as a factor in party affairs.

And, while it is true that we, as a casual observer, are not quite sure that we fully understand "what it's all about," yet we are forced to confess that we see signs of lily-whiteism in the South in its ascendency in the ranks of the G. O. P., while we see omens of the illumination of the outstanding Negro as a factor in politics.

Of course, the Republican Party in the South is not a factor in the election of national officers, such as Presidents, Senators and Congressmen. It is a factor in the selection of the Republican nominees for President of the United States, and it also has to do with the dispensing of federal patronage in the several Southern states. It is the latter, which is causing the trouble in the form of contests after contests. And, while it is true that the Negroes represent the only Republican Party in the Southern states, because of their loyalty, devotion and party regularity, yet there are enough white men and women in the South who will "condescend" to the point where they will suffer themselves to be called Republicans in order to rob, as it were, the Negro of his power as a public office holder. There is no doubt about it—the cause at the bottom of all these contests is to build up white leadership in the Republican Party in the South. As a camouflage, most of these contests had some one or two, some sort of Negroes, affiliated with the whites, but rarely, if ever, are any outstanding or upright men and women of the race found among such delegates. It is generally understood that the whites are willing to give a little "color" to their operations as long as it is negligible and a kind which may be entirely eliminated at will.

This is a situation that we view with some alarm. We cannot but wonder what-it's-all-about. We claim that we understand very definitely the purpose of the lily whites of the South, but we are still wondering what will the Republican Party of the North do.

One of the contestants (white) from Mississippi stated before the committee on credentials, "unseat Perry Howard and Hoover will carry Mississippi." How ridiculous. We wonder, do the leaders of the Republican Party think for one moment that there is the remotest chance of a Republican candidate carrying Mississippi at a regular Presidential election.

All of this much ado about Ben Davis, Republican National Committeeman from Georgia, is for the most part an effort on the part of the lily whites to discredit Negro leadership. They do not want to see any Negro leaders, but particularly men of the race, who will assert their leadership whether it affects the white race or the colored race.

Hence we wonder what it all means.

CALLS FOR PICKETT'S RESIGNATION OR REMOVAL

Editor Atlanta Independent,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

I was a delegate to the Republican State Convention and to my District Convention, in both, our delegates were instructed to vote for Mr. Hoover as Republican nominee for President, and for you as nominee for National Committeeman for Georgia. At the State Convention Mr. Pickett presided, put the question and declared it unanimously carried. And, all Georgia is astounded at his conduct at Kansas City, in which he violated his written instructions voted against you, and entered into a conspiracy with others to defeat the nominee of the party for National Committeeman.

The Republicans of Georgia have never wanted Mr. Pickett for Chairman, he was never our choice, when we elected him we only took him because you thrust him upon us. He is not only incompetent, but his conduct at Kansas City proved that he was undependable. He should be asked to resign and if he does not resign, his office should be declared vacant and another chairman elected. The Republicans of Georgia can no longer trust him in view of his violation of their expressed will. I call on him to resign, and if he does not resign, I am one of the ten members of the State Central Committee willing to call a meeting of the Committee for the purpose of declaring his office vacant, and the election of a successor that the Republicans of Georgia can trust

You can publish this letter, with or without my name.

(Signed)
Delegate State Convention.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Walter L. Cohen Wins Personal Seat But Loses State Delegation; Perry Howard's Delegates Are All Seated

Republican National Committee, In Deciding Contests From Southern States, Favors Mostly The Hoover Factions

Kansas City, Mo.—In its hearing of contests from Georga, Louisiana and Mississippi, the Republican National Committee on Tuesday gave most of the seats to delegates reputed to be in favor of the Hoover candidacy.

The committee voted to seat the twelve delegates from Mississippi representing the Peryr Howard faction, Howard being the Negro national committeeman whose early negotiations with Rush Holland, Hoover worker, were related to the Senate committee by Holland.

Cohen A Necessity.

Walter W. Cohen, whose boast is that he is ineligible to the Ku-Klux Klan on three counts, being half Jew, half Negro and a Catholic, fought a losing fight for most of his Louisiana slate, but was seated himself without opposition from the Hoover forces as a district delegate.

"We couldn't have a Republican convention without Walter Cohen," Bascom Slemp, one of the Hoover managers and an old member of the committee, urged on the Hoover forces early in the day, so that when Cohen's case was reached ex-Senator Irving Lenroot, another Hoover manager who is acting as counsel for virtually all of the Hoover contesting delegates, made a graceful motion of withdrawing side in that particular fight.

One of the Georgia cases hangs over that of the 7th District, it being postponed on motion of the National Committeeman. Mrs. George S. Williams, who said she thought a compromise could be cached by tomorrow.

Negro Vote In Danger.

The attack now, which is being voiced by George W. Bean, defeated National Committeeman from Florida, Clarence Buck, Lowden manager, and other of the allies, is that "Hoover steamroller" by seating "Lily White" delegates and declining seats to the Negroes from the South, would turn the Negro votes in the North and Middle West to Governor Smith and endanger, if not lose, the electoral votes of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

Negro Delegates Favor Hoover

Colored Political Leaders from All Sections of Country Favor Nomination of Hoover.

Washington, D. C., June 6.—(By the Associated Negro Press.)—Leaders here are conceding that the nominee of the Republican party at Kansas City will be Herbert Hoover.

"It looks like the field against Hoover," said Dr. Emmett J. Scott, whose ability as a political analyst is well known," but you can't beat somebody with nobody and the field has nobody.

Most of the colored delegations from the South have lined up for Hoover. Both Howard, of Mississippi, and Davis, of Georgia, are for the Secretary of Commerce. Scipio Jones, the lone delegate from Arkansas, is said to be uncertain. His delegation was instructed for Lowden, but his friends predict that he will be found on the Hoover bandwagon.

Walter Cohen, for reasons strategists at the Capitol are unable to explain, it is said to be against Hoover. He declined their offer to have former Senator Lenroot present his contest at Kansas City. Originally, Cohen declared for the late Senator Willis, of Ohio, out of gratitude for Willis' espousal of his cause in the Senate when Cohen was seeking confirmation of his job as collector of port at New Orleans. Senator Willis' death removed that obligation. In the meantime, the lily whites of Louisiana, led by National Committeeman Kunze, and who are fighting Cohen, endorsed Hoover, which may account for his attitude.

Lily whites all over the South have endorsed Hoover for the reason, according to his friends, that they regard him as a sure winner. He is in some states endorsed by both the colored regulars and the lily white pretenders.

In Mississippi, former Governor Sheldon of Nebraska, who is alleged to have left his state under a cloud, has joined with U. G. Gordon, a postmaster of Chicago some thirty years ago to form the Southern States Republican League, a lily white combination. Gordon, who is the Dawes representative in Mississippi public utilities, is said to be really for Dawes or Lowden, but his faction endorsed Hoover.

In Chicago, Oscar DePriest and Dan Jackson, district delegates, swear they will never vote for Lowden, although they were instructed for him, because his was the only name on the ballot. They say they are for Coolidge, but are expected to end by voting for whoever Mayor "Bill" Thompson directs.

Bob Church, of Tennessee, has had his hands full in the local battle at Memphis, where the whites have fought him every inch of the way. He is a district delegate. The Tennessee delegation is instructed for Hoover.

In Texas, the Creager faction, led by Committeeman Creager, endorsed Hoover, but have not a colored delegate or alternate. The Congressman Wurzbach group have one Negro district delegate and one alternate and the delegation is uninstructed.

Dr. Alexander, of New Jersey, is for Hoover. John R. Hawkins, of the District of Columbia is also for Hoover. Homer G. Phillips, of St. Louis, who was defeated as a Hoover delegate in the Missouri State Convention, which went on record for Lowden, was a visitor in Washington last week. Attorney Phillips, who is president of the National Negro Bar Association, conferred with Hoover leaders and is expected to take a definite part in their activities.

LILY-WHITISM NOW OFFICIAL REPUBLICANISM

Seating of Southern Whites Is Endorsement of the Lily Idea

This republican national convention has further endorsed the program of lily-whitism begun years ago by party chiefs whose declared purpose was to drive the Negro from leadership in the party.

During the convention, of course, the excuse has been that the well oiled Hoover machine simply swept all before it. Those not supporting the secretary of commerce. The smart boys, who can explain everything, have been saying it was just a case of Negroes being either uninstructed or against Hoover, and on his score, were not seated.

Leadership the Cause.

But those who have followed the history of the party in the South for the last few years see a definite trend toward lily-whitism.

The white republicans in the South—and some white republicans who have just recently gone South—intend to take the leadership of the party from Negroes.

Thus is Colonel R. B. Creager, national committeeman from Texas, whose faction was seated at the convention over what was known as the regular republican delegates, including some Negroes. The Creager delegation had not a single Negro on it.

Creager went South from Ohio several years ago, much after the manner that the old time carpetbaggers went South. He sought and gained political prominence by preaching the doctrine of lily-whitism.

"Leaders Must Be White"

Creager has never sailed under false colors. He is out and out against any sort of Negro leadership and very little Negro participation.

In a speech at a hotel in New Orleans last February, he told the assembled whites, "If the republican party is to amount to anything in the South it must be led by white men."

Creager was in Louisiana then aiding the Kuntz-lily-whites to "shove over" their delegates against Walter L. Cohen.

Negro Leaders Support Him

The astounding thing about this whole lily-white question is the fact that the four Negro members of the national committee voted in support of the lily-white idea preached by Creager and others like him.

Perry Howard, Ben Davis, Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Booze voted for the seating of lily-whites in Florida, Louisiana and Texas. Both of them knifed their neighbor, "little Caesar" Cohen of Louisiana, knowing that Creager, the pure lily-white, had joined with Kuntz to defeat Cohen.

They turned from knifing Cohen to cast their votes for Creager and his machine in Texas—Creager, who has declared war on Negro leadership.

The support of the Negroes on the committee given to the Creager lily-whites, in Texas, especially, means that they helped the Texas plan to completely disfranchise the Negro. The Texas democrats are already striving to keep the Negroes from their party primaries, and although the fight was carried to the United Supreme Court and won, they are still trying to disfranchise the black voters. Then, on top of this, with the lily-whites in Texas, led by Creager, a northern carpetbagger, sent South by Harding in 1920, preaching that the Negro must be shorn of power and votes given the Creager program by Negroes means they are actually helping to disfranchise their own people.

Creager kept his hands off the Perry Howard delegation from Mississippi, not so much, perhaps, because he loves Howard's leadership as because the word had gone down that Howard's delegates were "sure" Hoover, whereas the contesting Mississippians were not so sure. Perry Howard has been called a slippery eel, in no complimentary tone of voice, but it becomes a question as to whether he is not, after all, one of the best Negro politicians—whose skirmishes that it intends to support lily-whites against black- and- tan or all blacks.

Now Has National O. K.

The present situation in the party is one where the national republican committee and the party itself, has placed its stamp of approval on the lily-white idea and has indicated in first qualification of course, is slip- previous qualification of course, is slip-

BLEASE AND HEFLIN TRYING THE OLD SCARE

The Honorables Cole L. Blease, Senator of the white people of South Carolina, and Thomas J. Hefflin, Senator of the white people of Alabama are working the same old scare that has driven the white masses of South Carolina, Alabama and other Southern states to vote their prejudice instead of their interests, to vote their feelings, stirred by demagogues, instead of their judgment, in every election since the Civil War.

Industrial development of the South is beginning to have its liberalizing effect and white men are beginning to think as well as to feel. Herald Common Decent

Possessing rare foresight for demagogues of their calibre, and visioning the passing of partisan hatreds in the South, the growth of a sentiment for a division on party lines intensified by the imminence of the nomination by the Democratic party of Al Smith, a Catholic, a "wet" and a Tammany boss, Blease and Heflin have rushed in to sweep back the rising tide by waving the blck flag.

For forty years the chief stock in trade of the southern demagogues has been the race issue; "Negro domination," "Social Equality" have been the bugbear with which to affright the white masses of the South and through their fears and pride drive them together in solid phalanx against imaginary political enemies who would subject them to "Negro domination" and "Social Equality."

Never in fifty years has a breaking up of the Solid South showed such signs of promise as since the nomination of Hoover by the Republican Party and Smith by the Democratic Party, loom as an almost certainty.

These honorable Senators dread the impending nomination of Hoover and are therefore endeavoring to make him odious to the prejudice ridden voters of the South by charging that he is the candidate of the Negro. A Negro lover because he abolished unjust and humiliating conditions which surrounded Negroes in the Department of Commerce. They have issued propaganda under their franking privilege and scattered far all over the South that Hoover has promised, if elected to appoint a Negro in his Cabinet. Of all the silly fabrications created from the very beginning to injure Secretary Hoover this is the silliest, most infamous and most absolutely devoid of truth.

5-19-28 Baltimore, Md

Secretary Hoover has made no promise respecting the appointment of Negroes to office when he is elected president, will make no such promise and not a Negro in the United States or its possessions believes or expects that he will honor one of the race with a Cabinet position. And the attempt to inflame the prejudice of southern voters against the Secretary by such an absolute unthruth should be throttled now in its earliest stage.

The Negro group favors the nomination and election of Mr. Hoover because of his repeatedly demonstrated administrative ability, his high mindedness, his fairness and leanng towards justce and fairplay as shown in handling the Flood Relief situation, and his broad humanity and deep sympathy for all classes of his fellow citizens.

Negroes do not harbor any thoughts or expectations of special consideration from Mr. Hoover when he becomes President. They will look forward to and will have a right to expect a square deal from him, such recognition as their support should merit and as the position they occupy as law abiding taxpaying citizens of the Republic entitles them.

White Women Were Aides To Cohen And Perry Howard

KANSAS CITY, (Special) — The aide of Walter Cohen, New Orleans Collector of Customs and Louisiana State political leader, is Mrs. Jane F. Perrin, white, wealthy, a writer and club woman.

It was she wso stood in the National Committee and made an impassioned appeal to women members for the seating of the Cohen delegation on the ground that Cohen had invited white women into politics when Cohen's opponents sought to keep them out.

Mrs. Perrin has been vice chairman of the state committee for eight years. She is one of the few outstanding Republican women of Louisiana.

Tall, dark haired, unmistakably identified as a Southern woman when she begins to talk, Mrs. Perrin is every inch a "lady" and at the same time a fighter. Mrs. Perrin is a plantation woman, living just outside New Orleans.

As a writer, she was a member of the magazine staffs of McClure's and Munsey's for many years. She covered the white slavery stories in the South as her first assignments, and later, was sent to Europe on two different occasions to write editorials.

Interested In Education

A wealthy woman, Mrs. Perrin turns over all she makes as a writer and lecturer to the education of needy children. She is said to have supported and educated twenty-one children.

Mrs. Perrin is identified with virtually every club for women in New Orleans. She has held important offices in many of them and is recognized as a thinker and responsible leader.

She is particularly popular with the race whose cause she has upheld in every issue.

Howard's Aide

One of Perry Howard's chief aides was a young white woman from Mississippi, who jumped in the air and shouted aloud when the committee seated Mr. Howard's delegation on which she is a presidential elector.

She ran from the room crying "Howard's seated" and returning after a while, insisted on shaking hands with every member of the committee.

Hoover's Machine

If Mr. Herbert Hoover's steam roller functions in the coming weeks as it did last week in settling the convention contests, Mr. Hoover should land in the White House by the largest majority ever given a president.

The Republican National Committee acting as a credentials committee for the convention opened its sessions with 51 to 33 vote (nearly 2 to 1) to seat the Hoover delegation from Louisiana.

By the time the last contest was heard the Hoover vote had increased to 3-1. The ballot was 72 to 27.

Of the 71 cases actually heard and voted on by the committee, Mr. Hoover won 65. The Hoover managers could have won 67, but they deliberately voted against their own delegates in two Louisiana districts in order to win favor with Mr. Walter Cohen and Mr. J. H. Lowery for 35 years Republican leaders there. Mr. Cohen was for Curtis for President and Mr. Lowery for Lowden.

Hoover managers were in absolute control of the committee at all times. The first day's session gave his opponents an idea of what was coming, but when they began using the long distance telephone and telegraph to obtain proxies of absent members, they found that Mr. Hoover had the proxies already "sewed up."

Mr. Hoover's private secretary and leaders in the campaign sat in the committee and voted after obtaining these proxies.

The Hoover crowd not only saw to it that the committee had a majority of Hoover votes but they also provided a battery of three high powered attorneys who headed by ex-Senator Irvine Lenroot, made mincemeat of the small town Dixie lawyers representing the opposition. Under their simple and persuasive eloquence, the Hoover cause acquired a halo of righteousness, the opposition a semblance of ruffianism.

Out of all the anti Hooverites, Mr. Walter Cohen alone proved himself a match for this high powered legal combination in eloquence, in wit, in knowledge of the legal difficulties and in ability to state his case convincingly.

Mr. Cohen in a flimsy raincoat which from a distance looked like a linen duster, convulsed the committee with laughter. In his hurry to reach the committeeroom he had left his top coat at his hotel, he explained, and he and the committee discovered its absence simultaneously when he opened his remarks and took off his raincoat to find himself clad in shirt sleeves and suspenders.

The biggest laugh of all was elicited when Mr. Cohen explained how his opponent Mr. Emile Kuntz was chairman of the state central committee, his wife vice chairman, his daughter head of the executive committee, and his son treasurer.

The Hoover machine skidded long enough to seat Mr. Cohen and his friend Mr. Lowery and then as if ashamed of humanity recognized the entire lily-white "prairie dog" delegation of Texas, "Goose Neck Bill" McDonald, that staunch black Texas republican for a quarter of a century, and Congressman Harry Wurzbach, white, were mashed flat.

Criticism has been directed at Mr. Perry Howard, Mrs. George S. Williams, Mr. Benjamin Davis and Mrs. Mary C. Booze who seeing the trend of affairs, hopped on the Hoover bandwagon forthwith and permitted their votes to aid in seating lily whites of Texas, Louisiana and Florida. Mr. Robert R. Church likewise wisely joined the Hoover crowd and saved his political skin.

But the fact is they played the political game the only way it could be played in the face of the Hoover steam roller.

The net result of the contests may be indicated by the following score sheet:—

(1) Hoover rated 100 per cent as an organizer

(2) Hoover interested in Hoover votes rather than in political justice.

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These honorable Senators dread the impending nomination of Hoover and are therefore endeavoring to make him odious to the prejudice ridden voters of the South by charging that he is the candidate of the Negro. A Negro lover because he abolished unjust and humiliating conditions which surrounded Negroes in the Department of Commerce. They have issued propaganda under their franking privilege and scattered far all over the South that Hoover has promised, if elected to appoint a Negro in his Cabinet. Of all the silly fabrications created from the very beginning to injure Secretary Hoover this is the silliest, most infamous and most absolutely devoid of truth.

5-19-28 Baltimore, Md.

Secretary Hoover has made no promise respecting the appointment of Negroes to office when he is elected president, will make no such promise and not a Negro in the United States or its possessions believes or expects that he will honor one of the race with a Cabinet position. And the attempt to inflame the prejudice of southern voters against the Secretary by such an absolute unthruth should be throttled now in its earliest stage.

The Negro group favors the nomination and election of Mr. Hoover because of his repeatedly demonstrated administrative ability, his high mindedness, his fairness and leanng towards justce and fairplay as shown in handling the Flood Relief situation, and his broad humanity and deep sympathy for all classes of his fellow citizens.

Negroes do not harbor any thoughts or expectations of special consideration from Mr. Hoover when he becomes President. They will look forward to and will have a right to expect a square deal from him, such recognition as their support should merit and as the position they occupy as law abiding taxpaying citizens of the Republic entitles them.

White Women Were Aides To Cohen And Perry Howard

KANSAS CITY, (Special) — The aide of Walter Cohen, New Orleans Collector of Customs and Louisiana State political leader, is Mrs. Jane F. Perrin, white, wealthy, a writer and club woman.

It was she wso stood in the National Committee and made an impassioned appeal to women members for the seating of the Cohen delegation on the ground that Cohen had invited white women into politics when Cohen's opponents sought to keep them out.

Mrs. Perrin has been vice chairman of the state committee for eight years. She is one of the few outstanding Republican women of Louisiana.

Tall, dark haired, unmistakably identified as a Southern woman when she begins to talk, Mrs. Perrin is every inch a "lady" and at the same time a fighter. Mrs. Perrin is a plantation woman, living just outside New Orleans.

As a writer, she was a member of the magazine staffs of McClure's and Munsey's for many years. She covered the white slavery stories in the South as her first assignments, and later, was sent to Europe on two different occasions to write editorials.

Interested In Education

A wealthy woman, Mrs. Perrin turns over all she makes as a writer and lecturer to the education of needy children. She is said to have supported and educated twenty-one children.

Mrs. Perrin is identified with virtually every club for women in New Orleans. She has held important offices in many of them and is recognized as a thinker and responsible leader.

She is particularly popular with the race whose cause she has upheld in every issue.

Howard's Aide

One of Perry Howard's chief aides was a young white woman from Mississippi, who jumped in the air and shouted aloud when the committee seated Mr. Howard's delegation on which she is a presidential elector. She ran from the room crying "Howard's seated" and returning after a while, insisted on shaking hands with every member of the committee.

Hoover's Machine

If Mr. Herbert Hoover's steam roller functions in the coming weeks as it did last week in settling the convention contests, Mr. Hoover should land in the White House by the largest majority ever given a president.

The Republican National Committee acting as a credentials committee for the convention opened its sessions with 51 to 33 vote (nearly 2 to 1) to seat the Hoover delegation from Louisiana.

By the time the last contest was heard the Hoover vote had increased to 3-1. The ballot was 72 to 27.

Of the 71 cases actually heard and voted on by the committee, Mr. Hoover won 65. The Hoover managers could have won 67, but they deliberately voted against their own delegates in two Louisiana districts in order to win favor with Mr. Walter Cohen and Mr. J. H. Lowery for 35 years Republican leaders there. Mr. Cohen was for Curtis for President and Mr. Lowery for Lowden.

Hoover managers were in absolute control of the committee at all times. The first day's session gave his opponents an idea of what was coming, but when they began using the long distance telephone and telegraph to obtain proxies of absent members, they found that Mr. Hoover had the proxies already "sewed up."

Mr. Hoover's private secretary and leaders in the campaign sat in the committee and voted after obtaining these proxies.

The Hoover crowd not only saw to it that the committee had a majority of Hoover votes but they also provided a battery of three high powered attorneys who headed by ex-Senator Irvine Lenroot, made mincemeat of the small town Dixie lawyers representing the opposition. Under their simple and persuasive eloquence, the Hoover cause acquired a halo of righteousness, the opposition a semblance of ruffianism.

Out of all the anti Hooverites, Mr. Walter Cohen alone proved himself a match for this high powered legal combination in eloquence, in wit, in knowledge of the legal difficulties and in ability to state his case convincingly.

Mr. Cohen in a flimsy raincoat which from a distance looked like a linen duster, convulsed the committee with laughter. In his hurry to reach the committeeroom he had left his top coat at his hotel, he explained, and the committee discovered its absence simultaneously when he opened his remarks and took off his raincoat to find himself clad in shirt sleeves and suspenders.

The biggest laugh of all was elicited when Mr. Cohen explained how his opponent Mr. Emile Kuntz was chairman of the state central committee, his wife vice chairman, his daughter head of the executive committee, and his son treasurer.

The Hoover machine skidded long enough to seat Mr. Cohen and his friend Mr. Lowery and then as if ashamed of humanity recognized the entire lily-white "prairie dog" delegation of Texas, "Goose Neck Bill" McDonald, that staunch black Texas republican for a quarter of a century, and Congressman Harry Wurzbach, white, were mashed flat.

Criticism has been directed at Mr. Perry Howard, Mr. George S. Williams, Mr. Benjamin Davis and Mrs. Mary C. Booze who seeing the trend of affairs, hopped on the Hoover bandwagon forthwith and permitted their votes to aid in seating lily whites of Texas, Louisiana and Florida. Mr. Robert R. Church likewise joined the Hoover crowd and saved his political skin.

But the fact is they played the political game the only way it could be played in the face of the Hoover steam roller.

The net result of the contests may be indicated by the following score sheet:—

(1) Hoover rated 100 per cent as an organizer than in political justice.

(2) Hoover interested in Hoover votes rather than in political justice.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

OUR DELEGATES

Rumbles of disgust and dissatisfaction have been heard from many sources over the conduct and actions of the members of the black race who were delegated to the recent National Republican Convention. It is said that the majority of these delegates were unacquainted with the paramount issues involved and voted like rubber stamps and automatons on the issues presented to the convention. These delegates, at least the majority of them, voted against delegations of their own race, who sought to be seated. They voted as the majority of the other delegates voted but they did not seem to realize the unfortunate status of their fellow men of color.

The Republican Party has nominated Herbert Hoover as its candidate for for President of the United States. Mr. Hoover's record is now before the people and his services during the World War, his actions as Secretary of Commerce and his performances as Chairman of the committee for flood relief stand as examples of his ability to serve. The Republican Party perhaps made a wise choice in selecting him and maybe the black delegates were wise in selecting him. We do not hold them to task for so doing but we do not believe that party politics should require them to vote against their own and replace them with the "Lily Whites," who stand for segregation, dsfranchisement and white domination. We do not believe that because some of the delegates of our race had expressed themselves as being against the majority that they should have been voted against by their own brothers in blood. It strikes us that they owed a duty to their race as well as to their party.

Almost everybody who went to the convention wanted to be on the band wagon of the winner. They knew that it was good politics to be with the winner, under our bureaucratic system. They knew that to the victor goes the spoils, but it strikes us that victory and reward bought at the expense of self-respect and racial loyalty is not enduring and of no survival value. The black delegates could have pledged themselves to Mr. Hoover and still refused to vote against the seating of their brothers who sought recognition from Florida, Louisiana and Texas. It has been offered in explanation that these delegations had been bought up and were themselves manikins and marionettes for the "Lily Whites." That may be true, but we do know that they were defeated by southern whites and southern white Republicans are almost invariably "Lily Whites." It was poor business and rang down criticism, sarcasm and disgust upon us.

Such actions as these performed before the watching eyes of the nation do not rivet us any closer in the ranks of the Grand Old Party, they do not cement any closer racial alliances, they do not weave together any finer intra-consolidation of political forces, they do not inspire respect nor demand recognition. On the other hand it reveals the weakness of the race, it discloses the lack of co-ordination of efforts, it bares gullibilty and cupidity of the group and reflects the inferiority complex so deadly to a struggling people.

It seems that the American black people are unfamiliar with the issues before the American people, to wit, the enforcement of certain well known amendments, farm problems, taxation. They do not seem to understand the purport of Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam, the MacFadden bill or the Jones White shipping bill nor the McNary-Haugen bill. We do not believe the majority of the white delegates knew very much about them either but every black man knows that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are not enforced and yet no man of color offered a plank in the party's platform to that end. Senator Borah put one in it in regard to enforcing the liquor amendment. It is bad business, unintelligent and unworthy of a race of under-privileged people.

Ending Of Republican Convention Discloses Similar Fate For Both Black and White Anti-Hooverites

Negro Press Correspondents Not Allowed At Convention Press Table, But Nordic Aspirations Were Likewise Restricted

(Staff Correspondence of The Age.)

St. Louis, (en route home from Kansas City, Mo.)—The Republican National Convention of 1928 ends. There were many features, good and bad. The redeeming feature was demonstration of the fact that, if ever it was, it no longer is possible to make a group of one race. Matters not who got the nomination, what delegates got seated and which got the air, reasonably there is rejoicing and dejection on both sides of the line of racial demarcation.

Such distinguished U. S. Africs as Melvin Chisum, Albon L. Holsey, Claude Barnett, along with a couple of small-timers were chased from the white folks' press table in Convention Hall. But the war governor of Illinois, the Hon. Frank O. Lowden, was chased from the Presidential nomination which he had sought for eight years.

The Afric notables are just at the plenitude of their power, however, and will come again.

Georgia and Florida.

Hon. Ben Jeff Davis seems to be erstwhile Republican National committeeman for Georgia. The axe, however, descended clean through the political white neck of one Bean, Florida's National Committeeman for the last sixteen long years. Uncle Joe Watson just about "watted" Ben Davis, while Glenn Skipper, white, skipped all over Bean's bean.

From the same company that came Vice President Dawes' assignment to political oblivion, also came the ether cone for Walter Cohen, the picturesque ex-leader of Louisiana Republicans, only Negro Federal office holder in all of the South. A big Afric Republican remained at home west of the Alleghanies for a summons to Kansas City that never came—which seemed to be the fate of Speaker "Nick" Longworth, loafing at home in Cincinnati.

The Negro was made a joker in in the platform of the party; the platform is supposed to be a melange of platitudinous jokers. But biggest joke of all—aside from the "Booker-looker" Senator Borah—was Senator Goff of West Virginia, taking himself seriously as a contender for the nomination as President, who never got near either PLATFORM or platform.

Race Lines Were Smashed.

In the National Committee decisions on delegate contests, race lines were smashed. The committee threw out the contesting lily-whites from Mississippi and seated the lilies from Louisiana; and it cannot be argued that only Hooverites were seated, for the "Mississippi lilies" were all white, 21 and Hoover. Not even in the matter of disbursing the kale was there the least obviousness of race. For if Creager got $7,000 to carry on for Hoover in Texas, and Perry Howard only received $4,000 for the same purpose in Mississippi, Skipper got but $3,500. all told, for Florida-Hoover usage. If Ben Davis' limit was $2,000 to put over Hoover in Georgia. Street, Alabama's National Cimmitteeman's dole was $1,000 or $1,500.

The greatest poser of the assembly was Senator Borah, who likes to delude himself with the idea that he is a great, constitutional lawyer; and his eloquent approval of Coolidge's veto of the McNary-Haugen Farm Bill on Attorney General Sargent's opinion gave him his opportunity to declare the measure unconstitutional. But the man nearest to the sky, without posing or stretching, was the able anl affable generalissimo of the Associated Negro Press, the 6-feet, four-inch Claude Barnett.

The convention heartily received young Senator LaFollette while making his plea for the minority report on farm relief planks, and completely forgot him afterwards.

But Perry Howard didn't make a speech; he got all he wantel from the National Committee and, presently, is sole Negro National Committeeman. Nevertheless, LaFollette's crowd, like Ben Davis', also fell down on is National committee choice.

Comparisons In Courtesy.

The delegates were almost discourteous during the address of ex-Gov. Osborn of Michigan, and were glad when he finishel—only to accord strict attention to John R. Hawkins, Afric, during the delivery of his speech seconding the nomination of Mr. Hoover, which hey cheered at the conclusion. Vare of Pennsylvania was the smartest practical politician on hand, and Dr. Hawkins delivered the most nearly oratorical address.

Senator Moses was an effective presiding officer in the role of permanent chairman; but revealed bad tactical judgment in his address to the country upon relieving Senator Fess, temporary chairman, and keynoter, of the gavel. To accuse the Democratic party of nullifying the 14th and 15th Amendments, which, the mouthy Borah, Republican, has declared within constitutional limits, on the floor of the U. S. Senate, and which nullification has been only possible through Republican acquiescence—even until this day, was on a parity with Senator Moses' accusation of Tammany Hall's "grafting" "over 20 million dollars in a single city," when the children of now still recall the scandals of the Harding regime.

The "Bloody Grave Remark."

It was remarked that Senator Moses' welcome to a "bloody grave" for the Democrats was first uttered by one Tom Corwin of Texas, when opposing the U. S. War on Mexico back in the 1840's. Corwin is quoted as having said that if he were a Mexican he would welcome the American invaders to "a bloody grave." Additionally, it cannot be forgotten that the justification of disfranchisement attempted last winter on the floor of the Senate by Swanson of Virginia brought only silence from Senator Moses' side of the Chamber. It was William Cabell Bruce, Democrat, Maryland, who alone had the temerity to tackle Swanson!

But the convention of '28 has passed into the annals of all time. Out of it emerges a punk platform and excellent candidates; which are much preferable to an excellent platform and punk candidates. Borah's conspicuity in helping to make the platform guaranteed its "punkness," which would be true of the candidate for President, if the lightning had struck Borah.

Lily-Whitism Comes Into Power At G. O. P. Meet

Few Race Leaders Attend Republican Quadrennial Show.

RACE VOTERS DISGRUNTLED.

(By: B. P. Williams)

(Staff Correspondent.)

Kansas City, Mo., June 21.—The republican national convention has let the world know it fully and completely endorses the program of lily-whitism. Practically every vestage of Negro leadership in the party has been driven out and the South has had its way. The political death of leaders in Texas, Louisiana, Florida and Georgia bespeak the trend of affairs for the Negro and leaves small hope for the overthrow of lily-whitism. The white republicans of the South and the white ones who recently have moved down there are determined to dethrone Negro political leadership in the South.

Race Leaders Absent.

I don't want to give the impression that Negroes were not here attending the convention. They were here all right. But, very, very few of the real vote getters and influential race leaders were here. The delegates and alternates were here. They had to be here, but the real race leaders, those who really count, were conspicuous by their absence.

Leaders' Absence Significant.

The absence of these leaders is really significant. Very frequently you would hear the query "where is so and so?" "Wonder why he is not here?" "Wonder why such and such person stayed away?" "Wonder what's wrong?" "It seems funny?" After hearing these various queries so frequently I, too, began to wonler what it was all about. Something must be cooking that we don't smell. Maybe the lid will come off the pot soon and we will know what the dope is. The situation is puzzling.

Show Went Over Big.

In retrospect, the whole affair appears to have been pre-arranged, and engineered by a clever theatrical press-agent. "Mellon Holds Key," "Draft Coolidge," "Anti-Hover" piffle seem to have been camoflauge catch phrases designed to rouse the rabble, create "copy," help continue to delude the disgruntled farmers while the lily-whites did their stuff in the prelude to the sons and daughters of Ham. The whole show went over big, each actor knew his lines, caught his cue. The result "brethren" were put out of political leadership in the South and Lily-whitism enthroned.

Race Leaders Smelled The Rat.

Race leaders throughout the country must have been hep to the whole situation, smelled the rat as it were and politely remained away. I wondered why I could not find the big influential race leaders. Wonder what they have up their sleeves? It's somewhat puzzling. Something must be cooking that I cannot smell. Time will tell.

NEW YORK HERALD

AUG 2 1928

Negro Voters' Division Organized by Republicans

Chairman Work Says Race Will Be Helped by Hoover

WASHINGTON, Aug. 1 (AP).—Organization of a "colored voters' division" of the Republican National Committee was announced to-day by Chairman Work. The division will direct the Republican campaign among the Negroes.

John R. Hawkins, of this city, was named chairman of the executive committee of the division, and Albon L. Holsey, secretary of Tuskegee Institute, secretary. Other members of the executive committee include Walter Foster, Boston; State Senator Adelbert H. Roberts, of Chicago; John E. Nail, New York; Mrs. Myrtle Foster Cock, Kansas City; Robert R. Church, Memphis; Mrs. A. W. Hunton, New York City, and Dr. Emmett J. Scott, of this city.

"We are gratified," Mr. Work said, "that there has been such a fine voluntary response and pledge of support from the colored people. This committee is composed of leaders of thought and opinion representing their business, professional, religious and educational life. In my opinion, the election of Herbert Hoover will herald a new day of hope nd opportunity for the group they represent."

BROOKLYN EAGLE

JUL 20 1928

BOLT ON EACH SIDE IN TEXAS.

Bolting, or threat of bolting, in Texas is not confined to the Democracy. Mr. Hoover's party is split up the back. J. M. O'Hara, organization manager of the State Republican Committee, is out openly for Al Smith. So is W. M. McDonald, concededly the leader of the negro Republicans, who is not offended when his followers dub him "Gooseneck Bill." Each man is prophesying a Smith Republican vote in Texas of 250,000. Which seems absurd at first sight. But Texas has 742,000 negro population, almost unrepresented in the electorate of past years, and it has also a considerable element of white Republicans who are as "wet" as the Gulf, and who are in the habit of voting every year. The Republican candidate for Governor against "Ma" Ferguson in 1924 polled 298,000 votes. So far as the negroes are concerned there is a growing impression that in Texas and other cotton States the Democratic split may lead to bringing them to the polls.

Meanwhile the anti-Smith Democrats, 500 strong, meet and organize, with a considerable number of men prominent in politics apparently active in their counsels. They are very much in earnest. How much they will accomplish and how much the Republican bolters against Hoover will accomplish is good July guessing.

Indications multiply that the Department of Justice attack, seemingly backed by Hoover, on negro Republican leaders, of which Perry W. Howard of Mississippi is the first victim and Ben Davis of Georgia may be the second, is stirring hot sentiment among colored people all over the South, and may affect the colored vote in Ohio, in Indiana, in Illinois and New York. A cynic would say that Mrs. Willebrandt has found more than one way of assisting the Smith campaign. In Texas McDonald and O'Hara insist that patronage peddling has been more notorious in their State under National Committeeman R. B. Creager, a Lily White, than in either Georgia or Mississippi. It is probably true that patronage peddling is bi-racial, just as graft is bi-partisan. That is an acceptable philosophic formula to fit all outstanding conditions.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

KANSAS CITY

MISSOURI

Pol

JUN 19 1928

NEGRO REPUBLICANS MEET.

Plans for getting out a large registration were discussed last night at a meeting of the Negro Republican organization of the First precinct of the Eleventh ward at 1600 Park avenue. R. G. Hines presided.

NEW YORK TIMES

JUL 2 1928

VICTORY FORECAST RECALLED TO SMITH

Buenos Aires Police Head, Who Cables Felicitations, Met Governor Here in 1923.

REPUBLICANS PLEDGE AID

Messages Continue to Pour In From All Parts of the World—Colorado Negroes Hail Him.

Special to The New York Times.

ALBANY, July 1.—Messages of congratulation continued to pour in yesterday upon Governor Smith. They came from all parts of the United States, from South America, Europe and the West Indies. The Governor personally opened and read several hundred of them. Among them were ones from the Chief of the Hopi Indians, and an organization of negro voters. Some of the messages follow:

PHILIP SHERIDAN — Congratulations on your stand on the Eighteenth Amendment. It assures you of Wisconsin's vote.

CHIEF JOE SECAKUKU—Just returned from the Hopi reservation and note by papers of your nomination as Democratic Presidential candidate. Accept my hearty congratulations for your successful nomination.

O. T. JACKSON, FRITZ CANSLER AND VICTOR WALKER—The Colorado Negro Voters Advisory Association congratulates the Democratic Party upon your nomination as its standard-bearer for the Presidency of the United States. Your nomination comes to the negroes of America as their second emancipation proclamation. The first freed them of manual bondage. The second frees them from political slavery. Colorado's negro voters will give to you and Senator Robinson in our judgment at least 80 per cent. of their voting strength.

A. C. CRAVEN, Birmingham, Ala.—Am sending you the left hind foot of an Alabama graveyard rabbit which Uncle Remus considered the emblem of good luck. Rest assured Alabama will go 100 per cent. Democratic.

ALICE LAWLOR, New York—Heartiest congratulations. Father predicted his song, "Sidewalks of New York," would some day be heard in the White House through you.

GEORGE W. SHEEHAN, Chicago—Sincere congratulations to you upon your outstanding victory at a time when the country needs a real man at the helm, who has the courage of his convictions. We represent a powerful organization of Republicans which you may count on. We are with you to a man, Al, and we want you to know it. You can count on us in Illinois and you will be carried to overwhelming victory in November.

EMANUEL G. PERILLO, Hollis, N. Y.—Congratulations on your remarkable personal victory in your nomination and best wishes for your success from your old family pharmacist and my family.

JOHN T. ROSS, City Editor Paducah (Ky.) Evening News—I merely wished to add my humble word of appreciation and joy. I am proud that the people of our country will have the opportunity to vote for a man whose heart beats in tune with humanity, who is brave and broad and true, and who is not afraid to assert his convictions for those principles which make for justice and liberty. Right down in Kentucky we are for you strong. Victory for you in November will mean the dawn of a new day for America. I might add that I have been a Republican for ten years, but I am not particularly proud of that now.

CAESAR E. CHEVERRY, Commisaario of Buenos Aires (Argentina) Police Department—I take pleasure to remind you of our conversation at the Pennsylvania Station, New York, 1923, when I had the pleasure to meet you as Argentine delegate to the International Police Conference, and my sincerest wishes and hopes at that time were that you would become the first citizen of your great country. Today I reiterate my wishes and hopes for the final nomination of such a great lover of his country and good friend of the police.

Lebanon, Tenn., Democrat

Thursday, June 21, 1928

NEGRO REPUBLICAN ENVOYS KIDNAPED

HIDDEN FROM GEORGIA CUSTODIAN BY HEAD OF RIVAL FACTION.

KANSAS CITY.—Clark Greer of Georgia, custodian of the Hoover negro delegates from the South, found those of his wards, six in number, who were kidnaped by a rival custodian and hidden across the state line in Kansas.

Republican.

The convention brought together again the ancient foes, Clark Greer and Miller Carnes, Georgia-bred and famous for their ability to hold negro delegates in line. While at this conclave, Greer appeared as Hoover boss of negro delegates and Carnes filled the same role for Lowden, having in recent years taken up his residence in Chicago. Their job is to see that their wards do not yield to lures offered by opposing camps.

Greer this time attempted to bring the Georgia negro delegates in in two bunches of six ~~each~~. He got his first six in all right, but when he went to the station to meet the other six, they did not appear, although they had telegraphed thev had started.

Scenting trouble, Greer made a frantic tour of the city, but failed to find any trace of his delegates. He sought the aid of the police and searched all night long and through the morning. At noon he found his negroes huddled across the state line, far removed from all convention activities and not knowing where they were. He brought them to the Missouri side and housed them in a hotel, happy and content.

Greer explains that Carnes worked an old trick on him. The other day, he said, Carnes told him he "would run up to Chicago for a few days." Instead, Greer declares, Carnes went to East St. Louis and intercepted Greer's delegates.

NEWS

RICHMOND, VA.

JUN 30 1928

THE NEGROES, HE THINKS, WILL SUPPORT AL. SMITH.

Editor The News Leader:

Sir,—I have noticed in the Forum several discussions concerning the attitude of the Negro in the coming national election. One thing is sure, the Negro has enough of sectionalism and Republicanism. We are critically criticized by members of either race, when we are classed as the new Negro, especially by the old hat-in-hand type of ancient blacks and the call-me-master whites. Eventually, as time goes on, the race progresses and the mind of each individual develops, cleverly and politically as to the affairs of its government. The Negro is learning that he is learned, and has abandoned the old-time custom of vote the Republican ticket. He is using his own opinion as to the real man that should hold the highest office in the land, Republican or Democrat.

We do not ask any special favor from either party, only our rights of citizenship and manhood. During the coming campaign, the Negro will receive a lot of good advice and favors from both parties (especially the Republican), but he has his mind made up. The tide has turned. From a party that has never done anything for us, and really nothing to us, we do not expect anything, except fairness and enforcement of the constitution and amendments. When a canvass of the whole country has been made, concerning how the average Negro will vote in November it will show that Al. Smith is their popular candidate.

S. E. PETERS.

TIMES

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

JUN 27 1928

DELEGATES ARRIVE FOR NEGRO MEET

Mass Meeting Will Open Conference of National Association Here

More than 500 delegates and national officers arrived here yesterday to attend the nineteenth annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which will open tonight in a mass meeting at 8 o'clock in Symphony Hall, 232 South Hill street.

A police escort conducted the delegates to the conference headquarters at the Second Baptist Church, Griffith avenue and Twenty-fourth street. Registration for the conference will be swelled today when a train arrives bearing representatives from the South and Middle West. A car will also arrive from Detroit. Mayor Cryer will give an address at tonight's initial meeting of the conference, which is scheduled to close the night of July 3. Lieut.-Gov. Fitts will present the Spingarn medal to Charles Waddell Chesnutt, negro author, for the year's greatest achievement among the people of his race, at the closing session.

NEWS

CHARLESTON, S. C.

JUN 10 1928

NEGRO LEADERS WILL ASK PLANK

Enforcement of 14th, 15th, Amendments Will Be Demanded of G. O. P.

By H. E. C. BRYANT

Kansas City, Mo., June 9.—"If the Republican party writes into its platform a declaration for the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment, it must include the 14th and the 15th amendments," is the slogan of negro leaders here today.

The report that Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, is on his way here with a plank naming the prohibition amendment, specifically, has aroused Southern G. O. P. leaders and "wet" members of congress.

S. D. Redmond, negro delegate, who has been selected for the Mississippi member of the committee on platform and resolution, declared that he would insist on pledging the Republicans to a more vigorous enforcement of the 14th and the 15th amendments.

His Question

"Why should there be any discrimination?" said he. "It is well known to Senator Borah and other prominent party men that these are being ignored. Every negro delegate here should resent any plan to favor the 18th over the 14th and 15th amendments.

Thoroughly aroused over this matter, negro delegates were busy today calling on their white friends from other states, urging them to stand by them in their efforts to get justice.

"Negro leaders in attendance at the convention," said a statement issued by Redmond, of Mississippi; Robert R. Church, of Tennessee; John T. Risher, District of Columbia; Ben J. Davis, of Georgia; Walter L. Cohen, of Louisiana; Roscoe Simmons, and Oscar Depriest, of Illinois, "are planning to make a determined fight to have a plank inserted in the platform, committing the party to the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution.

Their Stand

They understand that Senator Borah, of Idaho, has prepared a plank committing the party unreservedly to the enforcement of the 18th amendment and they feel that the amendments involving their suffrage rights are as sacred as the 18th amendment and they cannot understand why the platform should contain a plank on the 18th amendment and remain silent on the 14th and 15th amendments. The negro voters throughout the states, where they exercise considerable influence, have always looked with some degree of apprehension on the expenditure of millions of dollars by the federal government to enforce the prohibition amendment while it has refused to give aid to the enforcement of the 14th and 15th."

"The government is spending about $30,000,000 a year to enforcement of the prohibition amendment, but nothing to carry out the provisions of the 14th and 15th," said Cohen, the Louisiana colored leader. "Why this difference? If I am a member of the platform committee I will urge upon its other members a square deal for the negro."

BANNER
NASHVILLE, TENN.
JUL 6 1928

M'KELLAR AND PARTY RIDE TRUCK TO TOWN AT MIDNIGHT

Two Colored Republicans Make Impassioned Plea for Hoover After Flat Tires Hold Up Auto Seventeen Miles From Nashville.

By RALPH McGILL.

Senator Kenneth D. McKellar's fifth audience of Thursday heard a plea that was a bit more impassioned than any delivered by the senior senator of Tennessee during the day.

Not only that, but two members of his audience stood out against him with two votes for Herbert Hoover. The third one was right with the senator.

We stood on the road at midnight, Senator McKellar, Tom Bagley, Jr., and your correspondent. Mr. Bagley and your correspondent had removed one flat tire and were at work on another when the spare was found to be as flat as the senator's opposition. That was, you might say, a situation.

Nashville was seventeen miles away. Just seventeen, and the night was hot and the detour (sign of progress?) very dusty indeed.

Your correspondent set off down the road in search of a house. Occupants of a car, going in the wrong direction, said that there was a house two miles down the road.

It was quite hot and the road was quite dusty.

SOUND OF BOTTLES.

After having walked a quarter of a mile there was a sound of bottles on the air. Your correspondent cocked an attentive ear. The sound of bottles came nearer, a great symphony of bottles, a magnificent rattle and cling as if all the gods of Olympus were clinking them together and holding high carnival.

Around the curve came lights. They lumbered to a stop and there was a magnificent truck. It was, your correspondent thought, positively the most beautiful truck he had ever seen. It was lovely and it was going in the right direction.

It was a truck of the Nehi soft drink company and was returning to Nashville with a thousand or so empties from the Fourth of July barbecues in Dickson county.

On the front seat was Senator McKellar, Tom Bagley, Jr., and the driver, Andrew Carter. They were the help that had come out of Macedonia or White Bluff or some such place.

There was room for your correspondent up on top. There was, it seems, also room for two Senegambian helpers.

Have you ever tried sitting on a case of bottles? It is peculiar what a sensation they arouse.

The way was seventeen miles and it was hot and dusty. Have you ever hit a bump and bounced up and came down on a case of bottles? The sensation is unique.

The two Republicans turned out to be Bob White and Charley Price. Your correspondent harangued them on the virtues of the Democratic party but to no avail. They remained adamant.

SCORNS INDIAN FAKIRS.

After twelve miles your correspondent began to have a fine scorn for the cheap tricks of the Indian fakirs who lie on beds of spikes. They never rode on top of a case of Nehi bottles.

After thirteen miles your correspondent hung on the side. The tree limbs are very low on the Charlotte pike.

Now and then they hit one in the face.

By this time Senator McKellar and Mr. Bagley had converted Mr. Carter. He became so interested in the affairs of the party that he swerved close to the trees along the edge.

The two Republicans and your correspondent had their moments. Mostly profane.

The two Republicans declared in favor of a high tariff and against farm relief when we reached the fifteen-mile point.

On we went. The bottles jingled and clinked. The two Republicans and your correspondent declared against a dry plank but all the bottles were empties.

At Twelfth avenue and Cedar street the truck gave out of gasoline.

Charley Price said he lived right around the corner and had a Dodge car. He got it. It was a very small Dodge roadster.

The senior senator got in and Mr. Bagley sat in his lap. Your correspondent swung on one side and Mr. Andrew Carter on the other.

At Fourth and Cedar the car gasped and quit.

We walked to the senator's headquarters.

Mr. Bagley and your correspondent waited for a taxi. A young man rolled out of a car at the curb and asked for a push. His starter was dead.

We fell to with a will; it was all in the night's program it seemed.

Your correspondent hung on the side and talked with the driver. After sitting on bottles for seventeen miles the cushions were too rough for sitting on.

We got home at 2:30 o'clock.

We solicit your vote and influence.

Greensboro, Ga., Herald-Journal
Friday, June 29, 1928

The Negroes In The Saddle

Roscoe Pickett, of Jasper, made a noble effort to rid the Republican party in Georgia of negro domination. But, of course, he did not succeed. The national machine does not want Georgia to turn Republican. They can handle the state better through a few hired negro politicians.—The Calhoun Times.

NEWS
CHARLESTON, S. C.
JUN 9 1928

Record Number of Negroes At Republican Convention

Fewer From South But Northern Total is Bigger Than Ever—Most of Them Are for Hoover—Tolbert is for Lowden

By H. E. C. BRYANT

Kansas City, Mo., June 8.—Fifty negro delegates and ten alternates will have seats in the Republican national convention. This makes a record. In previous years the south sent more negroes than it has here now but never before have so many states north of the Mason-Dixon line been represented.

The migration of 700,000 negroes to the north, east, and west after the World war has given such states as Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio and New Jersey a large colored voting population.

Negro Delegates

The number of negro delegates by states is:

Arkansas, 3; Georgia, 11; Illonois, 2; Kentucky, 2; Louisiana, 5; Maryland, 3; Michigan, 1; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 3; New Jersey 1; Ohio 1; Oklahoma 1; South Carolina 6; Tennessee 1; and West Virginia, 2—total, 50.

Alternates: Iowa, 1; Maryland, 3; Massachusetts, 1; Michigan, 1; New York 2; and Pennsylvania 2—total 10.

A majority of the negro delegates are for Secretary Hoover, but a stubborn minority is holding out for Lowden.

In 1920, the South Carolina delegation, led by Joseph Tolbert, white, and composed largely of negroes, went to Chicago pledged to Frank O. Lowden. The same year the Georgia delegation, under the leadership of the late Henry Lincoln Johnson, was for Lowden. It was brought out before the Kenton senate committee appointed to investigate campaign contributions at that time that Johnson had received $9,000 for the purpose of organizing his state.

Tolbert for Lowden

At the convention, the Georgia delegation of 16, with perhaps the exception of one, is for Hoover.

"I was for Lowden in 1920 and I am for him now," said Tolbert today.

Walter L. Cohen, a Louisiana negro, prominent at Republican conventions for twenty-odd years, is supporting Senator Curtis, of Kansas, for the presidential nomination. Ten of the Louisiana delegates are for Hoover, and it is expected that Cohen, and one other delegate, who is choice is now known, will support Hoover after the first or second ballot.

A movement is on foot to ask the convention to oust delegates from Florida, Mississippi, and Tennessee. While the contests were decided by the national committee in favor of the Hoover delegates, in anti-Hoover people, directed by Senator James E. Watson, of Indiana, and Mrs. Medill McCormick, of Illinois, will now appeal to the committee on credenitals.

This threat of a bitter fight to oust a large number of negro delegates has greatly exercised southern leaders.

Three outstanding negro politicians, Perry W. Haward, Republican national committeeman from Mississippi; Ben J. Davis, national committeeman from Georgia, and Robert R. Church, wealthiest negro in the south, of Tennessee, will combat any plan to further reduce the number of negro delegates from the south.

They assert that the purpose of the drive is to eliminate the negro, and build up white organizations in the last southern strongholds of the negro.

John McCall, a white lawyer of Memphis, is demanding an opportunity to be heard on the question of deposing "Bob" Church from his high position in the Republican party of Tennessee. He has been buttonholing leaders all day trying to convince them that the party in his state is dead until Church is delegated.

Would Be All White

Church will make a hard fight to hold his own. McCall contends that James Quinn, and not Church, should be the delegate from Tennessee. If the convention should accept his view then the Tennessee delegation would be all white.

As the negro in the Republican party in the south loses ground his brother in the north, east and west gains; this is clearly shown by the attitude of convention managers to the negro delegates from the different sections.

The rows that come every four years over delegates from the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Florida irritate G. O. P. leaders. There is a great deal of talk here of a clean-up down there after this convention is over.

Supporters of Gen. Leonard Wood, it was stated here today, spent more than $40,000 trying to round up the southern delegates to the Chicago convention in 1920 and immediately after President Harding was inaugurated several active members of the Republican national committee, representing western states went to Atlanta and organized a party group to take over administration affairs there but this effort fell flat after a few months and the old crowd resumed control.

Plan Will Be Fought

The program launched then may be taken up and pressed again, and extended to ree or four other states.

Any such plan will be opposed by Howard, Davis, Church and other leaders in the states involved on the ground that it interferes with their rights to local self-government. That is a problem for the future but it is receiving considerable consideration now.

A majority of the members of the national committee think they have solved the contests from the south, doing justice to all, but the anti-Hoover people cannot see it that way, and are showing their teeth. A very vigorous protest is promised for the credentials committee but it may not materialize if it looks more and more like a Hoover nomination.

In the meantime, the negroes are in bad humor. They do not like the arrangements here. They tried to prevent segregation, but now find themselves parked at out of the way places, far from their white associates on the various delegations.

Deland, Fla., News
Saturday, June 23, 1928

The W. C. T. U. will either have to endorse Al Smith, a wet, or else take Hoover who is favorable to the negro. Our Southern ladies have something to think about now.—DeLand News. Southern women have managed to live while eleven Republican presidents ruled the land, and probably each and every president favored the negro as much or more than Hooer. Negros and whites are theoretically equal in government departments, and it is suspicious that Hoover, who has been a member of cabinet for seven years should have his attention called to an usual condition of affairs just at this time. It doesn't make any difference who is president of the United States, white women, north and south, must depend mainly for their protection on their men folks right at home.—Palm Beach Independent. We still think, however, that a democrat can offer federal jobs to white people, while Hoover, if elected, will favor the negro in approved republican fashion.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

National Republican Committee Will Direct Campaign In Northeast From Main Headquarters In Washington

Decision Means That There Will Be No N. Y. Headquarters--Attempt On Part Of Negroes To Sidetrack Howard Seems Nipped In Bud

(Staff Correspondence of The Age)

Washington, D. C.—There will be no Negro from a non-voting State assisting in directing the Presidential campaign at Republican National headquarters in New York this year. Nor will there be any Negro from any State.

Neither will there be any white folks—'cause there ain' goin' be no headquarters at New York.

Such was the decision reached in conference of a group of big-time Republican leaders here last Saturday. The conference met in the New Willard Hotel. National Committee Chairman Work presided.

Purpose of Conference.

The avowed purpose of the conference was to formulate plans for the big fight in the Northeast section of the country, the admitted battleground, from the Republican strategisis' point of view; and just why headquarters are not needed in the battle area is beyond the power of veteran political observers to apprehend. Headquarters nevertheless will not be set up at New York as heretofore, when the Northeast was sure. The fight will be directed from Washington, with Chairman Work at the throttle, and Senator Moses, New Hampshire. Senator Metcalfe, Rhode Island, chairman of the Senatorial campaign committee, and Congressman Wood, Indiana, chairman of the Congressional campaign committee, as advisers.

James W. Good of Iowa, who rounded-up the delegates which assured Hoover's nomination, has accepted the post of western director, with headquarters at Chicago.

It was said that one great barrier to eastern headquarters at New York was Senator Moses' insistence upon full authority in running it, when the tender of eastern director was made to him. Such, it is said, contemplated absolute subordination of Chairman Work to Senator Moses' will, insofar as eastern headquarters and territory were concerned.

It is believed that Secretary Hoover's purpose in having Work and Moses at luncheon on Friday was to harmonize their extreme points of view.

Dr. Work Not Approved.

The Hoover selection of Dr. Work as national chairman does not meet with popular approval of orthodox Republicans of either race, though all consistent folks strongly feel that since he is chairman, and not of the children of Israel, he rests under not the least compulsion to be led by a Moses, not even of New Hampshire.

Recalling that "Jim" Good rendered Hoover the same pre-primary service William M. Butler performed for Coolidge in 1924, orthodox Repubs are of the opinion that Good, like Butler was, ought to be National Chairman.

Chairman Work seems unable to give an interview that will not be questioned by some member of the Republican National Committee. There is categorical objection to Work's resucitation of Mark Hanna's 32-years old "full-dinner-pail" slogan of the McKinley campaign. Then, it is stressed, the Democrats were in charge of Government and industry was paralyzed.

Now the Republican party, eight years in power, is on the defensive in an epoch of cafeterias and dairy-lunches, with New England's textile industries ni process of disintegration. Orthodox Repubs maintain that the "full dinner pail" slogan in 1928 is on a party with an 1889 bicycle exhibited as a latest model vehicle in the 1929 automobile show.

Prohibition Is Taboo.

Chairman Work's announcement that prohibition will be taboo in the campaign fails approval by the National Committeemen of Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey, who are known to be "of the opinion that prohibition in their States cannot be sidestepped, or rather that the heavy wet vote cannot safely be passed up." And these three are the most important of the Northeast, selected as major battlefield of the fight for President.

Chairman Work's decision to have the entire National Committee conduct the Presidential campaign from Washington has caused sudden application of four-wheel brakes to the autos of the Afric Repub "leaders," who were determined to run over Mississippi National Committeeman Perry W Howard in high gear.

Obviously, some of these self-elevated leaders have been told by the power-that-be to "come by" the Negro National Committeeman.

For, by action, with words, in print, the brethren have suddenly become super-laudatory of Perry Howard! This lends color of possible truth to the story now carried on high tide of political gossip that Afric headquarters of the Hoover campaign will be at 1216 Pennsylvania avenue, N. W.,—Mr. Howard's political office.

It matters not who is finally named as director of Negro end of the Republican Presidential fight he will be a much supervised person. We have seen for some time to come the last of the Negro directors, such as the late William C. Matthews was in 1924.

Republican

LILY WHITES ARE SEATED IN G O P CONVENTION

Credentials Committee Upholds Action Of National Committee

WATSON SEEKS NOW TO OUST BENJAMIN DAVIS

Group Moves To Get 14th And 15th Amendment Plank

CONVENTION H A L L KANSAS CITY, A. N. P.—The Hoover s t e a m roller continued to function Tuesday when the G. O. P. Convention opened.

The credentials committee voted 35 to 15 to affirm the action taken by the National Committee seating lily-white delegations in Louisiana and Florida and the all-white Texas delegation. Colored delegations from Georgia, Mississippi and Tennessee were also seated.

The committee voted down 39 to 7, a special motion to unseat R. R. Church, of Tennessee.

The convention opened Tuesday morning and the tense spirit which gripped delegates and visitors gave way to relief as Mellon and Butler declared for Hoover.

The seventy race delegates, alternates and scores of visitors added a touch of color to the crowd on the floor of the three-galleried oval structure, holding ten thousand people.

Senator Simeon Fess, in his keynote address, said "The hold of the man who sits in the White House upon the people of America today without regard to sex, race, creed or color, is the result of an administration under which we have enjoyed the greatest era of prosperity and happiness ever given any nation.

"We shall withdraw from Haiti as we have withdrawn from San Domingo as soon as we shall have finished the task of establishing a stable government and developing her resources so as to make the country self-sustaining."

The chief discussion among the colored contingent includes the terrific fight made on Ben Davis for committeemanship by Joe Watson, of Georgia, backed Mrs. George Williams. It is reported that Davis has a majority of two votes.

It is claimed there are only three colored jobs in the State, committeeman, secretary state committee, and assistant secretaryship, and that Davis holds all of them. This is the basis of the fight. The election has not been held yet.

The Proxies

Ben Davis, Mrs. George Williams, Georgia Committeemen; Perry Howard, Mrs. E. P. Jones, Mississippi Committeemen, and proxies to white members of the National Committee in the Cohen contest, who voted against Cohen defeating him by four votes. Davis says he makes no apology for the vote and explains that in the Florida and Texas cases, he, himself, voted because of the racial issue involved, but that in the Cohen case, Cohen was opposed to Hoover for whom he was pledged, and that case was so poorly presented that it could not have won.

Banquet

At the Citizens Banquet, held at the Street Hotel, Monday night, C. H. Calloway presiding, Bishop Vernon, Judge Henry, of Philadelphia, Judge Wm. C. Hueston, John R. Hawkins were among those who spoke. Homer G. Phillips, Hoover leader in charge of headquarters here and last speaker, declared he wanted no job.

To Name Leader

Interest in the selection of a Negro poltical leader interests politicians present. It is the usual custom at presidential conventions. Four years ago the late William C. Matthews was named.

14th Amendment

S. D. Redmond, of Mississippi; Robert R. Church, Tennessee; John T. Risher, District of Columbia; Ben J. Davis, Georgia; Walter L. Cohen, Louisiana, and Roscoe Simmons and Oscar Depriest, Illinois, made a determined fight to have a plank inserted in the platform committing the party to the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. They said the amendments involving their suffrage rights are as sacred as the Eighteenth Amendment.

Colored delegates by States are as follows: Arkansas, 3; Georgia, 11; Illinois, 2; Kentucky, 2; Louisiana, 5; Maryland, 2; Michigan, 1; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 3; New Jersey, 1; Ohio, 1; South Carolina, 6; Tennessee, 1; and West Virginia, 2.

Alternates: Iowa, 1; Mary, 3; Mass., 1; Michigan, 1; New York, 1; and Pennsylvania, 2.

H. L. Mencken, white, termed Claude Barnett and A. L. Holsey the "most intelligent men among persons I have encountered at the convention, one U. S. Senator and five bootleggers excepted."

Only 80 percent of the persons he met "savored of the still", Mencken

wards "co-eds". Strangely enough, during the writer's four years at Howard University she has never heard a single specific charge of misconduct toward "co-eds" against a single one of the professors involved. This is more than she can say for some other members of the faculty.

Motives

Aside from the very probable motives of corruption behind the affair, the administration itself has shown a marked lack of regard for scholarship and efficient service. Of the four men dismissed, one has the Ph.D. degree and the others have done considerable work toward the same degree. All are scholars and teachers of unquestioned ability. They have spent years in preparing themselves for their positions; yet the administration has seen fit to attempt to injure their careers upon the basis of unsubstantiated charges of irresponsible and malicious persons.

This is the third time in less than two years that the present administration has struck a blow at scholarship, the chief reason for the existence of a college. Last year a man, who is an eminent scholar in his field, was compelled to leave in a similarly peremptory manner, but the public was told that he was being given a leave of absence because of illness, although the professor himself and his physician were unable to discover the slightest trace of illness.

Another professor of equal eminence—a scholar of marked ability—was allowed to go to another institution without even a gesture on the part of the adminstration to retain his services. It looks very much as if scholarship at Howard University is neither appreciated nor desired. At the present rate of peremptory and unopposed dismissals, the faculty will soon consist of a group of spineless mediocres and moss-backs.

Puritanical

The narrow, puritanical attitude taken by those in charge of this affair has already been mentioned. The writer believes that a "holier-than-thou" attitude on the part of certain officials has been wholly responsible for the outcome of this affair.

There is in Howard University a group of narrow moralists who go about seeking that which is most evil. They are remnants of the misguided Puritans of the seventeenth century, and it is the belief of the writer that their attitude will be just as destructive to their own cause as that of their well-meaning predecessors. Because they see everything through their narrowness and bigotry, it is impossible for them to render a sane decision about anything.

That the decision in this case was reached before a single one of the accused was ever brought to trial is the firm conviction not only of the writer, but of all intelligent persons who considered the facts in the case.

Give Truth

The purpose of the writer has been to give the public the truth. Prior to this the public has been allowed to know only one side of the question and that has been highly colored by malicious motives. She has shown that the method used in handling this case renders unsafe the position of every member of the faculty; that the charges against the professors bore no semblance of truth and were not sufficiently serious to warrant the action taken; that the trial they were given was a farce; that the charges did not originate in a desire to improve the morals of the University or to protect womanhood, but that there were sinister motives lying back of the charges—the desire to injure someone, to make vacancies for friends. She has also shown that too little regard has been given to scholarship and faithful service; and that too much emphasis has been placed upon a hypocritical and puritanical point of view of the problem.

If she has merely opened the eyes of the public to the fact that credulous students of the University are being used by corrupt persons, both within and without the University, as "cat's paws" for forwarding their own personal ends, she will feel in part satisfied.

Columbus, Ga., Enquirer-Sun
Monday, July 23, 1928

Reviling the Living, Defaming the Dead

(Editorial from the Birmingham News.)

Because of the official position held by the author of a letter published in today's "Voice of the People" column, that letter's contents merit the attentive consideration of all citizens of Alabama—certainly of all citizens here who are resolved that this state's social and political ideals shall be maintained and perpetuated. C. B. Kennamer is the United States attorney for the Northern District of Alabama under the present Republican administration. He is one of the recognized leaders of the Republican party in this state.

Apparently Mr. Kennamer is determined to wreck at the outset of the campaign whatsoever chance his party may have had of carrying Alabama in November. Otherwise, his communication would not have opened, as it does, with its studied insult to the memory of leaders of the Alabama Democracy for the last half-century. "The same old 50-year-old cheap bunk"—these are the words that this Republican United States attorney now employs in his effort to discredit the Democratic party. This is his Republican way of defaming the memory of Democrats here who, in season and out of season, for more than a half century have maintained ideals, social as well as political, inherited from their fathers. Deaf each one of them to "the jingling of the guinea", these faithful Dmocrats redeemed Alabama when Mr. Kennamer's party was doing all that its diabolical ingenuity could contrive to do to ruin the state. Morgan and Pettus, Johnston and Jelks, Jones and Seay, Underwood and Comer, Henderson and Kilby, Brandon and Graves, Black and Huddleston—these are the men, some dead and some living, whom this Republican federal officeholder now dares to defame with this characterization—"the same old 50-year-old bunk". Unless this newspaper vastly misunderstands the temper and character of Alabama's white citizenhip, this state's people may be trusted to answer this insolence. The Birmingham *News* thanks this Republican officeholder for his unrestrained vituperation, and for all the seething Republican hate, all the smoldering Republican contempt revealed by it.

Not content with misrepresenting Alabama Democrats who rescued Alabama from carpetbag and scalawag rule, Mr. Kennamer even dares to include the martyr Democratic president Woodrow Wilson, in his implication. He intimates that President Wilson adopted and enforced the policy of racial social equality that everyone now knows was recently revived by Secretary Hoover in the Department of Commerce at Washington. There is nothing "mysterious", or "undefined", or "imaginary" about Mr. Hoover's dual offense. Advisedly, the *News* uses the word "dual". Either Mr. Hoover, by his official order in the Department of Commerce, abolished segregation of the races there because of his sincere belief in the wisdom of placing members of the two races side by side in their work there, or he issued the order to strengthen his candidacy for the Republican nomination among Negroes at the North and at the South. If his motive was to illustrate his sympathy with racial equality, his action was exceedingly unwise. In the South, at least, his purpose can awaken no support among understanding men or understanding women of the white race. If he issued his order in an effort to pander to the Negro vote in the South or elsewhere, he was guilty of employing a political expedient unworthy a candidate for the presidential office. The United Stats attorney for the Northern District of Alabama has this newspaper's unstinted permission to seize either horn, or both horns, of that dilemma.

The charge that Gov. Smith has "catered to the venal Negro vote of New York" may be judged in the light of the charge made by Mr. Kennamer that Alabama's redemption from Negro rule was achieved by "cheap bunk"—that Democracy's leaders here for the last 50 years have been political charlatans and mountebanks. Nothing could be farther from the truth than this aspersion that is cast upon the Democratic presidential candidate. Like his two Democratic predecessors, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, Gov. Smith insists that the whole country do justice to all men—blacks as well as whites. When Wilson and Cleveland were in power, everyone understood—even temperate Republicans admitted—that the rights of all men under the law were respected and protected.

"We shall do justice to the Negro," said Benjamin Harvey Hill of Georgia, in Congress in 1876. *"He is in our power and cowardice takes no meaner shape than when strength oppresses weakness."* Into this statement of Senator Hill's is compressed the very essence of the South's, and the country's, solid sense on this question . What Mr. Hill said applies now, not to the Democratic South, but the more particularly to a political party that has for 60 years deceived the black man, misled the black man and perverted the black man's credulous nature into a means whereby some Republican white men might enrich themselves at the black man's and the country's expense. *It was not the Negro whom respectable white men of the South loathed in Reconstruction days. It was the carpetbagger and the scalawag.* Both were then loathed because, each of them did exactly what Benjamin Harvey Hill had in mind. *They they took advantage of the Negro, who they knew was in their power.* They were guilty of the base form of cowardice that takes shape when strength misleads and oppresses weakness.

If anything had been needed to prove that the issue raised in this campaign, not by the South—not by any prominent Democrat of the country—but solely by the present Republican candidate for the presidency, is now a real issue, this letter of Mr. Kennamer's would have provided that proof conclusively. His defamation of Democratic leaders who saved this state's people is an insult not only to living Democrats like Jelks, Henderson, Kilby, Brandon, Graves, Black and Underwood, but none the less to this state's dead heroes like Morgan, Pettus, Jones, Seay, Johnston, White, Bankhead and Comer.

In every line of this Kennamer letter breathes the spirit of contemptuousness like that exhibited many years ago *when a group of Republicans set out to plunder the South in its weakness and to mock the South in its calamity.* In this instance the voice may be the voice of a Republican United States attorney for Northern Alabama, *but the hand is unmistakably the hand of the Republican party*—a party which, in its treatment of white Americans of the Southern States, learns nothing and forgets nothing.

By this letter of his, Mr. Kennamer has unwittingly done this state no mean service. He has made plain the peril that now confronts it. He has stirred ashes beneath which are banked inextinguishable fires. Unconsciously, he has sounded a call to arms—a call that will be heard in every voting precinct of Alabama—a call that should be heeded by every white citizen of this state who places the commonwealth's welfare above his own interest. In behalf of the Old South made glorious by Demorats whose memory Mr. Kennamer now derides, in behalf of the New South into which the old has been wisely conserved. The Birmingham *News* summons this state's citizens to answer with their ballots this revilement of the living, this defamation of the dead.

Colorado Blacks Pledge Support To Wet Romanist

DENVER, Colo.—While unscrupulous politicians who seek to hold the South in line for Al Smith against their principles of Protestantism and prohibition, will take up the cry of "Negro," and seek to make the south believe that the Republican party is solely the black party, and that Eastern Democracy, like that of the south, is a white man's party, there comes this message of congratulations to Al Smith on his nomination from the Colorado Negro Voters Advisory association:

"The Colorado Negro Voters Advisory association congratulates the Democratic party upon your nomination as its standard bearer for the presidency of the United States. Your nomination comes to the negroes of America as their second emancipation proclamation. The first freed them from manual bondage. The second frees them from political slavery. Colorado Negro voters will give you and Senator Robinson in our judgment at least eighty per cent of their voting strength."—The Fellowship Forum.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Negro Management of Campaign Is A Vital Consideration With The Race Politicians Now At Kansas City

The Age Correspondent Analyzes Situation As To the Various Aspirants, With Prediction That Nomination Will Decide "Who's Who"

(Staff Correspondence of The Age)

Kansas City, Mo.—Negro management of the Negro end of the Republican Presidential campaign, not nomination of the candidate, is the principal concern of Negro politicians. whose number assembled here is legion.

And the fact that the man finally nominated for President by the Convention will name his own "Sam" doesn't in the least perturb the lot of anybody "Sams," who are as active as a self-conscious drunk, trying to make it home on Sunday morning before the streets are filled with his neighbors going to church.

Heavyweights On Scene.

There are some real heavyweights here: "Bob" Church, for instance. But the Tennessee leader is no small-timer, and it is not believed he would accept a "head Sam's" post, if tendered. Certainly, Mr. Church is not of the type. Grand Exalted Ruler Finley, generalissimo Wilson of the Elks, and Magistrate Edward W. Henry of Philadelphia, blew in to this mountainous municipality Monday. They didn't arive together. The G. E. R. came from Washington; the Philly magistrate, accompanied by Mrs. Henry, started from the home city of "Brotherly Love."

Back in December it was rumored that Pery Howard's candidates for the managerial portfolios were J. Finley Wilson and Miss Nannie H. Burroughs. Finley is here. Finley represents the most formidable group of organized Negroes on earth—the colored Elks; and Miss Burroughs, along with Mrs. Lampkins of Pittsburgh, conferred with the Hon. Perry Howard at Washington about three weeks ago. It is not unfair or unreasonable to give some credence to the story of Perry Howard's candidates for the posts well supplied in 1924 by the late lamented William C. Matthews and Mrs. Lawton of Brooklyn. And neither of the alleged Howard selections is a head "Sammer."

Perry Howard's Pledge.

It is not believed, however, that the signed pledge of the Perry Howard Mississippi delegation to stick with Hoover till the stickers wear out carries any proviso for Howard selection of Hoover's "Afric" campaign managers, in the event of Hoover's nomination. The Hoover organization has been assembled for months, and it has functioned perfectly.

A most astute politician of the Hoover forces is Walter F. Brown of Toledo, Ohio. Mr. Brown is is Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and Mr. Hover is the Secretary. A most able Negro associate of Mr. Brown is Mr. Clarence Veena also of Toledo. Mr. Veena is very much here. And so are Melvin Chisum, Roscoe Simmons and Monroe Mason of Boston—busy as bees, and still the most affable aid amiable of busy men

Many pretend to see in the sudden asignment of James A. ("Billboard") Jackson to the Department of Commerce eight or nine months ago a link in the chain of the Hoover-Presidential organization. "Billboard" was on the staff of the Associated Negro Press when he was given a civil service post in the "Small Business Section" of the Department's "Domestic Commerce Buerau." And "small business" indeed, is it to develop the "Sam" organization of a Presidential candidate!

Senator Borah A "Dud."

If, when this is read, fate has smiled kindly on Herbert Hoover, Negro editors and advertising managers of Negro newspapers might just as well get ready to do business with the management of the Associated Negro Press. The A. N. P. is a going concern, and Messrs. Hoover and Work, like other persons having occasion to deal with sub-contractors, want the best organized and most concentrated organizatioi. Besides, the A. N. P. got in on the ground with the first ground-swell of the Mississippi floods; and a "stitch in time, saves nine." So, if Hoover's man, others than the Hoover-Afric organization might as well do a Senator Borah—shut up shop when the publicity stunts to attract attention pan out to be "duds." And Borah, who is here looking more like Booker T. Washington every day, is a perennial "dud."

If Hoover loses, then there'll be a scrable. Lowden is perona non grata to the Illinois leaders—Chicago Mayor Thompson, Daniel Jackson, Oscar DePriest. So if Lowden gets the nomination, Melvin Chisum, who is somewhat allied with Senator "Jim" Watson of Indiana, will get the post.

Tidrington In The Field.

Ernest Tidrington of Terre Haute, who missed the Registership of the Treasury when Senator Watson turned down President Coolidge of the "World Court," is said to be aspiring to be Negro maanger of the Negro end of the campaign. Ernest is a mighty nice and a very able fellow; but he also is Vice Supreme Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias—left handed crowd—according to the rival group of Afric-Pythians, and eastern Pythians of Ernest's jurisdiction are quite sore about some decision he rendered in Massachusetts. Unlike his Southern Pythians, Ernest's eastern brethren at least have the privilege of laying in bed and refusing to register and vote.

Should Longworth get the nomination, whoever C. Bascom Slemp considers the best "Sam" will be the "Sam" manager. Keep your eye on Longworth. He and Slemp are best of friends, and Slemp is the best manhandler here. Besides the Longworths and the Ogden Mills came together. Ogden Mills is Under Secretary of the Treasury, close to his chief, Secretary Mellon, who propitiously released a long letter denying the practice of segregation in the Treasury last week

If Dawes is nominated, his white gardener's Negro valet will be head "Sam." But in the event of the nomination of Ambassador Morrow, the Afric managerial post is likely to be assigned Magistrate Ed. Henry of Philadelphia.

There is probably a humous rumor afloat here of a third party ticket, headed by General Coxey of Ohio. with Rev. Simon P. Drew, as running mate.

Another item of interest aroused here constrains the question—"If President Coolidge doesn't choose to run why did he choose the biggest staff to ever accompany a President on a summer vacation."

FOLLY IN HIGH PLACES

One of the basic causes for the continuous exploitation of Negroes in the South was forced to the surface during the recent Republican conventions in Texas. It has been demonstrated that the Negro is not so endangered by the open antagonism of southern whites as he is by the stupid antics of his self-styled leaders. Our education seems to fail us at the point where leadership is determined by truly unselfish and consistent labor for the masses. And our weakness in this regard seems to become more flagrant at the point where it is necessary that cool and deliberate actions be taken in order to best serve the group as a whole. Indeed, when the real test is applied we find our leaders skulking as miserable failures, and the following is left exposed to the white man's whims.

One of the most glaring instances in point is the infantile behavior of group leaders in Houston during the Republican District Convention, and the sorry affair as culminated in Dallas at the State Convention.

Never was the political well-being of the Texas Negro so dependent on the solidarity within his own ranks; and never was he offered such an opportunity to contribute toward fortifying his own position as a political factor in the State; and in the meanwhile, never was his political fortune so jeopardized as at this time. The determination within the Democratic ranks to deprive him of his constitutional rights on the one hand, and the relentless effort of the "regular" Republicans to render him impotent in Republican affairs, on the other, should be convincing enough that the only solution rests in the manner in which he is able to manipulate his own forces.

It would be almost treacherous at this stage to advocate that the struggle has been lost. In fact, we are confronted with the necessity of fighting with even more determination; but it must be admitted that the stupidity in high places among Houston Negroes cannot but serve the ends of our political opposers. Factionalism within the ranks of Negro Republicans in Texas, aside from being unnecessary, at once exposes a weakness that the astute politician will not fail to utilize to his own advantage.

In fact, this very tendency on the part of the Negro has served as the chief weapon in the hands of the opposite group for throttling our racial progress. It is said that dissension among slaves was employed by whites as a means of keeping them in bondage over a period of more than two hundred years. This habit seems to have become so well grounded as a racial trait, that, even among our so-called "intelligensia" it persists as a dominating factor.

The State Republican Convention, at least, has shown the Negro his position if he is to be given a fighting chance in Republican affairs of the state; therefore the only decent and consistent attitude that the "warring" Negro factions of Houston can assume is that of burying their petty ambitions, forget personalities, and mobilize their forces in order to present a solid link with those who are working for true representation of Republicanism in Texas.

LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

JUN 13 1928

Is Difficult to Keep the Negro Brethren Organized

Mr. Hoover's Troubles With Mississippi Delegation, Which Threatened to Come Unorganized, Causes Scandalous Talk by Low Evil-Minded Persons.

By Westbrook Pegler.
(Chicago Tribune-New York Times Special to the Gazette.)

Kansas City, Mo., June 12.—The evil serpent of corruption which has been hovering over the Republican national convention like a rift in the ointment, seems to be no serpent at all but the spirit of honor, duty and public service. It is a pleasure to be able to report this when there is so much cynicism in the land and even the high status of the heavyweight champion of the world is subject to the whispered suspicions of persons of a certain mental type.

I refer to the depressing rumors circulated by low-minded statesmen within the last few days here in Kansas City to the effect that a number of Senegambian Republicans from the Southern states had been paid or induced by other considerations than the nation's welfare to promise their votes to Herbert Hoover in the convention.

They Merely Promised.

These rumors did not state that these dark brethren actually were going to vote for Mr. Hoover, but merely that they had promised to do so. However, that only made the charges that much more sordid. The political experts from Washington, D. C., who seem to be a disrespectful lot, told me that if a delegate promised to vote for a candidate in consideration of $2, a pig or a plug hat, paid in hand, there was nothing in the political code of honor to prevent him from promising his allegiance to the manager of some other needy candidate, also on the best available terms. The most shocking stories were circulated of the purchase of the Southern brethren and the difficulty of making them stay purchased until time for them to cast their ballots.

One wondered if such things could be, and I am not in a position to explain that they cannot.

The Mississippi delegation, led by Perry Howard, a negro holding office in Washington as an assistant attorney general, was the delegation concerning which the most discouraging stories were told. There is another delegation of Mississippi Republicans in town, claiming to be the true representatives of the Republican peoples' will in Mississippi, and the dispute, becoming acrimonious, provoked aspersions on the motives of the Howard delegation in pledging its suport to Mr. Hoover.

It appears from the record of the Senate investigation only recently that Mr. Howard received $2,000 for the purpose of organizing the 8,000 Republicans of Mississippi for Mr. Hoover, or about 25 cents per Republican.

No matter what use Mr. Howard made of this money, I submit that it is a great feat of statesmanship nowadays to organize anybody, either Republican or Democrat, for 25 cents and keep him organized over a considerable lapse of time.

I have heard of men becoming organized on the Bowery in New York for as little as 10 cents since prohibition wiped out the liquor evil, but the city had to buy them and this wiped out the economy.

It seems, however, that Howard did not have much faith in a delegate who was organized at the nominal rate of 25 cents worth per constituent and was afraid he could not keep them in a state of enthusiasm for Mr. Hoover. So he wrote a letter to Mr. Clarence Buck, campaign manager for Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, soliciting co-operation in organizing his delegation all over again for Mr. Lowden.

But it seems that in 1924 when Mr. Lowden was making his first campaign for the nomination, his manager, Mr. Lou Emmerson, an Illinois statesman, embarrassed his principle no little by sending liberal co-operation to certain leaders in the state of Missouri. It developed that two of these leaders organized their constituents for Mr. Lowden at the bargain price of nothing per head and retained the co-operation for their own uses. Persons of a suspicious nature who came by this information endeavored to make it appear that Mr. Lowden's manager actually was buying delegates and by that time he could prove that nothing was remoter from his purpose it was too late.

So this year Mr. Buck appears to have made it a rule of his campaign to put out no co-operation whatever.

The further details of Howard's work in keeping the Mississippi delegation organized for Mr. Hoover are not disclosed. However, it was reported that the delegates came unorganized again. Howard discovered, to his embarrassment, that they were for Mr. Coolidge which was the same thing as being for John Doe, inasmuch as Mr. Coolidge was not a candidate.

This, of course, meant that they would have to be organized all over and they were still in this loose and and unorganized state when they came to Kansas City. But when they arrived here they discovered the other Mississippi delegation on the ground, offering to organize themselves for Mr. Hoover without any co-operation at all and for a brief, exciting time there seemed to be a possibility that the other delegation, being self-organizing, would get the seats.

However, in this crisis, the Howard delegates felt the old loyalty to Mr. Hoover pulsing in their veins again and it was decided to give them the seats. But before they were given the seats, they gave the Hoover management a written pledge signed by Howard that they would not, under any circumstances, come unorganized a second time until after the convention.

This pledge, its meaning distorted by the low minded rivals of Mr. Hoover doubtless forms the basis for the unkind and obviously false idea, widely circulated of late, that the Republican brethren from the South are citizens of wobbly devotion who are susceptible to last minute persuasion and really aren't safe unless kidnaped and held in seclusion until it is time to vote

It is discouraging to find that the honest questioning of sincere negro statesmen, unable to make up their minds without co-operation or to keep them made up without further co-operation can be publicly distorted in this manner by unscrupulous politicians and made to appear as something quite foreign to their high sense of citizenship. They should sue somebody.

DISPATCH

Union N.Y.

JUN 13 1928

Frelinghuysen's Letter-Writing

A great many business men could learn a valuable lesson from Joseph S. Frelinghuysen's recent campaign for the Republican nomination for United States Senator.

The number of votes polled by Frelinghuysen was the biggest surprise of the entire campaign. And the biggest vote-getting force employed by the former Senator was his letter-writing.

The Frelinghuysen letters were not the common brand of multigraph letters. There were thousands upon thousands of letters sent out to voters, and every letter was a separately typed letter, on a typewriter. And every letter was personally signed; no rubber stamp signatures.

An extensive force of typists was employed for weeks, doing nothing but write letters. True, they were "form" letters; "form" letters in that Mr. Frelinghuysen did not dictate each letter personally. But every "form" letter had a personal touch, and the candidate nearly got writer's cramp, signing letters. He could not have spent his money to better advantage, nor could he have spent his time to better advantage than when he signed those letters.

There are a great many people who receive so many letters that these "form" letters do not mean much to them. But there are thousands of people, not prominent enough to receive large mail deliveries, who feel very highly honored in receiving a letter from a candidate for high office.

And there was the case of a Negro in South Jersey who received one of the letters. He had intended voting for Mr. Stokes, but when he received the Frelinghuysen letter, he changed. Not only that, but he started to work for Frelinghuysen. "I didn't even know Mr. Frelinghuysen knew me," said the Negro, innocently, "but I received a personal letter from him asking me to vote for him and to work for him." And he did.

Many a business man could well afford to indulge himself in writing personal letters to his customers, at every possible opportunity. Or he could well afford to employ a good letter-writer, and then sign the letters.

There is an asset in letter-writing that gives intimacy to business. People like to think they are recognized by the heads of firms. Personal letters are capable of adding enormously to the good will of business.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

G. O. P. Convention Jim Crow Extends To Press Table

Holsey, Chisum, Barnett, Brown Unable To Secure Seats. No Delegates At Hotels.

KANSAS CITY, (Special by Wire) —The G. O. P. Convention jim crow has extended to the press table, where nearly 600 white representatives of the press are seated.

Chairman William M Butler, of Massachusetts, turned down Albion Holsey, of Tuskegee, Claude Barnett, of the Associated Negro Press, Melvin Chisum, of the National Negro Press Association, and Edgar Brown, of the Chicago Association Tuesday. He claimed that all places at the press table had been reserved several weeks before and referred the newspaper men to Lee Nixon, Indiana sergeant-at-arms. Nixon referred them back to Butler, without taking action, declaring all spaces reserved for larger newspaper and associations only.

Attempt to bar colored members of the press from the National Republican Committee Protest Hearings in the Ararat Temple a week ago were frustrated when representatives of the AFRO-AMERICAN and other newspapers took seats and declined to move.

James D. Preston, 4724 Fifteenth street, Washington, superintendent of the Senate press gallery, was in charge of the G. O. P. press table. He referred to Edgar Brown as "that nigger who wants a seat at the press table."

In Rear Of The Convention

Delegations from Georgia and Mississippi are seated in the extreme rear of convention hall. Some 60 other colored delegates and alternates, however, are placed with their state delegations in all parts of the hall.

No colored delegates are lodged at hotels which are carrying out the same jim crow policy as obtained during the M. E. General Conference.

The jim crow atmosphere here is so hostile that no organized effort is being made by race delegates to secure a plank in the G. O. P. "Let them do their darndest", said one delegate. Others profess to the secret hope that Al Smith will defeat the G. O. P. nominee.

Memphis, Tenn., Commercial-Appl. Tuesday, June 5, 1928

MEMPHIANS ARE OFF TO G.O.P. CONVENTION

Many of Faithful Will Depart Today.

Memphis will be well represented when the Republican convention opens at Kansas City next week. She will be well represented long before the convention begins. In fact, quite a few local politicians and would-be politicians have gone already.

Most of them have gone to witness the contest between Jim Quinn, supported by opposition to Bob Church, negro politician, and Church for seating as a delegate from the tenth district. The fight should get under way by Thursday or Friday, local leaders assert.

The following have signified their intention of attending: Lindsay B. Phillips, district attorney; David Hanover, Arthur Brode, Lester H. Brenner (Church alternate), Thomas Phelan (county chairman), C. H. King, Harry Spears, J. M. (Jim) Johnson, John R. Walker, Jr., John McCall, Mrs. Harry True and of course Mr. Quinn and Church.

Herbert L. Harper, candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress, will also be there. Most of those interested who are driving through will leave today.

KANSAS CITY IS HOST TO G. O. P. DIGNITARIES

Nationally Prominent Leaders Present

Kansas City, Mo., June 15.—Housing facilities have been stretched to the utmost to care for the hundreds of party leaders, delegates-at-large, committeemen and whatnots attending the national Republican convention in session here.

Visitors are here from all sections of the nation. Prominent leaders whose names are household words in the homes of the land are here mingling with the lesser lights of the Grand Old Party. Walter L. Cohen, New Orleans; Robert R. Church, Memphis, Tenn.; Benn Davis, Atlanta, Ga.; Attorney B. F. McCall, Jacksonville, Fla.; William M. McDonald, Fort Worth, Tex.; Perry Howard, Jackson, Miss.; Oscar DePriest and Daniel M. Jackson, Chicago; D. W. Sherrod, Meridian, Miss.; O. J. Smith, St. Paul.; George Wibecan and William H. Davis, New York, and Dr. W. G. Alexander, Orange, N. J., are some of the leaders present at the sessions. Mrs. George S. Williams and Mrs. Eugent Booze, committeewomen of Georgia and Mississippi, respectively, at with the national committee on judging contests between state delegations.

Guest in City

The citizens' housing cohmittee Mrs. M. F. Cook, chairman, posted the following list of visitors in the city attending the convention:

J. J. McCottrie, Georgetown, S. C.; George C. Mendenhall, Los Angeles; Mr. and Mrs. A. M. Redmond and Dr. and Mrs. Sidney Redmond, Jackson, Miss.; E. S. Richardman, Marshallville, Ga.; A. Robinson, Louisiana; Dr. Benjamin E. Robinson, Boston, Mass.; Andrew Turner, New Orleans; F. P. Rodgers, Atlanta; R. V. Stewart, Newark, N. J.; E. S. Swan, New Orleans; Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Vena, Toledo; Mrs. George Williams, Savannah, Ga.; C. C. Wilson, New Orleans; Dr. and Mrs. J. T. Wiseman, Detroit; Dr. R. C. Williams, Augusta, Ga.; George H. Woodson, Des Moines, Iowa; Rev. J. B. Curry, Springfield; James Cotter, Chicago; Dr. Daniel Savannah, Ga.

Ernest DePaur, Newark, N. J.; Mrs. Oscar DePriest and Oscar DePriest Jr., Chicago; R. J. Estes, New Orleans; Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Dr. J. R. Levy, Florence, S. C.; Mrs. Ida liston, Indianapolis; Dr. J. H. Lowry, Donaldsville, La.; Monroe Mason, Boston; Mrs. Grace W. Evans, Terre Haute, Ind.; Capt. G. E. Ferguson, Charleston, W. Va.; Mrs. L. M. Fryerweather, Brooklyn N. Y.; Alderman and Mrs. T. W Fleming, Cleveland, Ohio; Walter Foster, Boston; Miss Elizabeth Gully Detroit; Mr. and Mrs. Heslip, Toledo; Dr. J. R. Hawkins, Washington, D. C

Southerns Lead

William James, Atlanta; Alderman Rorert R. Jackson, Chicago; Rev. William H. Jernigan, Washington, D. C.; Dr. R. L. Johnson, Jackson, Miss.; Aaron Chatters, New Orleans; Dr. S. C. Clemons, Macon, Ga.; William Cleveland, Newton, Miss.; Dr L. Colman, St. Paul; Victor Collins, New Orleans; Mrs. M. E. Burrell, Newark, N. J.; T. W. Bell Leavenworth; B. V. Baranco, Baton Rouge La.; Conwell Banton, Wilmington Del.; Leon Anderson, Jacksonville Fla.; A. J. Brown, Vicksburg, Miss.; J. B. Blocker, Jacksonville, Fla.; Mr and Mrs. E. P. Booze, Mound Bayou Miss.; V. P. Bush, Jacksonville, Fla.; George T. Cheshire, Newark N. J.; Mrs. Helan B. Cardoza, Washington; Dr. Leach, Flint, Mich.; Scipio Jones Little Rock; W. Jenifer, Lansing Mich.; F. W. Bryan, Gainesville Fla.; Rev. Richard Belder, New York; J. R. Rivers, Denver; Dr. L. K. Williams, Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Price, Columbus, Ohio; Dr. H. H. Phipps, Hot Springs, Ark.; Walthal Moore, St. Louis; Mrs. Bessie Mention, Princeton, N. J.; A. C. Logan, Little Rock, and O. G. Williams, Jefferson City, Mo.

Republican.

HOOVER GETS SOLID NEGRO VOTE --COHEN AND DAVIS IN TROUBLE ---WATSON CONTINUES FIGHT

Convention Hall, Kansas City, Mo., June 12

The Republican National Convention opened this morning. The tense spirit which for several days has gripped delegates and visitors alike gave way to relief as Mellon and Butler declared for Hoover as the logical man for the highest office in the gift of the American people.

The half hundred negro delegates and scores of negro visitors added a touch of color to the crowd on the floor of the three-galleried oval structure holding ten thousand people.

After a perfunctory opening Senator Fess in his keynote address reviewed the achievements of the Republican party and made it plain that the Grand Old Party would go before the country on its record as the party of progress and prosperity. In paying tribute to President Coolidge he declared "The hold of the man who sits in the White House upon the people of America today without regard to sex, race, creed or color, is the result of an administration under which we have enjoyed the greatest era of prosperity and happiness ever given a nation. Of special interest to the negro is the keynote's declaration, "We shall withdraw from Haiti, as we have withdrawn from San Domingo, as soon as we shall have finished the task of establishing a stable government and developing her resources so as to make the country self-sustaining."

The chief discussion among the colored contingent includes the terrific fight made on Ben Davis for national committeemanship by Joe Watson, of Georgia, backed by Mrs. George Williams. It is reported Davis has a majority of two votes. The charge going the rounds is that there are only three colored jobs, namely state committeeman, Secretary State Committeeman and Assistant Secretaryship and that Davis holds all of them, is the basis of the fight. The election has not been held.

The next topic engaging the attention of the colored contingency is the action of Ben Davis, Mrs. George Williams, National Committeeman Perry Howard, Mrs. E. P. Booze, Mississippi Committeewoman in giving proxies to white members of National Committee in Cohen contest who voted against Cohen, defeating him by four votes. Davis says no apology is needed for his action against Cohen as Cohen was opposed to Hoover and that Cohen's case was so poorly presented that it could not have won. He explains that in Florida and Texas cases be voted because of the racial issue involved.

The usual custom of selecting a negro leader from among those present is a question of paramount interest.

At the citizens banquet held at Street Hotel Monday night, C. H. Calloway, presiding, Bishop Vernon, Judge Henry of Philadelphia, Judge William C. Hueston and John R. Hawkins were among those who spoke. Homer G. Phillips, Hoover leader in charge of headquarters here and last speaker, declared he wanted no political job, and made a strong plea for united action.

South's Negro Republicans Vote Loud and Long, Pegier Discovers at the Assembly

Jawjuh Delegation Conducts Real Demonstration at Kansas City—The Boys Are Likely to Over-Vote Themselves, It Is Discovered.

BY WESTBROOK PEGLER.

The Commercial Appeal-Chicago Tribune Leased Wire.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 15.—It has been alleged that the colored Republican statesmen of the south are permitted to vote only once in four years, and then only for delegates on the floor of the national convention, and the reason for this precaution on the part of the Caucasian Democrats of the south now begins to dawn upon the outsiders.

It appears that when the colored brethren get started voting they carry the thing to excess and unless restrained one way or another, are likely to over-vote themselves. I understand, that this is a weakness of Caucasian voters in certain localities, notably in some regions of Chicago and New York City, but it is a practice that cannot be too strongly condemned.

I did not realize the extent of this passion of the colored statesmen from the cotton rows and brakes and whisker-moss thickets to vote and vote and vote, until the brothers of the Georgia delegation really loosened up.. and started voting, free and easy, in the Kansas City convention.

But now that is over. I retain an impression that the downyonder Republicans are great natural voters, and that when they get really steaming on a proposition they are not only remarkable sprint voters but great endurance voters as well. You might sum them up as great all-around, free style voters, who would be great asset to any candidate who didn't draw the color line.

Vote On Anything.

It just seems that whenever there wasn't anything else taking place in the convention, Benjamin Jefferson Davis, George Washington Beauregard Lee, or Alexander HamiltonJ ones would pop up out theer on the floor and start voting for or against something.

Sometimes they would catch the Honorable Senator Moses, the chairman of the convention, thinking about his seidels, or whatever it is that an honorable Senator thinks about on a sticky day, and by the time he realized that the Georgia boys were having another vote for themselves, he would have to pound that bar with his bung starter until he was night on to splitting the same in order to heaing them up, and find out what all the voting was for.

Sometimes he couldn't find out because it would seem that the boys were not voting for anything in particular, but were just indulging in a little shadow votingthe brethren got up for a moment among themselves. At other timesmerely to unstick himself from his when there was something tochair and the Hon. Moses thought vote about, it appeared that thehe was rising to raise some parliaGeorgia statesmen weren't quitementary point.

sure they understood the issue, but simply voted from the hip as you might say.

I don't know but that this would be a good voting style for some of our congressmen to adopt because this way a man has only a 50 per cent chance of being wrong, or factor of error, as I believe they call it, whereas some congressmen give the impression that the more they study the matter, the more likely they are to make a mistake.

It was on the roll calls that the Georgia statesmen seemed to have most trouble about keeping their votes within bounds. The clerk would call the roll and the chairman of the other delegations, Connecticut, Colorado and so forth, would bob up and down, delivering the tallies in clipped, quick phrases. But when he would call "Georgia, 16 votes," one of the colored brethren would hoist up, shiny and moist and begin to orate:

"Jawjuh casts thutty fo' votes for Herbut Hoovah, an' 19 votes fo' Guv'nah Lowde n an' seven votes for—"

"Now, now, let us straighten this out," the clerk would say, but just then Mr. Alexander Hamilton Beauregard Lee would fetch himself up and say, "lemme 'splain! Jawjuh casts 28 votes for Herbut Hoovah an' 11 votes for Mistah Dawes an' six votes for ———"

This would just explain it into a hard knot, so the clerk would get out the book and poll the Georgi statesmen, one by one. The poll would go along all right with some of the brethren voting for Herbut Hoovah and some for Guv'nah Lowden until he would get down to brother Hypotenuse Taliaferro, who would jump and yell "ah votes no!" which would confuse things considerably.

There was one time when one of

"For what purpose does the delegate rise?" the Hon. Moses inquired, and the quick thinking statesman, taken by surprise that way, did the instinctive thing. His motto was "When in doubt vote," and he yelled "Ah votes for Hoovah."

In a way, I suppose, the Republican statesmen from the land of the kin and kain't are not to be blamed for voting so fluftly when they get the chance. If a man is permitted to go along voting nonchalantly at ward, township, village, state and national elections, he takes his voting in his stride and it doesn't go to his head.

I have been told that in Poland, under the czars, when it was forbidden to sing the Polish national anthem, the patroiots would go down into cellars or off into the woods and sing it by the hour. Of late, in the conquered Eyrolean territory, Mr. Mussolini has forbidden the natives to yodel, so the Tyroleans, who never yodeled a yodel in their lives before, are boing off itno remote places and singing "Hilee, hi-lee, hi-low," with fierce defiance and fervor. But in this free country, where everybody is permitted to sing the national anthem at any time not one man in 50 knows the words.

The Georgia Republicans, notwithstanding Mr. Borah's pulsating love of the sacred heritage of the constitution, so often avowed in defense of amendment 18, are allowed to vote only once in four years and then through delegates to the national convention. So I suppose Brother Washington Beauregard Lee, Brother Hypotenuse Taliafero and the rest of the brethren, when they come to the conventions are full of a four years' accumulation of pent up votes of themselves and their constituents, and just naturally have to vote, whether there is something to vote about or not.

RACE DELEGATES ON WINNING SIDE

Kansas City Teeming With Colored Delegates and Visitors From Many Sections of U. S.

BEN DAVIS AND PERRY HOWARD WIN AS LEADERS

Bob Church Scores a Decisive Victory. W. Cohen Withdraws Contests on Credentials

By Argus Correspondent

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 14.—(Bulletin)—Herbert Hoover was nominated for the presidency on a first ballot tonight by the Republican National Convention. The majority of the colored delegates were for Hoover, who got all of the 12 votes of Miss., all but one of the 16 votes of Ga., all but one of the 12 votes of La., all nineteen votes of Tenn., and all twelve votes of Ark., all of which states had colored delegates. Missouri went over into the "band wagon" and gave a solid vote for Hoover.

CONVENTION HALL, KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 14.—Kansas City has literally teemed with Race delegates from many sections of the country since the opening of the National Republican Convention Tuesday. Mass meetings of Race groups have been held and addressed by prominent Race leaders. Colored and white delegates and politicians have been walking about hotel corridors arm in arm talking about the possibilities of the nomination.

Many Notables Attend

Among the nationally known Negro leaders who have been attending the convention as delegates are Robert (Bob) R. Church, Memphis; Walter L. Cohen, New Orleans; Ben J. Davis, Atlanta; Sara W. King and Joseph Watson, Albany, Ga.; Walthall M. Moore and Judge Crittenden E. Clark, St. Louis, Mo.; Perry W. Howard Jackson, Miss.; Mary C. Booze, and E. P. Booze, Mound Bayon, Miss.; Scipio Jones ,Little Rock, Ark.; Nick Childs, Topeka; Dr. J. H. Lowery, Donaldsonville, La.; Dr. B. W. Daniel, Atlanta; B. F. Cofer and E. F. Richardson, Albany, Ga.; W. H. Harris, Athens.

Win Credential Fight.

The Credential Committee, Tuesday and Wednesday, put its stamp of approval upon the decisions of the National Committee in the contest over seats in all cases, except that of Porto Rica, thus giving the Race delegates the better of the wrangle with southern "Lily Whites."

The determined efforts to unseat Bob Church by the Memphis group failed. A book of newspaper clippings assailing Church prepared by John McCall, Attorney for James Quinn, who was selected as a delegate by the lily white of Memphis, had little weight. Church was seated by unanimous vote defeating McCall, who waged a bitter fight to unseat him.

Walter Cohen, whose delegation was defeated, but who was given a seat in place of one of the members of the victorious Emile Kuntz delegation, withdrew contests from five districts. Curtis is Cohen's choice for the nomination.

George L. Sheldon, former governor of Nebraska, lost his fight before the credential committee for a reversal of the National Committee's decision seating Howard and his delegation.

Howard Again National Committeman

Perry Howard presided at a caucus meeting of the Mississippi delegation. All officers and committee members were elected by unanimous vote indicating the "harmonious spirit of the delegation." Howard was reelected national committeeman and Mary C. Booze national committee woman. Howard's group was solid for Hoover.

Ben Davis again was favored for national committeeman, although he received strong opposition from J. Watson. Sara King was favored for national committee woman.

Scipio Jones refused to divulge anything about his favorite, but it was understood that he is a Hoover man.

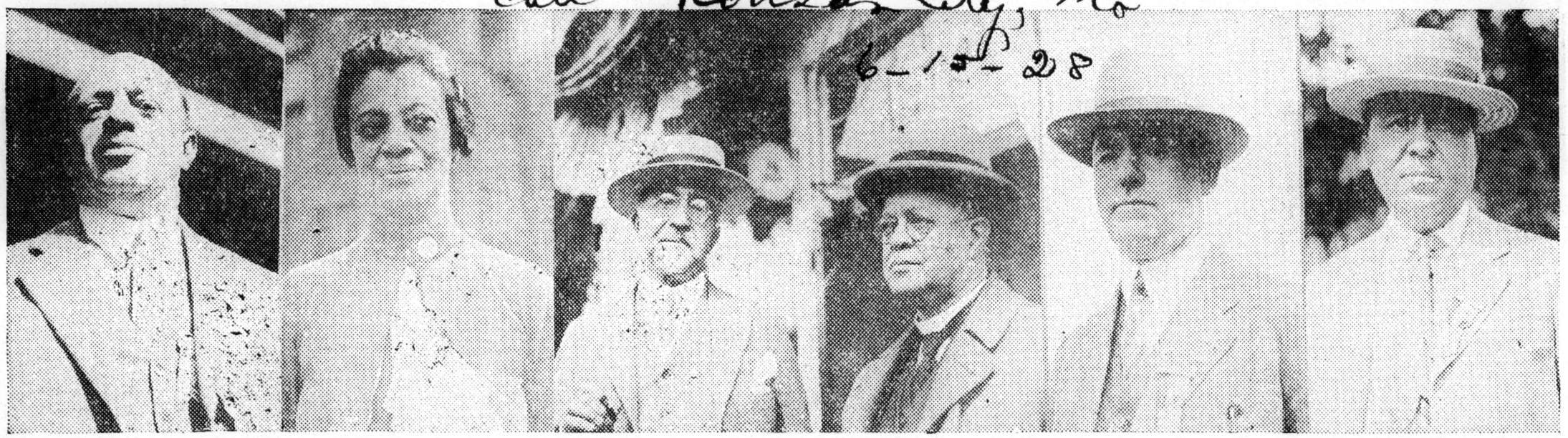
Walthall Moore and Judge Crittenden Clark are both Lowden instructed delegates.

Political – 1928
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Some Visitors and Delegates Attending the G. O. P. Convention

Call Kansas City, Mo
6-15-28



Here are just a few of the delegates and visitors attending the Republican convention here this week. Left to right, Dr. W. G. Alexander, of Orange, N. J., former member of the New Jersey state legislature; Mrs. Oscar DePriest, wife of the stormy petrel of Chicago politics, keeps rather out of the paths of the ballyhooers at the convention. Maybe she will be in Washington this time next year, the wife of Representative DePriest, maybe? She does not answer, except for a smile; Dr. W. P. Curtis and Bishop N. C. Cleaves of St. Louis are talking over the situation in front of their hotel; Ernest Tidrington, well known Indiana leader is caught just before entering Convention hall; Who doesn't know Judge William C. "Billy" Hueston, Elk leader and head of the Negro National league?

—By Staff Photographer

City's Convention Guests Honored by Unrivalled Social Calendar

Sunday, June 11 marked the beginning of a social routine as Kansas City has never before seen. Not in many seasons has the local social calendar been more filled with important events. Kansas City, long known for its hospitality has launched forth to show the many distinguished visitors just what its all about.

Sunday afternoon more than forty people were the guests of the Earl Becks at the Boy's home. Mrs. T. W. Flemming of Cleveland was seen driving her clever car in the caravan of those who motored out; and on Monday afternoon at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Gleed, 2322 Lydia, the Inter City Dames were hostesses to the delegates and visitors. The receiving line was made up of Mrs. Callie Edwards, the president of the club, Mrs. H. O. Cook, the vice-president, Mrs. T. A. Jones, president of the city federation, Mrs. J. C. Branche, Mrs. William Fairfax and Mrs. Fred Gleed, past presidents, Mrs. Helen Cardozo of Washington, Miss Hallie Q. Brown of Wilberforce, Mrs. George Williams of Savannah, Ga., Mrs. Oscar DePriest of Chicago, Mrs. T. W. Flemming of Cleveland, Mrs. Daisy Lampkins of Pittsburg, Penn., and Mrs. Grace Evans of Terre Haute, Ind. Mrs. A. E. Jenkins the hostess to the entire delegation received at the door. She was assisted by Mrs. Eva M. Fox, Mrs. J. E. Dibble, Mrs W. Hubbell, and Mrs. Theodore Clay. Mrs. D. N. Crosthwaite was the chairman of the decorations and nothing was left undone to add to the attractiveness of the Gleed home. The dining table which was covered by a large antique cloth, held a huge marble bowl filled with cut flowers and ferns and banked on the table with roses and leaves. Only one silver service which each member poured tea in turns, added to the tea was a most delicious service, supervised by Mrs. Ella Wiley. Mrs. A. R. Eagleson had the program and presented T. H. Reynolds, who sang; Mrs. G. W. Brown, a solo; Miss Edith Mayberry whistled, as only Miss Mayberry can, and Mrs. D. A. Holmes sang.

Such beauty and distinction throughout this affair made it an unusual one, the gowns were exquisite both in color and style. Mrs. Oscar De Priest was most attractive in a beige pleated lace with a pleated cape and her only accessory being a diamond brooch; Mrs. Cardozo was smart in an all black satin, wearing a large yellow flower on her shoulder; Mrs. Flemming was lovely in an afternoon gown of flowered crepe-de-chine; Mrs. Edwards was charming in grey lace, so was Mrs. Howard Smith stunning in blue chiffon; Mrs. Unthank who assisted, was sweet in ecrue crepe and lace; Mrs. Jenkins wore green and white beaded crepe; Mrs. Fairfax, all over blue lace; Mrs. Annis Garret was pretty in a flowered chiffon; Mrs. Fox wore rose beige crepe; Mrs. Jones wore an evening gown of black beaded georgette, Mrs. Gleed wore black and red flowered crepe, Mrs. Crosthwaite white crepe-de-chine, Mrs. John Love wore orchid crepe, Mrs. Wiley flowered and white crepe. The many stunning and smart gowns worn by invited guests went far to make this reception a beautiful one. There were far too many lovely dresses seen to mention, in fact no affair given in Kansas City has been lovlier and the "Dames" can be very happy that their welcome to the visitors was such a success.

Monday evening in the Blue room a dinner and smoker was given for the gentlemen visitors and delegates, the hosts for this affair were Dr. E. C. Bunch, T. B. Watkins, F. T. Lane, S. E. Johnson, Dr. W. H. Bruce, Dr. C. R. Humbert, Dr. J. E. Dibble, Felix H. Payne, Dr. W. J. Thompkins, Dr. D. M. Miller, R. S. Street, Dr. J. E. Perry, Dr. T. C. Unthank, Dr. H. M. Smith, L. A. Knox, J. A. K. Ficklin, Dr. A. R. Eagleson, Q. J. Gilmore, Dr. T. C. Chapman, Dr. L. W. Turner, Dr. S. H. Thompson, J. A. Hodge, M. H. Tompkins, J. P. King, Dr. G. W. Brown, Fred W. Dabney, Rev. D. A. Holmes, Dorsey Green, C. A. Calloway and Rev. J. W. Hurse.

Tuesday afternoon the sight-seeing trip by motor, led by the American Legion, a clever sport Hup driven by Homer Roberts. Many points of interest were visited, others whose car were in the trip were Mrs. L. V. Miller, the Redmond car, Dr. G. W. Brown, James Cowden, Rev. J. W. Hurse, Harvey Miller, J. A. Hodge, Edward Evans, Mrs. Piney Brown, M. H. Tompkins, Johnnie Bowles, James Reeves, Mrs. D. M. Miller, Mrs. Goldie Elliott, L. S. Hughes, Walter Cohen, Dr. W. Brathwaite, Dr. A. Porter Davis, Dr. Blunt, Mr. and Mrs. Childs, Dr. T. C. Unthank, the DePriest car, a Kentucky car and Eva Sweatman.

Tuesday evening, exactly fifty-five cars went to the Groves farm for a garden party and, oh my! what a feed at this party. There were at least 500 people who danced and made merry either on the porch, or in the large beautiful home on this farm. Wednesday night another reception at the home of Mrs. A. E. Jenkins.

A reception was given for the ladies; it was a very beautiful affair. The ladies receiving with Mrs. Jenkins were Mesdames H. O. Cook, Williams of Jefferson City, Daisy Lampkins, Geo. Williams, DePriest, A. M. Redmond of Jackson, Miss., and Dr. Lillian Coleman of St. Paul. Mrs. Jenkins was assisted by Mesdames Annis Garrett, Joe E. Herriford, sr., H. O. Eblon, Howard Smith and William Fairfax.

The home was beautifully decorated with cut flowers and music was played throughout the evening.

Another smoker was given for the gentlemen at headquarters. This affair is reputed to have been a very spicy affair which began early and ended late.

On Thursday night the entertainment committee were hosts to all the delegates and visitors and the public to a lovely dancing party at Paseo hall. This dance ended the official routine of entertainment for the guests. Many visitors found Kansas City very lively and expressed happiness in being here.

PLEADS FOR RACE PROGRAM IN POLITICS

Homer Phillips Tells Men

Here a Platform Is Needed

A clarion call for a race program in politics was sounded here Tuesday night by Homer G. Phillips, St. Louis attorney, in a speech at a banquet in honor of the visiting delegates and visitors at the Republican convention.

There were speeches by many distinguished visitors, the out-of-town guests were Clayton T. A. French of New York, A. B. Burnett, Paris, Texas, Col. L. L. Parsey, Chicago, W. A. Allmond and E. W. Henry of Philadelphia Dr. C. E. Hawkins, G. W. Bell, Sgt. M. Kerr, of Leavenworth, Kas.; E. P. Roberson, of Parsons, Kas., A. J. Brown, Vicksburg, Miss., John E. Carter, Birmingham, Ala., A. T. Atwater, Rome, Ga., F. P. Rogers, jr., Atlanta, Ga., W. C. Reid, Leon F. Smith, D. Johnson, W. H. Jernagin, J. M. Trigg, W. A. Hamilton, Whitefield McKinley, J. R. Hawkins, M. R. Powell, all of Washington, D. C., Robert T. Scott, W. A. Morant, C. Jackson, Dr. T. A. Curtis, I. A. Dorsey, W. M. Moore, Judge C. C. Clark, Heman Perry, C. K. Robinson, William H. Banks, J. H. Arnold, J. E. Mitchell, Hutchins Inge, Dr. W. P. Curtis, Hugh Boxx, of St. Louis; B. W. Lewis, A. T. Walden, of Atlanta, Ga., E. G. Tidrington, Evansville, Ind.; C. E. Mitchell, Charleston, W. Va.; H. A. Hunt, Fort Valley, Ga.; W. H. Harris, Athens, Ga.; Leon Anderson, John R. Scott, J. B. Blocker, S. D. McGill, W. P. Bush, Jacksonville, Fla.; F. H. Miller, Mound Bayou, Miss.; H. M. Gilliean, P. R. Crutchfield, F. R. Grims, of New Orleans, La.; J. D. Washington Phoenix, Ariz.; P. G. Porter, Eugene L. Bell, of Atchison, Kas.; W. H. Davis, New York; H. W. Lucas Washington, D. C.; Major R. A. Jackson, W. H. Harrison, Oscar De Priest, Morris Lewis of Chicago, A. H. Martin, Thomas Kennedy, Kansas City, Kas.; Dr. E. W. B. Curry, Springfield, Ohio; Paul Jones Nick Chiles, K. K. Pinkston, of Topeka; John L. Webb, Dr. H. H. Phipps, Dr. C. M. Wade, G. W. Green of Hot Springs, Ark.; C. G. Williams, Jefferson City; Dr. S. D. Redmond, E. L. Patton, Dr. A. M. Redmond of Jackson, Miss.; M. A. Wade, Okmulgee, Okla.; Bishop W. T. Vernon, Detroit; Bishop W. S. Brooks, San Antonio; Judge W. C. Hueston, Gary, Ind.; John Adams Omaha; E. L. DePaur, Trenton, N. J.; P. M. Beverly, J. T. Cheshire, R. W. Stewart, of Newark, N. J.; Roscoe Dungee, Oklahoma City; Dr. S. H. George, Paducah, Ky.; S. B. Thompson, John E. Rountree, T. W. Flemming, Dr. E. J. Gregg of Cleveland; W. W. Fisher, Evanston, Ill.; E. W. Barnes, Canton, Miss.; Jesse S. Heslip, Pearl Barber, C. R. Vena of Toledo, Ohio; C. R. Howard, Des Moines, Iowa; O. J. Punch, St. Paul, Dr. B. W. Daniels, Savannah, Ga.; John C. Logan, Columbus, Ohio; C. W. Price, Dayton; Dr. W. G. Alexander, Orange, N. J.; Dr. J. R. Long, Florence, S. C.; Dr. F. M. Payne, Tulsa; Dr. W. P. Harris, Athens, Ga. and C. A. Franklin.

MISSISSIPPI SCANDAL IS VERY, VERY UNTRUE

Perry Howard Did Not Do Those Things.

NO VOTE-BUYING, TRULY

And If Any Afro-Republicans Were "Delivered," They Did Not Break Their Pledges, Except Temporarily.

BY WESTBROOK PEGLER.

The Commercial Appeal-Chicago Tribune Leased Wire.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 13.—The evil serpent of corruption, which has been hovering over the Republican national convention like a fly in the ointment, seems to be no serpent at all, but the spirit of honor, duty and public service. It is a pleasure to be able to report this when there is so much cynicism in the land and even the high status of the heavyweight champion of the world is subject to the whispered suspicions of persons of a certain mental type.

I refer to the depressing rumors circulated by low-minded statesmen within the last few days here in Kansas City to the effect that a number of Seneganbian Republicans from the southern states had been paid, or induced by other considerations than the nation's welfare, to promise their votes to Herbert Hoover in the convention.

These rumors did not state that these dark brethren actually were going to vote for Mr. Hoover, but merely that they had promised to do so. However, that only made the charges that much more sordid. The political experts from Washington, D. C., who seem to be a disrespectful lot, told me that if a delegate promised to vote for a candidate in consideration of $2, a pig, or a plug hat, paid in hand, there was nothing in the political code of honor to prevent him from promising his allegiance to the manager of some other needy candidate, also on the best available terms. The most shocking stories were circulated of the purchase of the southern brethren and the difficulty of making them stay purchased until time for them to cast their ballots.

Now It Can Be Told.

One wondered if such things could be, and I am now in a position to explain they cannot.

The Mississippi delegation, led by Perry Howard, a negro, holding office in Washington as an assistant attorney general, was the delegation concerning which the most discouraging stories were told. There is another delegation of Mississippi Republicans in town claiming to be the true representatives of the Republican people's will in Mississippi, and the dispute, becoming acrimonious, provoked aspersions on the motives of the Howard delegation in pledging its support to Mr. Hoover.

It appears from the record of the Senate investigation only recently, that Howard received $2,000 for the purpose of organizing the 8,000 Republicans of Mississippi for Mr. Hoover, or about 25 cents per Republican.

No matter what use Howard made of this money, I submit that it is a great feat of statesmanship nowadays, to organize anybody, either Republican or Democrat, for 25 cents, and keep him organized over a considerable lapse of time.

I have heard of men becoming organized on the Bowery of New York for as little as ten cents since prohibition wiped out the liquor evil, but the city had to buy them and this wiped out the economy.

It seems, however, that Howard did not have much faith in a delegate who was organized at the nominal rate of 25 cents worth per constituent, and was afraid he could not keep him in a state of enthusiasm for Mr. Hoover. So he wrote a letter to Mr. Clarence Buck, campaign manager for Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, soliciting co-operation in organizing his delegation all over for Mr. Lowden.

Once Upon a Time.

But it seems that in 1924, when Mr. Lowden was making his campaign for nomination, his manager, Mr. Lou Emmerson, an Illinoise statesman, embarrassed his principal no little by sending liberal co-operation to certain leaders in the state of Missouri. It developed that two of these leaders organized their constituents for Mr. Lowden at the bargain price of nothing per head and retained the co-operation for their own uses. Persons of a suspicious nature, who came by this information, endeavored to make it appear that Mr. Lowden's manager was actually buying delegates and by the time he could prove that nothing was remoter from his purpose, it was too late. So this year Mr. Buck appears to have made it a rule of his campaign to put out no co-operation whatever.

The further details of Howard's work in keeping his Mississippi delegation organized for Mr. Hoover, are not disclosed. How- Howard discovered, to his em- egates came unorganized again. Mr. Howard discovered, to his embarrassment, that they were for Mr. Coolidge, which was the same thing as being for John Doe, inasmuch as Mr. Coolidge was not a candidate.

This, of course, meant that they would have to be organized all over, and they were still in this loose and unorganized state when they came to Kansas City. But when they arrived here they discovered the other Mississippi delegation on the ground, offering to organize themselves for Mr. Hoover without any co-operation at all, and for a brief, exciting time there seemed to be a possibility that the other delegation, being self-organizing, would get the seats.

That Grand Gold Loyalty.

However, in this crisis, the Howard delegates felt the old loyalty to Mr. Hoover pulsing in their veins again, and it was decided to give them the seats. But before they were given the seats, they gave the Hoover management a written pledge signed by Howard that they would not, under any circumstances, come unorganized a second time, until after the convention.

This pledge, its meaning distorted by low minded rivals of Mr. Hoover, doubtless forms the basis for the unkind and obviously false idea, widely circulated of late, that the Republican brethren from the south are citizens of wobbly devotion, who are susceptible to last minute persuasion and really aren't safe unless kidnaped and held in seclusion until it is time to vote.

It is discouraging to find that the honest questioning of sincere colored statesmen, unable to make up their minds without co-operation, or to keep them made up without further co-operation, can be publicly distorted in this manner by unscrupulous politicians and made to appear as something quite foreign to their high sense of citizenship. They should sue somebody.

ENDORSE HOOVER AT COUNTY MEET; PICK DELEGATES

Two Race Editors Are Chosen Among 30 Delegates To Dallas Parley—Harmony Prevailed—Large Colored Delegation Present—Lee Boosted For Delegate—Morris Lauded.

Holding the most harmonious convention in the last eight years, the Republicans of Houston and Harris County held their county convention in the city hall council chamber Tuesday morning, with George E. Kepple serving as both temporary and permanent chairman, and Dallas J. Burtschell in the secretarial role.

The attendance of colored delegates, coming from the various precincts of the county, was the largest in the last 12 years, with no contests. This was quite a marked contrast to 1920 and 1924, when the Republican factions in this county held two separate conventions, and the harmony program was the result of pre-convention efforts on the part of County Chairman R. B. Morris and T. P. Lee of the regular organization and H. L. Mims, N. Dudley, Jr., C. N. Love, H. P. Carter, C. H. McGruder, D. Crawford, Jr., and C. F. Richardson of the colored group.

Between 40 and 50 race delegates were seated and recognized in the county meet, and three colored delegates and three colored alternates were elected to the Republican State Convention, which meets at Dallas, Tuesday, May 22, 1928, viz: Delegates, C. N. Love, C. F. Richardson, H. L. Mims; alternates, N. Dudley, Jr., C. H. McGruder and H. P. Carter.

Resolutions were adopted endorsing the candidacy of Herbert Hoover for presidential nomination by the Republican National Convention; endorsing T. P. Lee for one of the delegates-at-large from Texas; lauding the Coolidge administration nationally, and R. B. Morris for his activity in Harris County; commending Wallace E. Pratt for his "unselfish and efficient services on behalf of the Republican party and of the Hoover committee in Harris County during the last few months."

Thirty Delegates Are Elected

The following delegates and alternates to the state convention were elected: Delegates, T. M. Kennerly, T. P. Lee, J. I. Huff, T. H. Bernard, Otto Kirschbaum, Wallace E. Pratt, Ray L. Dudley, R. B. Morris, W. O. Staley, George E. Kepple, John F. Grant, Harry E. Stewart, E. T. Barden, Otto Letzerich, C. A. Miller, C. F. Richardson, C. N .Love, Ben Warren, A. A. Chinski, E. G. Goddard, E. S. Cummings, W. B. Sutton, W. R. Petty, Mrs John Yeaman, Mrs. Stella Baker, W. E. Dwyer, H. L. Mims, W. J. Kearney, O. C. Castle, Mrs. C. A. Fortner.

Alternates: W. L. Childs, W. O. Woods, Frank Melvin, A. D. Farrior, H. Wirt Steele, Irl Kennerly, C. T. Phillips, J. L. Tibbott, H. P. Carter, N. Dudley, Jr., C. H. McGruder, B. F. Guido, J. R. Ingram, J. I. Payne, A. F. Gunn, J. O. Riggs, Jeff N. Miller, C. August Schultz, John Deering, Nat U. Collier, W. H. Hogue, J. W. Goar, D. J. Burtschell, Mrs. Hurlburt, Tom Pringle, W. A. Renn, E. L. McCord, R. A. Barker, Joe B. Dannenbaum, Mrs. W. R. Petty.

Al Smith Present At Meet

It developed, during the reading of the roll of delegates, that Al Smith was present, one of the delegates having the same name as the New York governor, whose candidacy caused the Democrats, meeting in county convention at the City Auditorium, quite a heated deliberation.

The attendance was so large that the council chamber was unable to accommodate all the delegates, the audience overflowing into the hall of the municipal building.

Political 1928

Party Affiliation

G.O.P. IS 'NEGRO PARTY,' DAVIS STATES AT RALLY

"Put us out of the party? Why, the republican party belongs to the negroes," declared Ben Davis, negro, former national republican committeeman for Georgia, Monday night at a rally of negro supporters of Herbert Hoover for president.

"No negro has a right to be a democrat because the democrats have always been against the negro," Davis said, "just like no southerner has a right to be a republican because the republicans have always been against the south. The democratic party is the Jim Crow party—the party of peonage, and it has disfranchised the negro by cunning tricks and subterfuge, taking away his right to vote."

Hoover Tendencies Shown.

Although it was announced at the opening of the session that the meeting was nonpartisan, being held under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to instruct the negroes in the method of voting, the audience exhibited strong Hoover tendencies from start to finish, and all of the principal speakers were Hoover men. The voting instruction was the last and most unimportant part of the meeting, as the speaking for Hoover took up practically the entire time.

Davis expressed a debt of gratitude to the daily press of Georgia, and particularly to The Constitution, because, as he said, "I was not much when the campaign opened, but the white papers have made me a great big speck." The Constitution, "leader in southern thought and sentiment," was the first to inject the religious and racial questions into politics, Davis declared. He paid The Constitution the tribute of being "the first thing the south thinks about when it wakes up."

Work of Klan.

"The Ku Klux Klan has never done anything to negroes, but they've done some pretty good services with some white persons," Davis said. "Joe Robinson, the democratic nominee for vice president, and Pat Harrison, of Mississippi, are both Kluxers. They didn't draw the color line at republican headquarters, but had the whites and negroes on the same floor in the same building. Harrison found the same condition at democratic headquarters, and made Raskob clear it up and segregate the races." Davis said that Hoover abolished segregation in the department of commerce.

A negro organized a democratic club at Jacksonville, and the whites took him out and gave him a good licking, Davis said. "Why is the Dyer bill aimed at the south? It is aimed at mob law, and is not aimed at you unless you are the mob."

Davis took a fling at the Anti-Smith democrats, stating that he has "just as much use for a straight democrat as for an Anti-Smith democrat. The regular democrats and the Anti-Smith democrats are both playing up the negro question. Smith is not particularly for us or against us—he's just a politician."

Walden Presided.

A. T. Walden, negro attorney, presided at the meeting. Walden charged that the white people "have been so concerned in keeping one class of citizens from exercising their citizenship that in the south they have lost their grasp of national problems."

Jackson McHenry, negro, said that the answer to "what has the republican party done for the black men?" is that "it has done all that has been done for you." Jackson said he has very little patience with a "democratic nigger" and had "no confidence in him." Jackson said he voted for Grant in 1868 and has voted the straight republican ticket ever since.

J. B. Dove, white, declared that "you would be glad to be a follower of Ben Davis if you feel about the republican party as I do."

L. G. Harris, negro, compared Hoover to Lincoln, and urged the negroes to vote in all elections, bond elections, etc.

RACE PROTESTS G. O. P. SLUR

Washington, Oct. 31—Indignation has been generally expressed by Negroes throughout the country and protests registered to Herbert C. Hoover against what is interpreted as a direct slap at Negro womanhood by George Akerson, the Republican Presidential nominee's assistant.

Mr. Akerson in a public statement in which he commented on rumors in circulation that Mr. Hoover had danced with a colored woman is quoted as saying:

"The charge that Mr. Hoover danced with a colored woman is the most indecent and unworthy statement in the whole of a bitter campaign."

The Akerson statement is regarded as an insult to Negro women in particular and the race in general. It has caused as much adverse criticism as Senator Moses's recent ku klux statement made in New York, in which he boasted that no Negro dictated to a white stenographer under G. O. P. control at Washington.

G. O. P. GIVES OUT LIST OF MONEY SPENT

Washington, D. C., Nov. 9.—The Republican voters division filed no report of its campaign receipts and expenditures with the clerk of the house of representatives. The report of the Republican national committee contains the expenditures charged against the budget allowed the separate voters division.

According to the report of the Republican national committee the payroll of this division included the following weekly payments:

Robert L. Mays, Chicago, $50; Frank A. Byron, Chicago, $50; Mrs. Myrtle Foster Cook, Chicago, $125; Mrs. Lethia C. Fleming, Chicago, $125; Mrs. Grace Evans, Chicago, $75; J. A. Josey, Chicago, $50; George W. Lee, Chicago, $75; Carey B. Lewis, Chicago, $75; Homer G. Phillips, Chicago, $125; A. H. Roberts, Chicago, $125; P. L. Prattis, Chicago, $50; C. R. Richardson, Chicago, $125; Roscoe C. Simmons, Chicago, $125.

Rienzi B. Lemus, Washington, $70; George W. Harris, New York, $125; Mrs. Addie W. Hunton, New York $100; Charles E. Mitchell, New York $70; Fred R. Moore, New York, $125; R. L. Vann, Washington, $125; Ernest T. Attwell, New York, $125; William T. Andrews, Washington, $100; Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkins, Washington, $100; West A. Hamilton, Washington, $75; Claude A. Barnett, Washington, $150; John Mitchell, Washington, $75; Miss Jeannette Carter, Washington, $50; Mrs. Sarah Pelham Speaks, Washington, $50; W. H. C. Brown, New York, $70.

Hawkins-Holsey Not Listed

Neither John R. Hawkins of Washington, D. C., chairman of the Republican voters division, nor Albon L. Holsey of Tuskegee, Ala., its secretary, is listed as having received any salary. Mr. Hawkins is said to have refused his expenses.

Mrs. Amy Garvey, New York, wife of Marcus Garvey, is listed as having received $35.

The following editors are listed in the report of the Republican national committee as having been paid as follows for their news service:

E. W. B. Isaac, Nashville, Tenn., $200; T. Edward Hill, Keystone, W. Va., $400; Roscoe Dungee, Oklahoma City, Okla., $500; John Rice, Dallas Tex., $200; A. M. Houghton, Boston Mass., $350; W. A. Hamilton, Washington, D. C., $100; Roy C. Garvin Kansas City, Kan., $100; George W. McDade, Knoxville, Tenn., $120; James E. Washington, Memphis Tenn., $150; T. J. Johnson, Memphis Tenn., $400.

I. Willis Cole, Louisville, Ky., $400; Webster L. Porter, Knoxville, Tenn. $500; Robert L. Vann, Pittsburgh Pa., $1,000; W. T. Andrews, Baltimore, Md., $500; P. B. Young, Norfolk Va., $200; F. Morris Murray, Washington, D. C., $400; E. Washington Rhodes, Philadelphia, Pa., $500; Arthur Lynch, Philadelphia, Pa., $300; George W. Harris, New York city $500; Fred R. Moore, New York city $500; William H. Davis, New York city, $800; William Monroe Trotter Boston, Mass., $250.

Missourian Highest Paid

William J. Robinson, Detroit, Mich. $250; Cornelius Edwoods, Toledo, O. $250; Norman McGhee, Cleveland Ohio, $250; John Rives, Dayton, Ohio $250; W. P. Dabney, Cincinnati, Ohio $250; Jacob Tipper, Chicago, Ill., $200; A. M. Davis, Chicago, Ill., $250; J. A Josey, Milwaukee, Wis., $200; J. E Mitchell, St. Louis, Mo., $700; N. B Young Jr., St. Louis, Mo., $150; E. M Bryant, St. Louis, Mo., $150; C. A Franklin, Kansas City, Mo., $1,000.

John Albert Williams, Omaha Neb., $250; C. C. Galloway, Omaha Neb., $250; James B. Morris, Des Moines, Iowa, $250; S. B. Wilson Nashville, Tenn., $300; S. W. Broome Memphis, Tenn., $150; Benjamin J Perkins, Memphis, Tenn., $150; C. F Richardson, Houston, Tex., $100; Zenobia Alexander, Buffalo, N. Y., $100; Harry C. Smith, Cleveland, Ohio $150; G. B. Dailey, Newark, N. J. $300, and Joseph D. Bibb, $150.

'Negroes' Place With Republicans' Is Belief Of Republican Candidate

By RUSSELL KENT
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Oct. 27.—Herbert Hoover, Republican nominee for president, believes that "the place of the colored people is with the Republican party" and in response to greetings given him by a delegation of Massachusetts negroes at a reception in his honor at the home of Gov. Fuller on his recent visit to the Bay State, Mr. Hoover welcomed the negroes and told them that he would "do all that is in my power to uphold the traditions of the party and the constitution of the United States."

What the Republican nominee means by the use of such phrases in speaking to a delegation of colored voters remains to be disclosed but the traditions of the Republican party in its attitude towards negroes in politics and the position of many Republicans that a stringent Federal law should be enacted to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution are well known.

The following account of the reception to Mr. Hoover is taken from the Oct. 20, issue of the Boston Chronicle, a negro publication.

Tours Massachusetts

"The first days of this week were gala ones in Massachusetts among Republicans. Herbert Hoover, presidential nominee made a tour which embraced Springfield, Worcester and Greater Boston. On Monday morning he left his train in the Newtons and was escorted through the various towns comprising the Boston area, eventually winding up at the Parkman bandstand on the Common. He was received and feted by all the people, the culmination being at the Arena and Symphony Hall, where he addressed huge crowds.

"One of the outstanding events of his visit was the reception at Gov. Fuller's home on Beacon Street, where many were invited to meet the Republican presidential prospect. Among the groups were several colored citizens. A delegation was headed by Attorney Walter Foster, who on being presented to Mr. Hoover said:

" 'I am pleased to present this group of citizens representing each county of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, who are supporting you because of your excellent public and private records, and because we believe that you will uphold the traditions of the party and the Constitution of the United States.'

"Mr. Hoover replied: 'It is always a pleasure to meet a Republican group like this, pledging to me its support and I am particularly delighted with this group representing the entire Commonwealth. I think the place of the colored people is with the Republican party and I welcome you there and shall do all that is in my power to uphold the traditions of the party and the Constitution of the United States.'

"During the day a reception was tendered to Mrs. Hoover at which the colored group was well represented."

MR. HOOVER, THE NATION'S CHOICE

The American people have decisively elected Mr. Hoover to be their President, and those who opposed him bow gracefully to the decision, and join his supporters in wishing him success and happiness.

He will assume the duties of the Presidency with more widely distributed popular support than any other Republican has ever had in that office, for apparently he has carried at least two Southern States—Virginia and Florida—and he has polled in the other Southern States a vote that must be highly gratifying to him. A man of demonstrated ability in his own field and in the official posts he has held, this unprecedented national support that has been given him undoubtedly will stimulate him to the largest endeavor in the broader and more complex duties to which he is now called.

To Governor Smith The Sun offers its felicitations upon a most gallant fight against stupendous odds, and the expression of our pleasure in having been numbered among those who upheld his cause, and the principles for which he bravely stood. He faced a normal adverse majority of immense proportions, and to that disadvantage was added the handicap of prejudice against his religon. Not once did he falter in facing a more powerful party foe and in carrying the fight to him, and not once did he falter in facing and challenging those who raised against him the ancient and ferocious prejudices of religion.

FOLLY OF "STRAIGHT" VOTE

Thirty thousand straight republican ballots were cast by St. Louis Negroes for Sam. A. Baker, the republican candidate who won the governorship in 1924. Four positions above the grade of janitor, have been given Negroes in the Baker administration, less than $10,000 in wages out of the several million dollars paid the state's employees. We have had no new legislation under Baker, not even the laws enforced already on the statutes. Governor Baker has not considered us enough to make recommendations to the legislature that would help us. The straight ballot has proven a failure in making friends for Negroes. Politicians have not counted it the gift of our loyalty. They have accepted it as the proof of their ownership.

Once upon a time speakers use to get a wild acclaim from Negro audiences by shouting out their appeal for the "straight republican ticket." But promise-breakers like Baker have made us know that we are wise to vote for our friends no matter under what party label.

Campaign Expenses

Republicans spent over $100,000 thru a National Colored Advisory Committee to woo the colored voter.

Democrats for the first time in history spent an equal amount.

G. O. P. expenses according to reports so far filed with the Government show about $20,000 spent in administrative expenses $16,000 in newspaper advertising and $64,000 in speakers and organizers.

The Colored National Advisory Committee was organized on precisely the same lines as the white, with its publicity organization and first voters divisions. Speakers and workers draw equal salaries and per diem expenses.

The democratic organization spent some $8,000 in administration, $12,000 newspaper advertising and $80,000 in speakers and organizers.

Later returns will bring the total sum spent to $250,000, out of a total budget of $10,000,000 authorized by both parties.

The striking thing about the campaign in this regard is not that the workers were paid they could not afford to leave their work for eight weeks otherwise. But it is interesting to note that when the democrats decided to go after the race vote, they did so as effectively and intelligently as the G. O. P., which has long been in the game.

Colored Voters Repudiate Democrats; Support G. O. P.

Once more the election has come and gone. The colored voters running true to form in the sections of the country where they are able to vote, gave large majorities to the Grand Old Party. Late election returns show conclusively that Mr. Hoover received along with all Republican candidates, all over the country, a large colored vote. In states like Virginia, notwithstanding the vast propaganda which had been carried on by the Southern Democrats to win the votes of the colored citizens from the ranks of the Republican Party. In Chicago, New York, Pennsylvania, and other Northern and Western states, the returns show that the colored citizens would not be fooled by the blandishments of the Dixie Bourbons. Colored candidates were also supported with zeal, by the colored citizens, and in several states, the large colored votes, constituted the balance of power, and served as the deciding factor, in mounting up a grand victory for the Republican Party.

The local colored candidate in New York, Edward A. Johnson, was not as fortunate as was the colored citizen in Chicago, running for the same office. Mr. Johnson in his race for the Congress, lost the race by approximately 8,000. In the five election districts which constitute the Congressional districts, in which Mr. Johnson was running in New York, only two of these district (the 19th and 21st) had heavy colored votes. In these districts Mr. Johnson was given according to the reports, 31,000 colored votes. In the 30 districts, in the 19th assembly district, in which there were a solid colored population, Mr. Johnson led his opponent (Weller), by a ten-to-one run. In the 21st assembly district, in which there is a solid colored population, in 26 election districts, Mr. Johnson led his opponent by five-to-one. In the other districts (white) Mr. Johnson was beaten by a large Democratic electorate. The final figures appear to be: Johnson, 38,000; Weller, 47,000; giving to Weller (white Democrat) a lead over Mr. Johnson of more than 9.000.

The St. Louis Argus, Kansas City Call and other influential colored papers, while not editorially esposing Governor Smith's election to date, have said nothing in advocacy of Mr. Hoover.

It is the first time in history that the colored press has supported in such large numbers a Democratic aspirant for the Presidency.

TRADITIONAL G. O. P. PERIODICALS BOLT THE PARTY

Leading Negro Publications Have Joined Ranks Of Smith Supporters

New York, Oct. 31—Widespread comment has been occasioned by the bolting of colored newspapers thruout the country from the G. O. P. to the Smith camp. Chief among the leading race publications to support Governor Smith for President are: The Chicago Defender, Baltimore Afro-American, Norfolk Journal and Guide, Boston Guardian, Louisville News, Negro World, Washington Eagle, Interstate Tattler, New York Contender, Kansas City American, Gary Sun, Harlem Star, Mucogee Herald, New Jersey Lance, West Lndian Times, and Chicago World.

Republican

Political - 9-8

Party Affiliation.

Republican Half-Breeds A Menace To The Hoover-Curtis Ticket

The greatest menace to Republican success in November, is the curse of lilly-whitism in the south. For forty years these ignoramuses have been arguing to the National Republican leaders, that if the party would eliminate the Negro from the party councils, they would break the solid south, but have never made anybody believe their story except the lamented President Harding, who said before he died, that he had been deceived by these crooks and set about to repudiate them, and correct the error that they had led him into.

The same propaganda is being fed to the party leaders now by the same aggregation of half-breeds with the same degree of success, and the colored electors are holding Mr. Hoover responsible for the calamity; and as a consequence, the republican ticket is suffering in the north for the want of Negro support.

Independent

The Negroes despise the lily whites and the lily-whites hate them unqualifiedly.

9-27-28

The lily-whites vote in the Democratic party primaries and want to hold all of the offices under every Republican administration and control and the party machinery in the south. All the trouble in the south today, is traceable to lily-white treachery, perfidy and ignorance.

Atlanta, Ga.

The first step of the half-breeds, after they come into control, instead of working to elect the ticket, is to drive the Negro out of the party. They never think of electing the ticket but of eliminating the Negro. They'll tell any lie, commit perjury or stoop to any depths to play their game.

While we do not believe that Mr. Hoover is a party to, or has guilty knowledge of this diabolical scheme to disfranchise the Negro; plotted by the lilly whites and executed by his agents, we have many reasons to conclude that the scheme is being encouraged by men high up in his war councils.

What Mr. Hoover wants, to win the election, is votes, and not races, votes count election day and not color. The lily whites would rather see Hoover defeated than to know that the Negro had a hand in the work of success.

In Georgia the regular organization surrendered every thing to a white committee which has turned out to be a dyed in the wool lily white out-fit, which is carrying more scurrilous matter about the Negro than the Democrats are carrying. Chas. Adamson, King of the lily whites, is sending out a letter soliciting funds and assuring those who will give, as an inducement, that the party will never have another Negro National Committeeman. This animal is at the head of our electoral ticket and was placed there by "nigger" votes. He is only a sample of the lily whites who are doing more to defeat the Republican ticket than to elect it. But Mr. Adamson has never been anything more than an ignorant piece of self-conceit without influence out side of his factory. If we hear any more of him, the "niggers" who put him on the ticket will take him off. Just such men as he are responsible for the northern Negro's attitude towards Mr. Hoover.

The one effort of the lily white organization, is to eliminate the Negro, discredit the organization that created it with a view of controling the "pie counter" after the election.

This organization is doing precisely nothing. It has not called on the organization for a list of the county and district organizations, but has contented to make itself a one man organization in order to claim credit for the work of the anti-Smith Democrats and the regular organization.

It is not the function of a campaign committee to put out an electoral ticket but of the party organization, and these half-breeds had as well understand it once and for all times.

The head of this lilly white organization expressed the view the other day that if white speakers took part in the meeting in Clinch County at which the Secretary of the regular organization was to be the principal speaker, Mr. Hoover would lose white votes.

Who believes that Mr. Hoover would stand for this abominable rot and at the same time appealing for Negro votes throughout the country. No, Mr. Hoover is too big to have any part in this conspiracy to humiliate the race. Hoover loves humanity, not races any further than races make up humanity.

Democrats Beat Themselves

THE REPUBLICANS have routed the Democrats in the most overwhelming political victory since the days of James Monroe. So complete is the Democratic downfall that for the first time in history men are speculating upon the possible dissolution of the Democratic party. The Democrats try to console themselves with the thought of the 13,000,000 votes polled by their candidate; but that is cold comfort when the Republican candidate polls five or six million more.

THE DEFEAT ITSELF was not surprising, but many people were astonished at its proportions. A second thought, however, will show that even those proportions might have been expected. To begin with, the Democratic candidate was handicapped by his attitude toward Prohibition, his religion and his political background. These, in addition to the normal Republican opposition, were enough to defeat him.

STILL, there were enough independent voters in the country to have made the race a close one. They were dissatisfied with the Republican party and thought that a change might be good for the country. They only awaited some assurance that the change would be an improvement. They waited in vain. The Democratic candidate had nothing concrete to offer them. On the questions of farm relief, foreign debts and foreign relations he was either vague or silent. Instead of outlining a clear-cut program of his own, he spent his time attacking the record of the Republican party. Meanwhile, the Republican candidate's experience in foreign affairs was known; and on the farm relief problem he definitely promised that if elected he would call a special session of Congress to deal with it. The independent voters, having to choose between vagueness and concrete proposals, naturally chose the latter.

THERE WAS ALSO what was called the liberal vote, which was expected to support the Democratic candidate solidly. It was supposed to vote against bigotry and fanaticism. But it did not vote as it was expected to, and the reason is plain. The Democratic candidate was not a true representative of liberalism. He wanted liberalism for himself but not for others. True liberalism means standing out for the rights of all men, and this the Democratic candidate conspicuously refused to do. He truckled to the most reactionary, hidebound section of the country. This was politics, not liberalism.

NOR WAS IT GOOD POLITICS, if we may judge by the result. A large part of the very section he truckled to turned against him. Four states of that section went Republican for the first time in their history. If he had taken a courageous stand for the full manhood rights of Negroes as well as others he could at least have gone down in defense of principle with his colors flying. Certainly his defeat could not have been much worse.

THE REPUBLICANS did not win this campaign; the Democrats won it for them. They pulled against themselves from the start, with a Wet candidate and a Dry platform. They alienated every voting group they could, even their traditional supporters. All the Republicans had to do was to sit still and let the Democrats beat themselves.

"WHY WE ARE AGAINST AL SMITH"

THOUGH born and bred in Georgia, thousands o us have our minds finally and forever fixed t pray, work and vote for Herbert Hoover.

Oh, yes, we expect to hear a lot about "Ben Davis' and "Negro Committeeman," but we have deliberate ly decided that we would rather have Ben Davi on a committee in Georgia than to have Al Smitl in the presidential chair in Washington. As Dr Bascom Anthony puts it, "It won't be the first tim I ever sent a message by a negro; but I usually pai him a quarter. This time it will be free."

We are against Al Smith because he is openl against the immigration law of the United State and in favor of opening our doors to the hordes o ignorant foreigners who are anxious to infest thes shores.

We are against Al Smith because he is the boaste product of Tammany Hall, the most notoriously cor rupt political organization that ever cursed New York City.

We are against Al Smith because his record shows that he never one time voted on the right side of any moral question, but at every opportunity voted to protect the saloon, gambling, horse racing, legalizing of lewd houses and gloated that the time would soon come when we can "put the foot on the brass rail and blow off the froth."

We are against Al Smith because we are afraid of the political activities of the hierarchy to which he owes his religious affiliation. No one seriously denies that the Catholic church demands political rights and powers. We are perfectly willing for the Catholic church to have religious liberty. We are determined it shall not have political liberty.

We are against Al Smith because over his own signature in the last few weeks he wrote: "There are certain parts of the constitution that I hate."

We are against Al Smith because moral principle should come ahead of political expediency. Not to do so would stultify our consciences, render hypocritical our every profession as a prohibitionist, play false to the highest patriotism and sacrifice our sense of loyalty to Jesus Christ.

WAY.

Journal.

Minnesotans Desert G. O. P. Ship And Swear Allegiance To Al Smith

Think Change In Administration Will Better Conditions

By AIMEE HALL

MINNESOTANS
Former Postmaster Host

News of the Democratic invasion leaked out when Mr. Otto Raths, former postmaster, who appointed more colored men to the service than all the Republican postmasters together, was host to a seven-course dinner in Parlor 1, at the Ryan Hotel, Wednesday evening, September 19, to which more than 50 prominent citizens had been invited for the purpose of perfecting a permanent organization.

Mr. Joseph Wolf, Democratic National committeeman, and Attorney John J. McDonough, 38th District State representative, were among those present and outlined the policies of the Democratic nominee.

Thirty of our best men from all walks of life, including lawyers, physicians, waiters, porters, barbers, mechanics, stewards, shop foremen, deputy county auditor, architect and business men, deserted the Republican ship and expressed their willingness to ride the Democratic donkey content and take a chance at remaining in the saddle.

From the group present, officers and an executive committee were chosen to organize the state. Those who will function are: Attorney J Louis Ervin, president; Dr. J. Walton Crump, vice president; Dr. Valdo Turner, treasurer, and Mr. O. C. Hall secretary. Members of the executive committee are: Messrs. C. W Wigington, Dr. J. Walton Crump, Attorney J. Louis Ervin, O. C. Hall, Dr. Valdo Turner, Thos. Neal, Frank Ware, John Davis, W. J. Utley, M. K. McKnight, Arthur Todd, R. M. Johnson, P. L. Caldwell, C. H. Miller, O. D. Charleston, R. S. Harris, Geo. Moore, T. J. Franklin, Jesse A. Black and Wm. Thurston.

A membership campaign has been launched to thoroughly organize what they call "The Smith-for-President-Club."

One of the big thoughts of the meeting was that if the late President Wilson just missed carrying Minnesota in 1920 by 319 votes, that Smith with the 7,500 Negro votes, that Wilson did not get, can carry the state by 15,000.

It was the concensus of opinion among those present that Henrik Shipstead would be re-elected as United States Senator from Minnesota.

After the smoke had subsided we asked some of the newly-elected officers why they had aligned themselves with Smith and they replied in the following statements:

I have studied Al Smith's administration as Governor of the State of New York from an attorney's viewpoint and have found that he has always meted out fair treatment to the race. The unsatisfactory regime of Harding and Coolidge were of no particular benefit to us as a whole so perhaps a change will better conditions. In Minnesota, most of the important state and city appointments for our group were made by Democrats. For instance Governor Johnson appointed as his messenger Billy Williams, who for more than 20 years has served under both party affiliations because of his efficiency. A Democrat mayor appointed Tom Lewis in the same capacity from his office, but a Republican mayor abolished the office and we haven't had any representation since. I also believe that the new Negro who has awakened to a higher sense of ideals will prove an important factor in the coming campaign.

—J. Louis Ervin.

Of the two Presidential nominees, Governor Al Smith is the stronger. If elected I believe he will be his own boss as far as the policy of the Democratic administration is concerned and that he will not tolerate any dictation from higher ups.

—Dr. Valdo Turner.

No hearing that our group has had with any President has been effective; if we elect a man that is abused because of his religion perhaps he will take cognizance of the unjust discrimination which we have suffered and show a sympathetic attitude.

When the Eighteenth Amendment was passed the Volstead act was an enabling act to put the Eighteenth Amendment across and the whole truth about the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments is that none has ever been enacted to put them in force.

—O. C. Hall.

The majority of the Smith followers added that present conditions warrant a change of some sort. Several high positions formerly held by race leaders have been given to whites and we have not received sufficient recognition. That Al Smith is firm in his own convictions and that the principles which he advocate will be carried out to the letter.

Attwell Deposed As Pennsy G O P Chief

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Faced by a possible revolt of the old line Republicans of the group, the National campaign committee used to the Ernest T. Attwell as head of the Pennsylvania Head Quarters and appointed Assistant District Attorney John C. Asbury, it has been announced.

Immediately following the appointment of Attwell a howl went up from the faithful in Philadelphia, it being stated that the National Committee had sidetracked the active workers in the party for a man who was a recreational worker. When this dissatisfaction began to grow into open revolt, the Washington group acted.

WHY A NEGRO POLITICAL PARTY?

(Indianapolis Recorder)

Recently it was widely rumored that a group of leaders of an outstanding fraternal order plan to organize an all-Negro political party, and name a candidate for president of the United States. Such a move does not appear either discretionary or productive of any good for the Negro people. Those who sponsor the movement has a right to act as they choose in the matter. But an all-Negro political party would mean eventually further defeat of the political opportunities of Negro people.

A Negro political party can mean at no time, little more than possible promotion of selfish and personal interests, on the part of the organizers. The major political parties espouse all issues of vital concern in the nation's welfare, which are likely to get a favorable hearing through legislation or law enforcement. There are no programs for a Negro party to foster, which do not have a champion, save perhaps the "Negro Cause." This would mean the end of the party in the beginning.

A Negro political party is not the demand of the people. There is no need for such, no more so than there is need for a Ku Klux Klan party. There is a crying need for a closer unity of purpose among Negro people, particularly in economic activities. We must in the face of future developments, essay a role of producer of essentials, or be relegated to a more anomalous place of economic serfdom.

How Large is the Negro Vote?

Determining how large is the vote cast by Negroes in national elections is like finding out who killed Cock Robin. Since the campaigners for both Smith and Hoover set out to capture this vote, there have been all kind of figures given out.

All of these figures are pure guess work. We hope the exact number of Negro voters will never be known. Why should it, any more than the number of Irish or Germans who vote, or Klansmen or atheists?

Thank goodness, the racial identity of a person is not as yet required as a part of the information on the registration books—except perhaps in Dixie. The Negro can never enjoy the full rights and privileges of an American citizen if he is to always be grouped off politically.

Just let it be known that all Negroes who can vote do vote; and that any candidate for public office, whether for town constable or for president of the United States, if he wants to win, must respect that vote.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation

Republican.

FOUR ST. LOUISANS WHO GET REPUBLICAN HONORS

ONE OF THE BIG SEVEN

WALTHALL M. MOORE
Delegate-At-Large

NOMINATES MR. MOORE

JUDGE CRITTENDEN E. CLARK
Delegate From 12th District

After a lively fight at the Republican State Convention at St. Joseph last Monday, Walthall M. Moore, a member of the Missouri Legislature, was elected delegate-at-large to the G. O. P. Convention, which meets in Kansas City in June.

Mr. Moore's name will be remembered.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTOR

CHAS. H. TURPIN
Presidential Elector 12th Dist.

TO REPRESENT THE 11TH

J. W. McINTYRE
Delegate From 11th Dist.

had been mentioned almost daily in the newspapers as the Negro who would be the choice of the party leaders, and this recognition had been generally conceded to him. Now and then, however, the words "or some other Negro" would be noted in the news items in connection with Mr. Moore's name. Little could be learned as to who this mysterious "other Negro" was, or where this information came from. Therefore, much speculation was indulged in by Moore's friends concerning the matter. It was thought at one time that some designing politicians would spring this "some other Negro" at a certain time under the cloak of "Negroes must get together," and thereby defeat anyone who might aspire. But this did not work, certainly not as well as was thought. One, T. J. Worley, who in the past has posed as the Negroes' friend, was found to be the chief advocate of the "get together movement," which came very near defeating the Negroes entirely.

Hold Adopts Conference.

Evidently, there had been a movement on foot for sometime to put forward Homer G. Phillips for the honor as the Negroes' choice for delegate-at-large. For, now and then, here and there, his name was whispered among certain delegates. It appeared that F. W. Dabney, L. A. Knox, C. H. Calloway, all of Kansas City, and a few others who are regarded as convention manipulators, were anxious for this proposed conference.

When Mr. Moore arrived at the meeting place and found that an attempt was being made to hold the proposed conference without many of the delegates and particularly those of his friends, he protested the methods being used. A lively argument followed and after being ruled out of order by the chairman, E. T. Sumayel, Mr. Moore was advised by his friends to withdraw rather than have a big fuss. The conference after the withdrawal of Mr. Moore proceeded to select Homer G. Phillips.

Acts As A Boomerang

Upon returning to the convention hall, a committee reported that a conference had been held and that Moore had received only one vote and Philips had received 45. This statement looked so ridiculous on its face that it acted as a boomerang, and many of the delegates discredited all that had been done at the supposed conference, and demanded that Mr. Moore's name be presented to the convention, which was done and Moore defeated Phillips by a vote of nearly 2 to 1.

Judge Clark Nominates.

In presenting the names for nomination before the convention when the Sixth District was reached, by previous arrangement, it yielded to Judge Crittenden E. Clark of the 12th District who mounted the platform and nominated Mr. Moore. He briefly cited the record of Moore and mentioned his service to his people and the State as a member of the Missouri Legislature, now serving his third term, and urged his election as one of the "big seven."

Following Judge Crittenden Clark's speech, which was greeted by many rounds of applause, Rev. Holmes of Kansas City, who had been selected for that purpose, made a speech and nominated Phillips.

There was no doubt in the minds of those who made any study of the situation as to who would win after Judge Clark's speech, though he did not refer to Phillip's reputation. But after the nomination Phillips' political reputation was carried to the delegates which helped to defeat him. He was charged with supporting Hawes and Igoe. Mr. Phillips admitted that he supported Mr. Igoe for mayor against the present incumbent, Mayor Victor J. Miller, but denied that he supported Hawes at anytime and challenged anyone to prove the contrary.

Moore carried every district in St. Louis and most of the outstate districts.

Turp'n For President Elector.

The 12th District elected Chas. H. Turpin, presidential elector. In the event that the Republican Party is successful at the polls in November, Mr. Turpin will go to Washington as a member of the Electoral College and cast a vote directly for the President of the United States. This is regarded as a high honor. "Billy" Hub'e, Committeeman from the 7th Ward, is said to be responsible for Turpin's election.

Alternate-at-Large.

Mrs. Myrtle F. Cook of Kansas City, Mo., was elected alternate-at-large to Mr. Moore, which, in the event that Mr. Moore cannot be present, she will be the delegate-at-large. Judge Crittenden E. Clark and J. W. McIntyre are delegates to the National Republican Convention from the 12th and 11th Districts, respectively, and as such will have just as much voting power as delegates-at-large at the Republican National Convention.

Negroes Pretty Well Satisfied.

Comments heard from representative colored people of the state indicate that the Race is pretty well satisfied with the recognition given Race men and women in dividing the political honors for the G. O. P. National Convention; namely, 1 delegate-at-large; alternate-at-large; 2d District delegates and 4th District alternates.

The "Big Seven."

Mayor Victor J. Miller of St. Louis, Edmond Koeln of St. Louis, Walthall M. Moore of St. Louis, Governor Sam Baker, Jefferson City; ex-Governor Arthur M. Hyde of Trenton, Mrs. Maude Cunningham of Sedalia and Mrs. G. L. Zwick of St. Joseph. These are the "big seven"

SEGREGATION OF G. O. P. DELEGATES CAUSE TROUBLE

Proposal to Segregate the Negro Delegates to National Convention Creates Stir.

Washington, D. C., March 28.—(By the Associated Negro Press.)—Due to the fact that Negroes hold the balance of power in several Northern States, it is believed here that Secretary Gleason's letter stating that the delegates to the G. O. P. convention in Kansas City would be quartered at the Y. M. C. A., instead of at the leading hotels with the whites, will be recalled.

The announcement contained in Gleason's letter brought a howl of protest which the time-worn explanation that it was believed that the Negro delegates would be more comfortable "with their own people" failed to shake. It was pointed out by Perry W. Howard and Ben J. Davis, national committeemen from Mississippi and Georgia, that when Kansas City was selected it was with the assertion that there would be no segregation. It has been furher reported that Chairman Butler had promised to investigate the condition and make the necessary changes.

THE PARTY OF SEGREGATION

It is gradually dawning on the colored voters throughout the country that there is a concerted movement on the part of the Republican party to eliminate the race from official place in the councils of that party. The persistent and vigorous activity on the part of the lily whites in the South, with the encouragement and financial aid of the members of the Republican party in the North, in the endeavor to eliminate colored people from party control in that section, speaks for itself. Mississippi, where Perry W. Howard is being fought by Northern carpet baggers who have gone South for the specific purpose of eliminating the Negro from party control, is an example of the attitude of those now masquerading under the name of Republican.

Added to that the failure of the present administration to abolish segregation in the departments under the Federal government is an indication that the leaders of the party, disregarding the traditions of the party, have done nohing to heed the protests against segregation and discrimination gene lly.

Failure to give the colored people proper recognition in the departments is another evidence of the feeling on the part of the Republican leaders that nothing need be done to mollify the Negro.

Colored people who pass the civil service examinations are refused placement as soon as it is known that the applicants are colored. Salaries of colored employees who are placed in positions doing a higher grade of work than their more fortunate white fellow employees, are stationary, being denied promotion and receive less compensation for their services.

In the segregated divisions where colored employees are placed the office equipment, the office environment and the general atmosphere are less inviting than that of the other offices and divisions which are assigned to the white employees.

These conditions above enumerated can be corrected if the voters in the several states petition their respective senators, and in the congressional districts, their congressmen, to request the President to issue an executive order giving the colored people a square deal.

NEGRO DELEGATE PROBLEM LOOMS

By ROBERT CHOATE

Washington, March 25.—Not the least of the piteous pleas which have brought tears to the eyes of experienced politicians in Washington are those emanating from certain Southern statesmen who control Republican politics below the Mason and Dixon line. It looks like a lean year.

According to reports which have been freely voiced here white national committeemen from the South simply do not know how they are going to get their Negro delegates to the Kansas City convention in June.

About this time every four years the Southern delegates are in the habit of laying in a large stock of finery, shirts of bright complexion, suits, and highly-tanned shoes, and if the going is exceptionally good, a new Ford car and suitable accessories. But not this year.

Thanks to the rigorous examinations made by various Senate committees into past campaign expenditures, the candidates are keeping a tight string on their pocketbooks, and the Southern delegations have had to go whistling for the long green with which their affections were formerly more or less vicariously cemented.

And this is not all. When William M. Butler picked out Kansas City as the convention place, Perry Howard from Mississippi, and other Negro leaders of Southern States wanted assurances that Southern delegates would not suffer from the discrimination of the Jim Crow laws of Missouri. Mr. Butler assured these gentlemen that he would take care of them and that they would receive as fine treatment as any of the delegates that went from other states.

The majority of Southern delegates at Republican conventions have, in the past received the best treatment. They were in the habit of being wined and dined by leading candidates. They were sent to the best hotels. They were well taken care of and their feelings were the first consideration of every official. But not this year.

An official of the Republican National Committee has sent out a letter to Southern national committeemen stating that assignments for white delegates will be made in such and such hotel and colored delegates will be taken care of in private homes or the colored Y. M. C. A.

A yell has gone up from this quarter and Mr. Butler is now being asked what's what.

The color question is not confined to the Republican Party, however. In today's Congressional Record, Senator Blease, of South Carolina, inserted a clipping from the Afro-American, a Baltimore publication, in which he took exception to Senator Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana, sitting at the same table with Negroes at a dinner given in honor of Oswald Garrison Villard.

"Some men do not mind associating at the table with certain other people," Blease is quoted as saying in the interview, "but the people of my state might object to voting for that kind of a man for President of the United States."

Insertion in the Record of this material gives Southern publications full right to make use of it and it will undoubtedly do the Walsh candidacy much damage.

JUDGE JONES IS VICTORIOUS IN ARKANSAS FIGHT

After 12 Years of Exclusion from Party Councils, Negroes Win Recognition in Arkansas.

Little Rock, Ark., March 28.—(By the Associated Negro Press.)—After twelve years of exclusion of Negro Republicans from the various councils of the state, the Lily White faction surrendered to the demands of the regulars for equal rights in all county and state meetings, Friday night, when the Pulaski County Republican Convention, with 160 members of the black and tan assembled in the Chamber of Commerce auditorium to select the twenty delegates to the Fifth Congressional District and State Convention and to name the twenty members of the County Central Committee.

Negroes were given one-fourth representation of all delegation, and Judge Scipio A. Jones, who recently organized the Negro Republicans of the state and had planned a bitter fight for recognition in the National Convention at Kansas City in June, was the leader.

Harmony prevailed throughout the meeting and the Negro Republicans were assured of the same recognition in all county conventions to be held in the state. They will be elected delegates to the State Convention from various counties and will serve on all committees. The State Convention will be held at Russellville, May 3, and the Negroes will be accorded one of the Big Four to the National Convention.

Political-1928

Republican

Party Affiliation.

NEW YORK AMERICAN

AUG 6 1928

MOSES URGES UNIFIED G.O.P. BUREAU HERE

Eastern Leader Will Renew Plea for N. Y. Headquarters on His Trip to See Hoover

A personal and emphatic appeal is to be made to Herbert Hoover by United States Senator George H. Moses, vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee for the East, to rescind the order of Hubert Work, national chairman, that there shall be no central Republican campaign headquarters for the seaboard States.

Senator Moses started for Palo Alto, California, yesterday. Though he goes, primarily, formally to notify Mr. Hoover that he is the Republican Presidential nominee, the Senator is far more concerned about the lack of consolidation and co-ordination of management in the block of Atlantic Coast States, whose 154 electoral votes are absolutely essential to a victory for Mr. Hoover.

Backed by the entire eleven National Committeemen from the East, Senator Moses will frankly advise the Presidential candidate that he and his associates are working for his election under a great handicap.

WANTS CENTRAL OFFICE.

Senator Moses will urge that the prevailing work plan of a half dozen headquarters, scattered from Thirty-fourth street to The Bronx line, be merged into a central station, similar to that just established by Chairman John J. Raskob of the Democratic National Committee.

He will remind Mr Hoover that under the existing situation he will spend the greater part of a day searching for his various New York City campaign branches when he visits the East about September 1.

Senator Moses will beg Mr. Hoover to approve a fifty-year-old workable custom of an easily accessible Eastern headquarters, he and his associates on the national advisory committee to be in supreme command.

MANY SCATTERED BUREAUS.

This picture will be submitted to Mr. Hoover as among the arguments for upsetting Chairman Work's edict.

There have already been leased by Work these detached headquarters in the Metropolitan district alone:

An entire floor at the Salmon Towers Building, No. 11 West Forty-second street, for Treasurer J. R. Nutt and Assistant Treasurer Jeremiah Milbank; the Speakers' Bureau, under John Q. Tilson; the United States Senatorial Committee, under Senator Jesse H. Metcalf; the Congressional Campaign Committee, under Congressman William R. Wood.

Two floors at Nos. 9 and 15 East Forty-first street for the Hoover State Campaign Committee, William H. Hill, chairman.

Nearly a floor at the Waldorf-Astoria, West Thirty-fourth street, for Vice-Chaircan Moses and his advisory committee.

Another floor in the Canadian Pacific Building, No. 344 Madison avenue, for the Hoover Publicity Bureau, with Henry J. Allen in command.

Still another floor in Harlem for the Hoover Colored Campaign Committee, under the supervision of Internal Revenue Collector Charles W. Anderson and Fred Moore.

HOOVER FACTIONS MEET IN HARMONY

Rival Georgia G. O. P. Leaders Bar Doors at Ansley Gathering; Report Peace Reigns.

Opposing factions met in peace and harmony Wednesday morning at the first meeting of the newly appointed Hoover campaign committee for Georgia, uniting members of opposing wings in the state central committee in a common fight for the republican nominee, it was learned following a closed meeting at the Ansley hotel.

A statement issued following the meeting indicated that the two wings of the party, one led by Roscoe Pickett, of Jasper, and the other by G. F. Flanders, of Swainsboro, were welded in the party's plan for a state-wide campaign for the presidential campaign of Herbert Hoover under the chairmanship of H. G. Hastings.

The personnel of the Hoover-Curtis campaign committee was made public for the first time following the meeting. The committee, composed entirely of white men, is as follows: H. G. Hastings, Atlanta, chairman; W. A. Carlisle, Gainesville; Louis H. Crawford, Dalton; Robert M. Cook, Atlanta; Charles Curtis, Thomson; S. P. Darby, Vidalia; Henry C. Davis, Macon; O. M. Drake, Floyilla; M. O. Dunning, Savannah; Monroe Elliott, Brunswick; G. F. Flanders, Swainsboro; Clint W. Hager, Atlanta; W. L. Giradeau, Atlanta; T. M. Hendrick, Edison; Ed [illegible], East Point; Edwin [illegible], Atlanta; Roscoe Pickett, Jasper; J. T. [illegible], Atlanta; Henry B. Scott, Atlanta; J. T. Wynne, Durand.

Chairman Hastings was authorized to increase the membership of the committee to 25 from the present total of 21, and announced that this will be done at an early date. Albert S. Anderson, Jr., formerly of Millen, former secretary to ex-Governor Clifford Walker, was unanimously selected as executive secretary, and will be in charge of headquarters of the committee at 70 Forsyth street, N. W. Anderson is a graduate of the Emory law school, and has been engaged in the practice of law for the past several years.

Rules governing the duties of the committee and an outline of the campaign were adopted, Chairman Hastings said. The rules governing the committee specially provide for an accurate accounting of all funds and disbursements by the committee. The executive secretary is charged with the duty of accurately accounting for all disbursements, checks being signed by the chairman and treasurer. All disbursements will be audited monthly or at the end of the campaign, it was announced.

Several reports on the selection of Hoover as the presidential nominee were received from various sections of Georgia by the committee.

$98,379 IS GIVEN TO FUND OF G. O. P.

Rev. E. J. Hammond, of Atlanta, and J. W. Long, of Ashburn, Are Among Donors of Contributions

Washington, August 4.—(AP)—The first treasurer's report on the republican campaign made public today showed contributions of $98,379 and expenditures of $48,317.04 up to and including July 31.

Three $10,000 contributions, by Secretary Dwight F. Davis, of the war department; Howard Heinz, of Pittsburgh, and Arthur Whitney, of Mendham, N. J., topped the list of gifts to the fund which Chairman Work, of the national committee, hopes will reach $4,000,000.

J. R. Nutt, new treasurer of the committee, made public the report in accordance with the party's pledge in its platform adopted at Kansas City. The statement was forwarded to the senate and house special campaign funds investigating committees and the committees were informed that complete records covering all transactions were open to their inspection.

Expenditures Listed.

The entire list of 60 contributors was given in the report along with an itemized list of expenditures which included mostly salaries of those connected with the national committee. The two largest expenditures were $7,100 to the republican state committee of Pennsylvania and $5,000 to Horace A. Mann, who has been busy in the south since the convention on behalf of Herbert Hoover.

The Pennsylvania disbursement was listed as "return to Pennsylvania." It was explained this meant probably the return of the state committee's share in the collections from that state. There were many Pittsburgh contributors.

The report, however, did not go into the status of the republican treasury, by taking into account its balance on hand when the campaign opened and the condition to date. The August 1 report of the party compares with $60,000 in contributions and about $21,000 in expenses for the democrats for the same period, as revealed in that party's recent announcement.

From $1 to $10,000.

Contributions to the republicans ranged from $1 to $10,000. Arthur Whitney, who was one of the three $10,000 donors, was chairman of the Hoover-for-President clubs in New Jersey and was a candidate for governor of that state in 1924. Mr. Heinz, who also gave $10,000, is a Pittsburgh business man. O. P. Van Sweringen and M. J. Van Sweringen, Cleveland railroad leaders, each gave $7,500 and the other contributions were of less amounts. Secretary Jardine, of the department of agriculture, was the only other cabinet officer in the list. He gave $200.

Among the large expenditures was one of $2,500 listed as salary for Frank Little, of New York. He also received $661 for "expenses." Franklin Fort, secretary of the committee, explained that Mr. Little was director of the foreign language service of the committee but that he was a volunteer worker and the "salary" was probably for assistants.

Expenses for Allen.

Others on the salary list included George Akerson, a secretary to Mr. Hoover, $1,800; Lawrence Richey, a representative of Mr. Hoover in the preconvention campaign, $500 and $476.71; Henry J. Brown, of the publicity staff, $469.43, and Donald M. Ewing, of the publicity staff, $507. Henry J. Allen, director of publicity, was down for $250 for "executive expenses."

The $5,000 for Horace A. Mann was itemized as "adv. exp." and it was explained that this was for advance expenses rather than for advertising. No advertising bills were listed.

Traveling expenses listed included Allen L. Holsey, Tuskegee institute, Ala., $225.

Other contributors included the Rev. E. J. Hammond, Atlanta, Ga.; M. E. Clark, Pensacola, Fla., and J. W. Long, Ashburn, Ga., $10 each.

Four Negroes Seek Assembly Seats From Los Angeles

Associated Negro Press

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Sept. 5.—An unusual number of Negro candidates for political honors, seats in the State Assembly were balloted for Tuesday in the Republican primaries. In the 73rd district Sidney Dones and James Allison are the colored candidates. The whites are Charles Lewis and James Stockwell. In the 74th District there are no white candidates but J. B. Bass, editor of the California Eagle and Fred Roberts, editor of the New Age Dispatch, an incumbent for the past ten years, are opponents, with indications of Bass winning. Voters in this district became dissatisfied with Roberts showing and Bass followers have adopted the slogan "Get somewhere."

Leaders Look Askance At Church's Stand

Believe Tennesseean Is "Het Up" Because He Was Not Chosen Leader; Says He Will Work With Party, But Not Colored Committee.

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 30.—The announcement attributed to Robert R. Church of Memphis last week of his refusal to work on the G. O. P. colored committee to elect Hoover came as a distinct surprise in political circles here. Political leaders who can remember the presidential campaigns of 1920 and 1924, in which Mr. Church took a prominent part and solicited the aid of other colored men and women of prominence, are inclined to doubt his sincerity when he says: "Since, however, I cannot bring myself to indorse either the personnel of this committee or the method by which it was chosen, I am forced to decline the appointment and withdraw from membership thereon." Toward the end of his letter, however, which was sent to Chairman Hubert Work of the Republican National Committee, Mr. Church says: "To the fortunes of Mr. Hoover I am devoted. Politically I am his follower and supporter. Personally I am his ardent admirer. Nothing that my hands can find to do to assist him will remain undone. Nothing I can do in aid of you and our party will remain unperformed."

The first reaction in high Republican circles among colored leaders was that Mr. Church was refusing to work with other colored men because he was not made the campaign leader. It was recalled by some close to the present political lineup when Mr. Church and the late Henry Lincoln Johnson were in power in 1920, and again when he was one of the powers behind the throne with William Clarence Matthews in 1924, he very enthusiastically asked the support and cooperation of the colored citizens to put over his program. At that time, however, it is pointed out he was the leader, or one of the leaders.

Those among the politically wise who remember specific instances of Mr. Church's enthusiasm both eight and four years ago recalled that in 1920 he was close to Will H. Hays, the Harding campaign manager, and four years ago he was close to Senator DuPont, who is now in a hospital. They are saying what seems to be wrong with Mr. Church is that when it came time to make the committee set-up this year Mr. Church could not reach his rich backers, and consequently the bandwagon "passed him up." The slate was made up by new men and these new men seemed to have ideas of their own which did not coincide with Mr. Church's way of thinking.

In one part of Mr. Church's letter to Dr. Work he said: "Intimate knowledge of conditions among colored Americans, of their present state of mind, of their growing self-respect, of the feeling of colored Republicans who create our majorities in the free states, together with my own experiences in laboring for our party, lead to the conclusion that neither important colored leaders nor the rank and file will follow men who have no vote of their own, whether they hail from states in which colored citizens are denied the ballot or from central territory where disfranchisement is universal." This part of Mr. Church's letter is thought to be the most ungrateful of all, for it is believed he is taking a slap at John R. Hawkins, the new head of the colored committee, who lives in the District of Columbia and has no vote because of what Mr. Church calls "universal disfranchisement." It is recalled, however, that when the late Henry Lincoln Johnson was in power Mr. Church was for him, 100 per cent, in spite of the fact that there were no Republican votes in Georgia. It is also recalled that Mr. Church has stood by Ben Davis of Georgia, although there are still no Republican votes from that state. So it is generally thought that Mr. Church's plaint about leaders being appointed who have no vote is a camouflage to conceal his own disappointment at not having the seat of honor in the band-wagon. It is noted with some disappointment that Mr. Church, although he resigned the committee, he did not resign the party, as it is felt some defections from the party in certain quarters might be a good thing for the party.

Doubt His Stand

ROBERT R. CHURCH

G. O. P. NEEDS STRONG CANDIDATE

The Republican leaders of Texas, if they are wise and do not fall down on their holden job, should nominate a strong candidate for governor of this state, who will contest with Governor Dan Moody for the office at the genaral election.

While The Informer is more or less independent in politics, this paper can not support nor endorse the administration of the present incumbent governor; and, while the Republican candidate will have a herculean job mapped out for him in opposing the present Democratic occupant of the governor's mansion, this paper holds to the view that a large protest vote against Moody, polled by the Republican gubernatorial nominee, will be an effort made in the right direction.

Governor Moody's tacit alliance with Al Smith and Tammany Hall, and his failure to "carry on" at the recent national parley of the party held in Houston, together with the unprecedented political situation now obtaining in this state, should suggest to the Republican leaders that a formidable candidate for governor of Texas will poll considerable votes at the general election.

Standing out above all Republicans now being mentioned for the nomination, looms Hon. T. P. Lee of Houston—a citizen of the first rank, a man of means whose executive ability is unquestioned, and a worthy asset to any political party.
thereby places him in the same category with lunatics, criminals

Mr. Lee is not a politician, strictly speaking, nor is he a seeker after public office and honors; but he is intensely interested in his state and party, and it is our opinion that he would accept the nomination if tendered him without his solicitation, or without the necessity of being forced to wage a campaign for the nomination.

In the opinion of The Informer, Mr. Lee's nomination for this post will do more to reunite and solidify the warring Republican factions in Texas than any other man the Republicans can select; and, if the party leaders in this state are really anxious and determined to build up a party in Texas and really contest for this office with the Democrats, no better choice than Mr. Lee could be made just now.

With such a high-type candidate as Mr. Lee in the race, and with so much anti-Smith sentiment in this state, Texas would see a kind of political campaign without precedent in the annals of this commonwealth.

It is hoped that the various Republican county conventions, which will be held throughout Texas Saturday, August 4, will endorse Mr. Lee for the gubernatorial nomination, and send delegates to the Fort Worth convention to see that his nomination is assured.

Political – 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

TELEGRAPH

Starke, Fla.

AUG 31 1928

"DOST THOU LIKE THE PICTURE?"

It ought to be interesting to those unsteady democrats who hope to see Florida go republican and who intend casting their votes to that end to note the scandalous developments in Grand Old Party politics in other Southern states.

Howard, negro National Committeeman for Mississippi, has been indicted for conspiring to sell public office. Hubbard, Deputy United States Marshal in the same state, has been indicted for the same offense. Howard, the negro, held office under republican appointment as a special assistant Attorney General. It was testified that Howard and Hubbard accepted $1,500 for an appointment on the staff of the United States marsahl Howard recently defeated the "white folks" wing of the party in Mississippi and, with his black and tan associates, was seated in the National Convention, against white contestants.

A negro attorney appeared in court in defense of the accused. One of the defendants made the plea that there were no negroes on the Grand Jury that indicted him.

Similar conditions have developed in Alabama, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas and Georgia. The negro complication has not yet risen in Florida, although charges of a traffic in federal offices have been made in this state.

In Georgia, the republican party kicked out the white organization and, under orders from the negro politicians of Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, displaced a white national committeeman with a negro, who, with his associates, has been collecting tribute from white postmasters and other officials. As the Atlanta Consitution says: "The disgraceful disclosures that came out at the recent Senate hearing in Atlanta were a stench in the nostrils of every decent citizens of the state, regardless of political affilations. In Georgia the only opional committeeman is another negro, so the Constitution is convinced "the federal patronage in this state as in Mississippi and other Southern states, will be controlled by negro dictators as long as the Republican Party is in charge of the national administration. Certainly," adds the Constitution, "no relief along that line may be expected from Mr. Hoover, whose recent anti-segregation order is a clear indication of how he stands."

The ugly picture presented by Republican politics throughout the South should be a warning to those Democratic voters of Florida who are nursing an intention to vote the republican ticket in the presidential election.

The menace of the negro in politics in public office is by no means a fanciful one. As late as 1885 we had a negro in the State Senat of Florida. Continued republican success may mean the return of the negro to political power in this state. We may yet have a negro national committeeman, negro deputy marshals and other officials, negro republican "bosses" dispensing federal patronage for pay, as in Mississippi and other states of the South.

The surest way we know to bring about these unpleasant conditions is to make Florida a republican state. Talk about financial and commercial advantage as result of Florida going republican is mere political propaganda. It would serve only to make this state state easier "picking" for the republican money-hangers and barterers of government patronage.—Tampa Tribune.

HOOVER SPEAKS IN NEW YORK OCT. 17

Republican Nominee May Speak In Ohio In Effort To Gain Negro Votes

By W. B. RAGSDALE
Associated Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, Sept. 4.—(AP)—Herbert Hoover will invade the home town of his Democratic opponent, Governor Alfred E. Smith, on the night of Oct. 17 to deliver a speech at Carnegie Hall in New York City.

Plans for this address, along with the announcement that he would speak at Newark, N. J., the night of Sept. 17 were made known today at the general headquarters of the Republican presidential candidate. At the same time Hoover revealed that he did not contemplate any automobile tours about the vicinity of the two cities.

Considers South

While the candidate has given some consideration to the extent to which he will carry the fight into the south, no definite decision has been reached other than that he contemplates a trip which will carry him either into North Carolina or Tennessee, or to a point along the borderland between the two states.

Some doubt was cast today upon the possibility of the Republican nominee making a speech in Chicago. It became known that he considered his declaration of his views on farm relief at West Branch, Ia., probably was as close as he would come to delivering an address in the Middle Western metropolis.

There remained a remote possibility, however, that he would visit Ohio, such an invitation having been extended to him several days ago by Senator Simeon D. Fess. Other party leaders from that state who visited him today did not mention such a trip to him, although they already have taken up the proposal with the Republican speakers' bureau.

While the candidate will speak on labor in his appearance at Newark, he has given no thought as yet to the subject of his address in New York. He already has worked out a rough draft of the Newark speech devoting some time to it during the week-end holidays.

He spent his time today in going over the Ohio situation with a group of Republican leaders from that state, and in discussing the general phases of the campaign with Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, who will take the stump in the Republican cause about the middle of this month.

His visitors from Ohio included Harry D. Silver, Republican state chairman; Thad Brown, preconvention manager of Hoover's campaign in that state; Carmi Thompson, manager of the preconvention campaign of the late Senator Frank B. Willis and Mrs. Elizabeth Clark, of Steubenville, national committeewoman for Ohio.

Fight For Negro Vote

The Ohioans said a fight must be made by the Republicans if the party is to hold the negro vote in line in that state, but expressed confidence that a sweeping Republican majority would be recorded for Hoover in November. No serious evidences remain of the primary fight in that state, they added, and the party now is united.

In contrast, Silver said that the Democrats were divided among themselves.

While prohibition will play a considerable part in the Ohio campaign, the state chairman said the tariff also would weigh heavily among the issues that will decide the result. "Ohio wants a continuation of the economic conditions fostered by the Republican party," he declared adding that "we have many industries that depend on the protection offered by the tariff law for their very existence."

Although the nominee discussed with Senator Borah the general lines along which the campaign will be directed, their conference also touched briefly on prohibition. Neither would reveal, however, just how far their discussion had gone along this line, nor the general direction it had pursued.

The long day spent by the candidate in his headquarters today and the vast amount of work accumulating as the campaign passes the initial stages threw some doubt upon the possibility that he would be able to spare the time later in the week to make a fishing trip he has contemplated for the last several days. He had expected to visit the lower reaches of Chesapeake Bay the latter part of the week to snatch what probably would be his last breath of freedom before Nov. 6.

An invitation also was brought to him to visit Miami, Fla., during the Winter. It was extended by Mayor E. G. Sewell and the city commission and was delivered personally by J. P. Yoder, of Miami.

"POOH" "POOH" STRIKE AMONG WEST'S G. O. P.

But John R. Hawkins Goes To Chicago To Settle Discontent There

TUSKEGEEITES DEMAND CHANGE IN PERSONNEL

$6 A Day And $2,000 A Week Budget Is Termed Far Too Small

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(Special)—G. O. P. Leaders here pooh, poohed the idea that western chiefs have set Wednesday for a strike if their demands are not met. Baltimore, Md.

The "Washington Post" in a special dispatch from Chicago, Tuesday, declared,

"After marking time for three weeks, colored Republican headquarters chiefs were ready to quit today. A general walkout of the Western division is threatened Wednesday unless there are far-reaching developments by that time.

Phillips Hands Tied

"Homer G. Phillips, of St. Louis, who was defeated by John R. Hawkins, of Washington, to head the Negro Republican Organization there, has discovered that his hands are tied as field organi of the Western division. Organizers he commissioned are to be scrapped and their places filled by men selected by men in Washington.

"State Senator Odelbert Roberts, in charge of Negro headquarters here, brought back the revised organization when he rteurned recently from Washington. This revision, it is said does not meet the approval of Roscoe Simmons nor of C. C. Calloway, chairman and vice-chairman of the speakers' bureau. These men, together with Arthur W. Mitchell, of Washington and Mrs. Lethia Fleming, of Cleveland, feel keenly Senator Roberts' lack of national political experience as well as his inability to arrange satisfactory compensations.

Budget Too Small

"They believed his $2,000 weekly budget here is much too small and resent the fact that the office personnel has been drawn entirely from the Windy City. But most of all, they resent their station here as ornaments on a $6 daily stipend without instructions or schedule.

"Senator Roberts is closely aligned with major political interests here, and Negro Republican organization heads say he is about to freeze out the Tuskegee influence which Phillips and his coworkers represent. A show-down has been asked for in mid-week.

Independents At Work

"Meanwhile, with the Elk convention adjourned, much organization activity has been voted in the Negro voters political league opposed to voteless leadership. The league has the appearance of being amply supplied with campaign funds which can be traced to purely Negro sources."

How Trouble Started

Trouble started several weeks ago when R. R. Church, Tennessee leader, Armond Scott and Finley Wilson, of Washington, declined to serve on the colored G. O. P. Advisory Committee as at present constituted.

Church and Roscoe Simmons took their complaints to Herbert Hoover, himself, and are reported to have had the understanding that the situation would be remedied as far as it concerns the organization in the West.

It is this revision which is reported as still unsatisfactory to Simmons and Church and Homer Phillips, chief of the Western Bureau.

Hawkins In Chicago

Claude A. Barnett, chief of the Associated Negro Press, and secretary of the G. O. P. Publicity Committee, declared that he did not consider the threatened Chicago walkout as worthy of serious notice.

Dr. John R. Hawkins, head of the Colored Republican Campaign Committee, is in Chicago, he said, straightening out the tangle.

HOOVER SHOULD SPEAK OUT SAYS DR. ALEXANDER

New Jerseyite Declines Place On Campaign Committee

REPLY DUE EARLIER DELAYED BY VACATION

Can't Be "Dumb Figure Head" And Ornamental Fusco, He Says

WASHINGTON, D. C., (Special)—Dr. W. G. Alexander of Orange, N. J., has declined a place on the Hoover Advisory Campaign Committee.

Dr. Alexander

Dissatisfaction with the personnel of the committee, its slight recognition of New Jersey and refusal to be an ornamental frisco or dumb figure head, are reasons cited.

Hoover Must Talk

Commenting on Hoover's acceptance speech, Dr. Alexander wrote Secretary A. L. Holsey here.

As an address intended for Americans with full citizenship and equal opportunities of all kinds, it is a gilt-edged promissory not; but for those Americans (Negroes) who, by no choice of their own, have their opportunities and citizenship either denied or abridged, it is a worthless scrap of paper.

Dr. Alexander

It is unfortunate that Negroes are to be considered as "special" Americans, but the will of the dorminant majority so dictates. Any declaration, therefore, which does not contain special reference to these unfortunate citizens, offers but little consolation and no hope to them.

If Mr. Hoover is to counteract and dispel the prevailing and grawing opinion that he is making a bid for impossible white Southern support at the expense of the Negroes' aid, he must come out with some declaration which will renew the faith of Negroes in the Republican party.

Respectfully Declines

Dr. Alexander's statemen, declining to serve on the Advisoty Committee, is as follows:

"I regret that I am late in making reply to your letter, but it came just as I was starting on my vacation, and I have not had an opportunity to answer before now.

"I must respectfully decline to serve in the capacity designated in your communication. I have received, in the past, too much genuine honor to be deluded 'by tinkling cymbal and sounding brass.' I choose to be nothing rather than an ornamental fresco.

Dumb Fegure-head

"It is not to be understood, thot I have sought or am seeking any particular place in the conducting of the campaign, but if I do have any place in the campaign, it is to be a place where I can function for the accomplishment of some purpose, and not be a dumb figure-head.

"In addiiton to this, I am not in sympathy with the assignments that have been made. It is inconceivable to me that much an important state as New Jersey has been given so little consideration, and my disinclination to serve is due more largely to this fact than any other. I take the liberty to quote you a portion of a letter which was sent to Hon. Franklin W. Fort, secretary of the Republican National Committee, and Congressman from this state, under date of August 6th, 1928.

New Jersey Not Recognized

"It is grievously disappointing to us in this state to note that no recognition, whatever, has been accorded the constant and steadfast Colored Republican of New Jersey.

"As individuals, we have no complaint to make against the persons selected. Most of them are personal friends of mine; but it does seem as if we in this state have either been thoughtlessly or purposely ignored, and this, despite the fact that in years gone by, our devotion and allegiance to the party have been constant and undoubted; and in this last campaign the majority of the Colored voters in New Jersey were for Hoover, First last and always.

Top-Heavy

"It is not understandable, why the committee should be made top-heavy with persons who are from areas where they are not permited to vote. The Chairman is a resident of Washington, the Secretary registers from Alabama, and one of the members of the Executive Committee, who is considered responsible for the selection of the Chairman, is also from Washington. It cannot be felt that these selections have any strange importance.

"In addition to this, New York is given consideration for four places: namely, the Chairman of the Eastern Publicity Bureau, two members, a man and a woman; of the Executive Committee, and the Chairman of the Advisory Committee.

"And New Jersey, which will undoubtedly be one of the bloody battle grounds of the Campaign, has not been though of, and has been given no consideration.

Was Delegate-At-Lodge

"I was a Delegate-At-Large to the recent Republican National Convention in Kansas City, and had the signal honor of being fourth in the number of votes cast for the 'big seven.' Our delegation was pledged to Mr. Hoover, and I have no intention whatever of doing anything other than give him my whole-hearted and enthusiastic support, but I want it thoroughly understood, that I am entirely out of sympahy with the manner in which the campaign among Negroes has been planned."

Leaders Of Colored Voters Division Meet In Washington and Map Program For Intensive Campaigns In States

Chairman Work and Mrs. Hert, Vice-Chairman, Express Confidence In Ability of Workers to Aid Republicans Elect Hoover

Washington, D. C.—Pursuant to a call issued by John R. Hawkins, chairman, the executive committee of the Colored Voters' Division of the Republican National Committee met here on Wednesday, August 29, at headquarters in the Barr Building.

Those present of the committee were Chairman Hawkins; Albion L. Holhey, secretary; Adelbert H. Roberts, Walter Foster, Mrs. Myrtle Foster-Cook, Mrs. Addie W. Hunton and Emmett J. Scott and leaders of the various divisions. Dr. Hawkins presided and reports were made on conditions throughout the country as observed by division leaders. Optimistic forecasts were made and a comprehensive program mapped out for intensive campaigns in all states in cooperation with local, state and national organiations, with a view to obtaining largest results for the national ticket.

Budget Allowances Made.

Budget allowances were made for each district and a definite financial system arranged by which careful check will be kept on all receipts and expenditures.

Dr. Hubert Work, chairman of the National Republican Committee, was present and spoke earnestly, expressing pleasure in meeting the colored committeemen. He expressed confidence in their ability leaders of the various divisions.

Dr. Hawkins presided and reports to render servce to the party. Dr. Work emphasied the strong friendship shown by Herbert Hoover, Republican nominee for President, for all people, regardless of race, creed or color.

Replying To Criticisms.

Mrs. Alwin T. Hert, vice chairman, Women's Division of the National Committee, also spoke, making interesting coment on the organization, declaring that there should be no color line in party activities, but that all should work together as men and women devoted to interest of the Republican Party. Mrs. Hert said that she numbered among her friends many leading Negroes, and that she found pleasure and instruction in talking with them.

The committee unanimously adopted a resolution of endorsement of Chairman Hawkins, Secretary Holsey and Dr. Emmett Scott as a reply to criticisms reflecting upon them as non-voters, in which it was declared that "we do hereby record our implicit confidence in them and in their ability to conduct an enthusiastic campaign for Hoover and Curtis; and we pledge to them our unanimous support and further pledge to cooperate in every possible way to accomplish this purpose."

Colored Republicans of Rockville Centre in Rally

ROCKVILLE CENTRE, Sept. 1.—The colored Republicans staged their first rally and parade last Friday night, in which 400 colored residents took part.

Larry Temple, president, led the Rockville Centre Republican Club, which turned out 150 strong with the Jenkins Colored Orphanage Band of Charleston, S. C. There were automobiles and floats in line. One float represented an Indian warrior, squaw and papoose typifying the ancestry of Vice-Presidential Candidate Senator Curtis.

On Banks avenue, an open air meeting was held with A. G. Fallings, of Mineola, a Y. M. C. A. secretary, as chairman.

The speakers were Arthur DeMaio, assistant district attorney; Town Assessor Walter Brindley, County Superintendent of Poor Claud Van Deusen, George Brennan, president of the Rockville Centre Republican Club; Gus Kalb, former Assessor Clarence Ankers, Larry Temple, the Rev. L. D. Harrell, pastor of the Shiloh Baptist Church, and Capt. Tyree Bacon.

REPORTER

AUG 8 1928

NEGRO DEMOCRATIC CLUB SOUGHT HERE

A negro Democratic club is in the organization stage in Independence, it was announced today but the date has not been set for a meeting to organize. It will be the first time that Independence will have ever had a negro Democratic organization ,a prominent Democrat said today.

Hayden Stigall, former Independence boy and a boxer of note, is said to be a strong Democrat and is expected to make several talks over the state in the interest of the Smith candidacy for president. He is now at Wichita.

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Party Acciliation

G. O. P. GETTING AWAY FROM THE NEGRO

Party Platform Planks Since 1888 Get Decrease From 122 To 36 Words

LYNCHING CONDEMNED FIRST 32 YEARS AGO

1928 Platform Still Refers To It Despite 24 Yrs. Of G. O. P. Control

By CARL MURPHY

Since June 5, 1884, the Republican party has included in its platforms planks of promise to the Negro. Afro-American

Among the things it promised him are: "full civil and political rights", 1884; right to cast a "free and unrestricted ballot", 1888, 1892.

"Equal justice and enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments" were promised in 1908.

Early On Lynching

Lynching was condemned first in the republican party platform of 1896 as a "barbarous practice" And a federal anti-lynch law was promised in 1920, 1924 and 1928. Rights only of courts to take human life were asserted in 1912. 10-20-28

Planks Grow Shorter

The republican plank of 1884 in the Negro contained 57 words, and that of 1888, 122 words.

From that time on these planks have decreased in length until in 1912 and 1916 the Negro is not mentioned at all and in 1928 — 36 words.

Black Man A Keynote

In 1888, John R. Lynch, a Negro, 6 years a congressman from Mississippi, was temporary chairman of the republican national convention, made the keynote speech, and helped make the platform. Democrat Mel

In 1920, 1924, and in 1928 Negroes sought in vain to place stronger utterances in the party platform. Mr. Lynch, at 81, is still living. In Chicago, the G. O. P. met in national convention in 1920, but no sergeant-at-arms was instructed to send an invitation or a seat on the platform to the "keynotes of 1888".

Getting Away

Evidence in party literature is plain that the republican party is getting away from the Negro. The coming election will doubtless also show that the Negro has gotten away from the G. O. P.

The Planks

G. O. P. planks since 1884 on the Negro are as follows:

Chicago — June 5, 1884.—Candidate for Presidency: James G. Blaine.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliation, our cordial sympathy and pledge to them, our uttermost earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen of whatever race, or color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

Chicago — June 21. 1888.—Candate for Presidency: Benjamin Harrison.

Free Suffrage: We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and to the indissoluble union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all States and territories in the union especially to the Supreme and Sovereign right of lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all our people to be the foundation of government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections which are the foundation of all public authority.

Minneapolis, Minn. — June 9, 1892.—Candidate for Presidency: Benjamin Harrison.

The Ballot: We demand that every citizen of the United States be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this Sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution. Afro-American

St. Louis. — June 18, 1896.—Candidate for Presidency: Wm. McKinley.

Lynchings: We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice, well known as lynching or killing of human beings, suspected or charged with crime, without process of law. 10-20-28

Philadelphia.—June 20, 1900.—Candidate for Presidency: Wm. McKinley.

Franchise in South: It was the plain purpose of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of state governments, whether by Statutory or Constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary and should be condemned. Democrat Mel

Republican

Chicago. — June 22, 1904.—Candidate for Presidency: Theodore Roosevelt.

Negro Disfranchisement: We favor such congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited, and if such is the case, we demand that representation in Congress and in the electoral college shall be proportionally reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States.

Chicago. — June 18 1908.—Candidate for Presidency: Wm. H. Taft.

The Negro: The Republican party has been for more than 50 years the consistent friend of the American Negro. It gave him freedom and citizenship. It wrote into the organic law the declarations that proclaim his civil and political rights, and it believes today that his noteworthy progress in intelligence, industry and good citizenship has earned the respect and encouragement of the nation. We demand equal justice for all men without regard to race or color; we declare once more, and without reservation, for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, which were designed for the protection and advancement of the Negro; and we condemn all devices that have for their real aim his disfranchisement for reasons of color alone, as unfair, un-American and repugnant to the supreme laws of the land.

Chicago. — June 18, 1912.—Candidate for Presidency: Wm. H. Taft.

The Republican Party reaffirms its intention to uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, both State and Federal, and it will ever insist that their powers to enforce their processes and to protect life, liberty, and property shall be preserved inviolate.

Chicago. — June 8, 1916.—Candidate for Presidency:—Charles Evans Hughes.

No direct reference to the Negro.

Chicago. — June 8, 1920.—Candidate for Presidency: Warren G. Harding.

We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end lynching in this country which continues to be a terrible blot on our American civilization.

Cleveland, Ohio. — June 12, 1924.—Candidate for Presidency: Calvin Coolidge.

The Negro: We urge the Congress to enact at the earliest possible date a Federal anti-lynching law,, so that the full influence of the Federal Government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime.

We believe that much of the misunderstanding which now exists can be eliminated by humane and sympathetic study of its causes. The President has recommended the creation of a commission for the investigation of social and economic conditions and the promotion of mutual understanding and confidence.

Kansas City. — June 13, 1928.—Candidate for Presidency: Herbert Hoover.

We renew our recommendation that the Congress enact at the earliest possible date a Federal anti-lynching law so that the full influence of the Federal Government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime.

The Republican Party and Remedial Legislation

It has been charged and noised about, and is now being charged and noised about in the present campaign for the Presidency by an element of our group, that the Republican Party has been derelict in the discharge of its duty to Negro republicans, in that it has made no substantial effort to pass appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution; and that the Party has gone out of its way to pass appropriate legislation to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and has appropriated millions to enforce the Volstead Act; that its treatment of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which involve the question of human rights, as contrasted with its treatment of the Eighteenth Amendment makes out a prima facie case of the Party's lack of interest in the Negro race in America. Independent

The Independent begs to differ with those of our Race who take this position, for the reason that their position is in contravention of the facts, and the history of the Republican Party's efforts to pass appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. We believe that those who advance these criticisms as a reason why they should desert the party of their freedom for the party of slavery would abandon their argument, if they knew really the facts in the case. We are quite certain they would, had they taken the opportunity to make a careful examination of the Congressional Records beginning with the Grant Administration following the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution. 10-19-29

In 1870, the Republican Party under General Grant's administration passed federal statutes for the control and supervision of federal elections, in order that the newly made citizens under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments might be protected at the ballot box in the discharge of their new duties. This legislation was passed. In 1871, the Republican Party in Congress made another effort to remedy existing efforts of the Democratic Party to prevent the Negro from voting by passing other statutes authorizing the judges of the federal courts to appoint supervisors of elections, and United States Marshals to appoint deputies to assist in holding elections, and to see to it that every Negro was permitted to cast his ballot and have it honestly counted. This legislation provided for soldiers at the polls on election day which was extremely objectionable to the democrats. Five years later the Supreme Court of the United States declared these statutes and regulations controlling federal elections in the reconstructed states null and void, setting out that Congress exceeded the authority conferred upon it by the Fifteenth Amendment. Atlanta Ga.

The first Force bill was evolved by President Grant in 1875. This bill followed the statutes passed in 70 and 71. President Grant's force bill authorized the president to suspend the habeas corpus writ in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Although thirty-five Republicans voted against it, the measure was passed by the House, but failed of consideration in the Senate in the closing days of the Congress. The Democrats claimed that the Republicans sought to steal the electoral vote of the South by this legislation.

The last effort made by the Republican Party to enforce the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment by appropriate legislation was the Lodge Bill, introduced in the 51st Congress by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, under Thomas Brackett Reed, of Maine, as Speaker. In 1890, this bill was put through the House, but died in the Senate, by reason of Democratic filibustering and swearing that before the bill should pass, they would filibuster the balance of the senate session. In all of the democratic efforts to defeat remedial legislation for the relief of the Negro voters in the South, Tammany Hall was its ally, and contributed in every way possible to defeat Republican efforts. When the Democrats got control of both branches of Congress in 1879, they proceeded to repeal and nullify every law on the books guaranteeing the colored man political equality. They did this by attaching riders on appropriation bills, just as they attach riders on the Howard University bill every year to defeat Negro higher education at Howard University. But, thank God! President Hayes vetoed each of the bills, appropriations, riders, and all, and the Democratic South and Tammany Hall were not able to overturn his veto.

But in 1892, under President Cleveland, with both branches of the government in their control, the Democrats proceeded to repeal the last vestige of legal protection on the federal statue books guaranteeing to the Negro his rights to vote, and on this occasion Tammany Hall was the trusted ally of the Democratic Party, and joined the Democratic Party in crucifying the Negro on a cross of race hatred and political intolerance. At this time Al Smith was a member of Tammany Hall, and his influence, whatever it may have been at that time, went with the institution that he is so proud of today.

All along it has been the policy of the Democratic Party, when in control of the general government, to repeal all laws affecting the economic and political rights of the black man, and those that it could not repeal, it has nullified them, just as it nullifies today the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Thus, it is set up clearly and unmistakably that the Republican Party has made efforts, and successive efforts, from the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments until today, to enact appropriate legislation for the enforcement of the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. It is only up to the Party now to go further, by passing the necessary legislation to reduce representation in any state of the Union in proportion as qualified voters have been denied their constitutional right to cast their vote unmolested, and to have their votes honestly counted.

This editorial is written for the purpose of reminding those of our Group that their argumnet is baseless and not according to the facts, and to further inform them that every effort of Mr. Hoover's party has been stubbornly fought by Governor Smith's party, and that Governor Smith's institution, Tammany Hall, has been the ally of the Democratic Party, South, in depriving the Negro of his constitutional rights, and with that spirit the South, with Mr. Smith as its leader, is seeking to further perpetuate the chains of intellectual slavery on the Negro, and to continue to crucify him on a cross of race hatred and political intolerance.

Hoover's Election and Negro Race's Political Outlook

(By NAHUM DANIEL BRASCHER)

Chicago.—(ANP).—The tumult and the shouting are over. Herbert Hoover will be the next president. The "I Told You So" association is holding daily sessions, and, the "Alibi Club" is giving out statements of "if" and "however."

Various newspapers, daily and otherwise, and various wiseacres, local, and national, if not always so wise, are describing the part colored America played in the national game and what position will be taken, or forced in the coming days. Some have said this was the first year Democrats ever "went after the Negro vote." The rcord, of course, belies this. The Democrats have always gone "after the Negro vote," North, in all national elections since enfranchisement, and have always had a goodly number.

Grover Cleveland made outstanding appointments and had zealous adherents. Bishop Walters and Monroe Trotter earnestly supported Woodrow Wilson in his first election, only to be humiliated by Wilson's ignoble double crossing after getting in the White House. Four years ago the racial Democratic wing was directly in national headquarters, instead of being camouflaged in outside locations with more or less dubious names. Probably 1928 furnished the largest number of colored voters who protested against Republican sins of omission by voting for Al Smith. The proportion at that, however, except in New York and St. Louis, was not anything like many anticipated, and some seem yet to think. Better than 70 per cent of Chicago Negroes voted for Hoover.

Arthur Sears Henning of the Chicago Tribune makes the bold statement, in one of his articles, that not many Negroes voted for Hoover, therefore they cannot expect much from the incoming president. As a matter of fact, colored America expects more from Mr. Hoover than from any other previous president. Their expectations are based on Americanism and not on color. The thoughtful men and women of the race are expecting Mr. Hoover to live up to the principles he enunciated before and since the election that sectionalism shall be wiped out, that common sense, under divine guidance, will be used, and that the "door of opportunity" will be opened to all, without regard to religion or race.

New Leadership In the South

There will be new leadership in the South, and this will probably be white, for the most part. But this is no less true in the North, where the race, in recent years, has made its largest political advancement. It is true in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Kansas City, and other locations where the largest advancement has been made. While there are racial leaders, in the last analysis whites control party organization. It is not believed that the new administration will countenance procedure on any line in the South or North, that completely eliminates colored America.

If and when colored America looks to the larger ideals of national welfare and progress rather than purely individual advancement, more consideration will be given by the powers, and more will be merited. Development of a program of real statesmanship will place colored America in a position in every section of the nation to receive more favorable consideration on the problems of the most immediate concern. On the other hand, the minority party of Democrats, North and South, may be expected, even in a larger way, to be less drastic in opposition to regain position. That is ever the story of politics, from the beginning.

DePriest In U. S. Senate

Oscar DePriest, of Chicago, elected to congress to succeed the late Martin B. Madden, will be seated, despite the many tricks that will be resorted to, endeavoring to keep him out. He will occupy a unique position and will be in a position to serve the entire race in a much needed way. DePriest thrives best on opposition. A native of Alabama, who came to Chicago and became a house decorator and then a real estate man, who got into politics, he knows the "ins and outs" of American life, "for better or for worse." He is shrewd, aggressive, and sometimes domineering, but he can get results, and that's the big item of the coming days. His election will mean that other districts must follow the Chicago lead and name men to congress.

By all the signs of the times, there is a real new day at hand. New faces, and some old, are in the picture. The business forces of America are determined to make the next four years prosperous in business. This means more and better employment, and happier homes. President-elect Hoover, in all of his addresses, persisted in enunciating the fact that America is to be measured, in the last analysis, not by the 120,000,000 people who inhabit it but by the 23,000,000 homes where dwell the families that make the glory of the nation.

Colored America must look to this larger vision of economic progress, and with it will come not only political opportunity but political preferment.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

AMERICANISM'S SIGNAL VICTORY!

The sweeping victory of Herbert C. Hoover, Republican presidential nominee, over Governor Alfred E. Smith, Democratic presidential standard-bearer, was not only a triumph for the Republican party and its partisan principles and traditions, but it was a signal victory for Americanism and democracy (in its larger sense and application).

11-10-28

Arrayed against the Republican presidential nominee were many bigots and nullificationists who regard Americanism as an exclusive institution and who look upon the federal constitution as a "mere scrap of paper."

Subjected to all types of vile, malicious and insidious attacks, Mr. Hoover never resorted to the gutter-snipe methods of his assailants, denouncers and defamers, but in perfect consonance with his statesmanlike poise he continued to wage his fight on lofty ground, and the verdict of the American electorate on Tuesday is convincing and overwhelming proof that the country has an abiding faith in the ability, integrity and leadership of this distinguished American.

It was a remarkable victory from several angles, chief of which were Hoover's triumph in New York, the home state of his Democratic opponent; the party loyalty of the agrarian Middle West and majority of Negro voters who remained within the Republican fold; the smashing up of the "solid South," and the resultant emancipation of thousands of white voters who have been fettered to the Democratic national party with hoops of steel since the Civil War.

Running for public office the first time in his long career, Mr. Hoover proved a better vote-getter than both of his Republican predecessors, Presidents Harding and Coolidge; for while Mr. Harding carried three border states in 1920, it remaind for Mr. Hoover to invade the bourbon South and capture several erstwhile rock-ribbed Democratic states in the electoral college and also make heavy gains in other Dixie commonwealths.

When The Informer, during the pre-election campaign, contended that Texas was debatable ground and fertile field for the Republican presidential ticket, national party leaders laughed at the suggestion that an intensive campaign be waged in the Lone Star State for the Hoover-Curtis presidential electors; yet election returns indicate that The Informer "knows its Texas."

Standing over and above every other issue that each party sought to project on the political screen, was the towering personality of Herbert Hoover, whose humanitarian greatness, executive ability and administrative efficiency are both nationally and universally known and recognized.

Undoubtedly the most illustrious figure and the best prepared man the Republicans have ever nominated for this highest elective post, the American voters were in no frame of mind to elect a candidate whose grasp on domestic and foreign issues was principally provincial and sectional.

While Governor Smith received an exceedingly large popular vote, the fact remains that he was the nominee of the wrong party, and that his party is too much of a hybrid, mongrel partisan organization to be trused with the ship of state in such a period in the life of the republic.

If the Democratic party could not make a decent showing with the most popular candidate the party has ever nominated for this high position, then it is high time that the party sang its swan song and quit the political arena; for it stands today discredited, defeated and demoralized.

Although a peerless single-handed campaigner and though given mighty ovations wherever he appeared during his campaign, apparently the Gotham governor did not convince the electorate that he possessed the same presidential ability as Mr. Hoover.

Future historians are likely to refer to Governor Smith as the "man who talked himself out of the presidency," and brought about the wellnigh disintegration and debacle of the national Democratic party.

Republican

REPUBLICAN
SPRINGFIELD, MASS

NOV 5 1928

The Dark Waters Stirring

Negro voters have been divided in this campaign as never before. Some political correspondents have ventured to forecast the wholesale abandonment of the Republican party by the Negroes in several northern states where they have become a substantial political factor since the war. The Negro voters in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago now command special attention because of their formidable numbers. Tammany has nursed an alliance with the Negro district in Harlem, while in Chicago this group of voters has recently proved to be very necessary to Republican supremacy in the city's politics.

The Chicago Defender, a daily newspaper printed especially for the Negro population of Chicago, bolted to Smith a fortnight ago and has since then conducted a zealous campaign in support of the Democratic ticket. It has accused the Republicans of abandoning the Negroes of the country, being especially severe on Republican efforts to build up a white Republican organization in the South and in its resentment against the Republican failure to enforce the 14th and 15th amendments. This warfare on the Republican party by a leading Negro newspaper has aroused widespread interest, apparently, among Negroes who remain loyal Republicans. The Defender on Saturday printed a page advertisement signed by a prominent Negro in Memphis, Tenn., R. R. Church, headed, "Why I am for Hoover." The battle rages.

Negro leaders like Dr W. E. B. Du Bois and Prof Kelly Miller refuse to support Gov Smith, although they are deeply discontented with the present political status of their race. Dr Du Bois's experience in seeking to persuade Gov Smith to declare his sympathy with the Negroe's aspirations for equality in the political and business life of the nation was disappointing. The Chicago Defender, however, ignores Gov Smith's indifferent attitude, which is obviously dictated by his political necessities in the South, and holds stoutly to the view that the Negroes must frighten Republican leaders into concessions. It is already an established fact that their new opportunity to exercise the franchise in the great northern cities has brought them much nearer to a position where they can exact terms for their political support.

At all events, there is manifest a stirring of dark waters that may have far reaching effects.

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

OCT 31 1928

NEGROES TOLD TO WALK OUT GATE G. O. P. GAVE THEM

Ald. Louis B. Anderson, colored representative of the Second ward, speaking last night in Wendell Phillips hall before 1,500 colored people in a rally in behalf of Oscar De Priest, colored Republican nominee for congress, told his audience that after they put a circle before the name of De Priest to use their own judgment in voting for the presidential candidates.

"Let your mind or your pencil wander and choose for yourselves your preference for the presidency," he said. "Heretofore you have been directed how to vote, but this time vote according to your judgment. The Republican party has shown us the gate. Now let all the colored people walk out of this gate."

KLAN STRESSES RACE PREJUDICE AGAINST SMITH

Makes Foolish Charges Involving Negroes With The New York Governor

Special to Journal and Guide

New York, Sept. 19—Disclosures that the ku klux klan, lily white Republicans and bolting Southern Democrats are using the Negro in their propaganda to discredit Alfred E. Smith have aroused widespread resentment among colored Americans irrespective of party affiliation. Conclusive proof that a plot exists to jointly vilify the Governor and Negroes is apparent on every hand.

A pamphlet is being circulated which reads that a Negro occupies a position of Civil Service Commissioner under Tammany Hall, and that if Smith is elected "this Negro will be made a member of Governor Smith's cabinet.

In big headlines charging Governor Smith of catering to the Negro the Fellowship Forum, national organ of the ku klux klan, said in a recent issue:

"In addition to Negro fraternities the Negro press is coming to the aid of Al Smith. The signs are unmistakable. All the un-American and anti-American elements are flocking to the banner to which they naturally belong. In the meantime, the friends of American institutions continue to rally to the Hoover standards."

Senator Tydings of Maryland chairman of the Democratic Speakers Bureau, has received word that Negroes in Easton, Md., were being hired to ride in automobiles on the side of which are displayed streamers bearing the words, "Al Smith."

Other Charges

At Foley, Ala., a preacher by the name of Showt, recently speaking at a ku klux klan fish-fry, declared that Governor Smith's stenographer was a "Negro wench" and that Smith had placed thousands of Negroes on the pay-roll in New York State.

"White Supremacy as Practiced by Tammany" is the caption over a four column cut appearing on the first page of the Fellowship Forum of September 15 in which Civil Service Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morr[illegible] shown dictating a letter to a white stenographer. Under the picture is another caption—$7,500 a Year Tammany Negro Boss and White Secretary.

The Sensational Weekly, another ku klux, lily-white organ published

in Ramer, Ala., has the following headlines on the first page of its issue of September 1: "Tammany Hall in All Its Hideousness—Made Up Of Crooks, Murderers, Thieves, Thugs, Bums, Bootleggers, White-Slavers, Nigger-Lovers, Niggers, Gamblers, Counterfeiters, Foreigners, Hi-Jackers, Pimps, Catholic Church and Al Smith."

"Al Smith the Negro Lover," is the heading of a one-page advertisement appearing in the Luvrene, Alabama Journal and News, which goes to tell of white and black children being indiscriminately mixed in public schools of New York with Negro teachers in large numbers teaching white as well as colored pupils. Tammany Hall is held directly responsible for these "unspeakable conditions" and Al Smith is spoken of as owing his entire career to Tammany Hall.

These unwarranted scurrilous attacks on Governor Smith and the Negro are said to be reacting against lily-whiteism and ku kluxism and making many votes for the Democratic candidate for President.

HOOVERITE INSULTS NEGRO WOMANHOOD

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31—Indignation has been generally expressed by Negroes throughout the country and protests registered to Herbert C. Hoover against what is interpreted as a direct slap at Negro womanhood by George Akerson, the Republican Presidential nominee's assistant.

Mr. Akerson in a public statement in which he commented on rumors in circulation that Mr. Hoover had danced with a colored woman is quoted as saying:

"The charegs that Mr. Hoover danced with a colored woman is the most indecent and unworthy statement in the whole of a bitter campaign."

The Akerson statement is regarded as an insult to Negro women in particular and the race in general. It has caused much adverse criticism as Senator Moses' recent Ku Klux statement made in New York, in which he boasted that no Negro dictated to a white stenographer under G. O. P. control at Washington.

TIMES
TRENTON, N. J.
OCT 15 1928

FOR COLORED VOTERS

To the Editor of the Times:

Sir—Please allow me space in your valuable paper to attempt to show why everyone of voting age among the colored people should support the Republican ticket—at this time more than at any other time since the days of Lincoln.

All men agree that it was the policies of Lincoln that gave the black man his first chance to exercise his rights as a citizen, but then, as now there was an element that tried to keep the colored voter from enjoying the full measure of these rights and that element was and is known as the Democratic party.

When a great many colored people of the South were striving to go to other parts of the country, where they thought they had every reason to believe their condition in life would be bettered, who tried to stop them? **Why a Democrat, of course.**

When they were told all kinds of horrible things awaited them in other sections, who told them this? Why, a Democrat, of course.

When they were driven away from the different railroad stations and buffed and kicked and cast into jail because they were determined to see for themselves, who did all of this? Why, Democrats, of course. When they were being allowed to starve in the Mississippi flood regions, who allowed this? Why, a Democrat, of course.

When they did finally get something to subsist upon, who gave it to them? Why, a Republican, of course, in the person of one of the greatest men of the day, the Hon. Herbert Hoover, candidate for President upon the ticket of the greatest party in the world.

Now the late World War has helped to give the black man a home where the Republican party will see to it that he gets every consideration as a man, and as a citizen. Who wants to let down the immigration bars, flood the country with new immigrants from Europe and drive the black man away? Why, Democrats of course. Who wants to destroy the protective tariff, so that our standard of living will be lowered? Why, Democrats, of course.

When one of our late Presidents was in Europe, meeting with the League of Nations, and said he was here to represent white men, who was he? Why, a Democrat, of course. When one of our late Presidents gave a certain black man a little lunch at the White House, and a multitude of newspapers and millions of people were going into spasmodic fits about it, because they felt that it was out of place, who were they? Why, Democrats, of course.

Now, I want every colored man and woman in the city of Trenton, who have not registered to go at once and get registered and then on election day go to the polls and vote. It is a duty we owe, first to ourselves and our children who are coming after us, and next to our great friend, the Republican party. Let us put our shoulders to the wheel and do all that we can to help our friends to save ourselves.

Be sure to vote the straight Republican ticket. We want Hoover and Curtis for President and Vice President, respectively; Hamilton Kean for United States Senate; Morgan Larson for Governor, and Charles Eaton for Congress.

REV. G. GRANT MORGAN

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
Monday, November 5, 1928

Qualified Negro Voters Headed By Ben J. Davis To Wage Fight Against White Voters on Tuesday November 6

The Chronicle Bureau,
The Kimball House,
John W. Hammond, Mgr.

Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 4—A direct fight is to be pitched against the white people of the state of Georgia in the general election Tuesday by qualified negro electors, headed in the movement by Ben J. Davis and his newspaper, the Atlanta Independent.

They have been called upon by Davis to kill the constitutional amendment authorizing a number of cities in the state to establish zoning laws within the respective municipalities.

Calling them by name, the Davis newspaper this week attacks Atlanta, Savannah, Macon and Augusta, "and certain others" on the zoning law proposition, and makes a call on all Georgia negroes to vote against the amendment Tuesday.

Ben Davis' newspaper in the current issue says:

"One of the most serious problems confronting the negroes of Georgia, particularly concerning their residence in the cities, is involved in one of the constitutional amendments to be voted upon November 6, in the general election. The amendment in question is the one providing for the amendment to article 3, section 7 of the constitution of Georgia by which cities like Atlanta, Savannah, Macon, Augusta and certain others, as well as all cities now or hereafter having a population of 25,000 or more, will have the rigth to pass zoning and planning laws regulating where people shall live and where business shall be located therein. While the legislative enactment authorizing the submitting of that amendment to the voters of Georgia makes no mention of zoning the cities for residences according to race, yet from the negro's bitter experience in the past he knows exactly what is intended to be accomplished."

"Desirable residential areas for negroes in Atlanta and other cities of Georgia are at present very limited and circumscribed. We know how the zoning law was further used to circumscribe the natural expansion of the negro residential area."

"It behooves every negro voter in Georgia to go to the polls next Tuesday and vote against that proposed amendment."

The foregoing quotation from the Atlanta Independent follow the publication in the same paper a short time ago, by Davis, that there may be some white people who do not want to live next to him, but he felt that there are many white people not good enough to be his neighbors.

A mass meeting has been called at Big Bethel church in Atlanta for Monday night, of the negroes, for the purpose of "instructing them" how to mark and vote their ballot and to bring to their attention "a very important matter affecting their future"; which is purposed to organize their fight against the zoning law amendment to the constitution.

Hallie Q. Brown Jim Crowed at Kansas City

Miss Hallie Q. Brown, of Ohio who recently gave out a statement eulogizing the Republican party to the highest, was compelled to sit in the buzzard's roost of the convention hall at the Kansas City convention, according to reports sent out by colored newspaper men.

Following the convention the following statement appeared in the colored press:

"It's a shame that Miss Hallie Q. Brown, former President of the National Association of Negro Women, had to sit in the buzzard's roost of the conevtnon hall. Hallie Q. is one of the real women of our group, and some one should have seen to it that she had a position of advantage and a seat in the convention in keeping with her importance to our group Shame! Shame!"

PROTECTION BY REPUBLICANS AND FEDERAL SEGREGATION THE DETERMINANTS

The only reasonably logical aim of the Colored Americans' political policy in national elections is to so use the ballot as to secure protection by the Republican party of its rights and from blows at its rights. This is so because, first, the Republican party is in control of the federal government nearly all the time. Second, because the Republican party was born on the ideal and claimed as its mission and its work of emancipation, equality and suffrage for all regardless of color. Third because by its national support of a party so born it has relieved the opposing party of all obligation and made it dependent on the former slave-holding sections.

In politics the history of the country has made the Colored voters the supporters and saviors of the Republican party, with all its claims to friendship and loyalty on that side, and thereby every reason for unfriendliness by the minority party. Under these circumstances the race must and has a right to, expect protection of the principles of those sections of the Constitution which the Republicans got enacted. The most logical of all is to deserve protection from any violations of these principles put in when the Democrats got into office, and especially from all breaches due to Southern, former slave-holding democrats.

By the same token it is morally worse, it is more dastardly, for Republicans to strike the race or refuse to abolish proscriptionsperpetrated by Southern democrats when in control.

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in Ramer, Ala., has the following headlines on the first page of its issue of September 1: "Tammany Hall in All Its Hideousness—Made Up Of Crooks, Murderers, Thieves, Thugs, Bums, Bootleggers, White-Slavers, Nigger-Lovers, Niggers, Gamblers, Counterfeiters, Foreigners, Hi-Jackers, Pimps, Catholic Church and Al Smith."

"Al Smith the Negro Lover," is the heading of a one-page advertisement appearing in the Luvrene, Alabama Journal and News, which goes to tell of white and black children being indiscriminately mixed in public schools of New York with Negro teachers in large numbers teaching white as well as colored pupils. Tammany Hall is held directly responsible for these "unspeakable conditions" and Al Smith is spoken of as owing his entire career to Tammany Hall.

These unwarranted scurrilous attacks on Governor Smith and the Negro are said to be reacting against lily-whiteism and ku kluxism and making many votes for the Democratic candidate for President.

HOOVERITE INSULTS NEGRO WOMANHOOD

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31—Indignation has been generally expressed by Negroes throughout the country and protests registered to Herbert C. Hoover against what is interpreted as a direct slap at Negro womanhood by George Akerson, the Republican Presidential nominee's assistant.

Mr. Akerson in a public statement in which he commented on rumors in circulation that Mr. Hoover had danced with a colored woman is quoted as saying:

"The charegs that Mr. Hoover danced with a colored woman is the most indecent and unworthy statement in the whole of a bitter campaign."

The Akerson statement is regarded as an insult to Negro women in particular and the race in general. It has caused much adverse criticism as Senator Moses' recent Ku Klux statement made in New York, in which he boasted that no Negro dictated to a white stenographer under G. O. P. control at Washington.

TIMES
TRENTON, N. J.
OCT 15 1928

FOR COLORED VOTERS

To the Editor of the Times:

Sir—Please allow me space in your valuable paper to attempt to show why everyone of voting age among the colored people should support the Republican ticket—at this time more than at any other time since the days of Lincoln.

All men agree that it was the policies of Lincoln that gave the black man his first chance to exercise his rights as a citizen, but then, as now there was an element that tried to keep the colored voter from enjoying the full measure of these rights and that element was and is known as the Democratic party.

When a great many colored people of the South were striving to go to other parts of the country, where they thought they had every reason to believe their condition in life would be bettered, who tried to stop them? Why a Democrat, of course.

When they were told all kinds of horrible things awaited them in other sections, who told them this? Why, a Democrat, of course.

When they were driven away from the different railroad stations and buffed and kicked and cast into jail because they were determined to see for themselves, who did all of this? Why, Democrats, of course. When they were being allowed to starve in the Mississippi flood regions, who allowed this? Why, a Democrat, of course.

When they did finally get something to subsist upon, who gave it to them? Why, a Republican, of course, in the person of one of the greatest men of the day, the Hon. Herbert Hoover, candidate for President upon the ticket of the greatest party in the world.

Now the late World War has helped to give the black man a home where the Republican party will see to it that he gets every consideration as a man, and as a citizen. Who wants to let down the immigration bars, flood the country with new immigrants from Europe and drive the black man away? Why, Democrats of course. Who wants to destroy the protective tariff, so that our standard of living will be lowered? Why, Democrats, of course.

When one of our late Presidents was in Europe, meeting with the League of Nations, and said he was there to represent white men, who was he? Why, a Democrat, of course. When one of our late Presidents gave a certain black man a little lunch at the White House, and a multitude of newspapers and millions of people were going into spasmodic fits about it, because they felt that it was out of place, who were they? Why, Democrats, of course.

Now, I want every colored man and woman in the city of Trenton, who have not registered to go at once and get registered and then on election day go to the polls and vote. It is a duty we owe, first to ourselves and our children who are coming after us, and next to our great friend, the Republican party. Let us put our shoulders to the wheel and do all that we can to help our friends to save ourselves.

Be sure to vote the straight Republican ticket. We want Hoover and Curtis for President and Vice President, respectively; Hamilton Kean for United States Senate; Morgan Larson for Governor, and Charles Eaton for Congress.

REV. G. GRANT MORGAN

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
Monday, November 5, 1928

Qualified Negro Voters Headed By Ben J. Davis To Wage Fight Against White Voters on Tuesday November 6

The Chronicle Bureau,
The Kimball House,
John W. Hammond, Mgr.

Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 4—A direct fight is to be pitched against the white people of the state of Georgia in the general election Tuesday by qualified negro electors, headed in the movement by Ben J. Davis and his newspaper, the Atlanta Independent.

They have been called upon by Davis to kill the constitutional amendment authorizing a number of cities in the state to establish zoning laws within the respective municipalities.

Calling them by name, the Davis newspaper this week attacks Atlanta, Savannah, Macon and Augusta, "and certain others" on the zoning law proposition, and makes a call on all Georgia negroes to vote against the amendment Tuesday.

Ben Davis' newspaper in the current issue says:

"One of the most serious problems confronting the negroes of Georgia, particularly concerning their residence in the cities, is involved in one of the constitutional amendments to be voted upon November 6, in the general election. The amendment in question is the one providing for the amendment to article 3, section 7 of the constitution of Georgia by which cities like Atlanta, Savannah, Macon, Augusta and certain others, as well as all cities now or hereafter having a population of 25,000 or more, will have the rigth to pass zoning and planning laws regulating where people shall live and where business shall be located therein. While the legislative enactment authorizing the submitting of that amendment to the voters of Georgia makes no mention of zoning the cities for residences according to race, yet from the negro's bitter experience in the past he knows exactly what is intended to be accomplished."

"Desirable residential areas for negroes in Atlanta and other cities of Georgia are at present very limited and circumscribed. We know how the zoning law was further used to circumscribe the natural expansion of the negro residential area."

"It behooves every negro voter in Georgia to go to the polls next Tuesday and vote against that proposed amendment."

The foregoing quotation from the Atlanta Independent follow the publication in the same paper a short time ago, by Davis, that there may be some white people who do not want to live next to him, but he felt that there are many white people not good enough to be his neighbors.

A mass meeting has been called at Big Bethel church in Atlanta for Monday night, of the negroes, for the purpose of "instructing them" how to mark and vote their ballot and to bring to their attention "a very important matter affecting their future"; which is purposed to organize their fight against the zoning law amendment to the constitution.

Hallie Q. Brown Jim Crowed at Kansas City

Miss Hallie Q. Brown, of Ohio, who recently gave out a statement eulogizing the Republican party to the highest, was compelled to sit in the buzzard's roost of the convention hall at the Kansas City convention, according to reports sent out by colored newspaper men.

Following the convention the following statement appeared in the colored press:

"It's a shame that Miss Hallie Q. Brown, former President of the National Association of Negro Women, had to sit in the buzzard's roost of the conevtnon hall. Hallie Q. is one of the real women of our group, and some one should have seen to it that she had a position of advantage and a seat in the convention in keeping with her importance to our group. Shame! Shame!"

PROTECTION BY REPUBLICANS AND FEDERAL SEGREGATION THE DETERMINANTS

The only reasonably logical aim of the Colored Americans' political policy in national elections is to so use the ballot as to secure protection by the Republican party of its rights and from blows at its rights. This is so because, first, the Republican party is in control of the federal government nearly all the time. Second, because the Republican party was born on the ideal and claimed as its mission and its work of emancipation, equality and suffrage for all regardless of color. Third because by its national support of a party so born it has relieved the opposing party of all obligation and made it dependent on the former slave-holding sections.

In politics the history of the country has made the Colored voters the supporters and saviors of the Republican party, with all its claims to friendship and loyalty on that side, and thereby every reason for unfriendliness by the minority party. Under these circumstances the race must and has a right to, expect protection of the principles of those sections of the Constitution which the Republicans got enacted. The most logical of all is to deserve protection from any violations of these principles put in when the Democrats got into office, and especially from all breaches due to Southern, former slave-holding democrats.

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Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican

HOOVER WINS, IMPORTANT QUESTIONS SETTLED

Incomplete returns from the national election have about settled the most important question before the country for many months.

It was a question of who would guide the destinies of the nation for the next four years.

The importance of it has been emphasized in many ways. The most telling effects of it have been felt in the depression in commercial and labor circles.

The election of Mr. Hoover, as predicted in these columns from time to time, is the answer to the nation's desire for the return of stable commercial and working conditions.

There have been no recent national campaigns so difficult to estimate so hopelessly entangled, so bitter and so personal. There has been none in which so much surprisingly small talk has been done; none in which so much irresponsible mud slinging has been general; none in which the moral issues have stood out and protruded so boldly into unusual political discussions.

Kansas City

11-10-28

The election of Mr. Hoover was never seriously doubted by those students of political history who understand the stability of the national spirit and deplore the injection of made-to-order passion into what might have been a perfect political victory followed by an era of good feeling and unprecedented prosperity. On the ability of Mr. Hoover as administrator, there is no disagreement. His intense popularity with both parties up until the time that his ambition to become president as a Republican was conceded in every quarter. The opposition raised by those who espoused the ambition of another has been intensified by a split in the Democratic ranks which has made it seem to be necessary to adopt questionable tactics in self-defense.

Birmingham Ala

Those who felt at the outset that the New York governor might have a chance to win miscalculated on the prohibition sentiment without considering that only a few of the states of the Union had not adopted and written prohibition of the statutes before the amendment was enacted. America is dry by choice and the fact that the Volstead enforcement act was complained of as a heavy yoke did not change the prohibition sentiment in the least. The people who fought for the sale of rum in the states are the same who felt that through the election of the New York governor there might be some means of bringing about the return of the legalized sale of liquor.

It is difficult to conceive otherwise than that the New York governor himself did not calculate this sentiment to be actually different from what he finds it now to be.

The fact that Mr. Smith did not carry his own state with its 45 electoral votes is a better indication of the weakness of the principles for which Governor Smith stood than an evidence of his own lack of popularity and fitness. The gallant fight made by the Democratic party might have brought larger returns had the candidate not promptly bolted the platform when informal notice of his nomination was given. This indication that he would make prohibition the leading issue of the campaign was the next thing to insolence with those who hoped that they might find some means of overcoming the other objections that seemed to bar his acceptance.

The final check will show that Mr. Smith will receive the smallest electoral vote of any Democratic candidate of recent campaigns. He will also receive a smaller percentage of the popular vote than any candidate of recent campaigns.

The breaking of the solid South is an incident made possible only by the selection of the New York governor to carry the standard and practically certain by his post convention announcement of his position on prohibition.

It is practically certain that the New York governor's party would have been spared any defection from the solid South tradition if this post convention announcement on prohibition had been withheld.

Mr. Smith is the worst defeated candidate in American history and this is said in the face of the fact that he made the most effective campaign his party has had in recent decades. The significance of it is a conviction in regard to the prohibition sentiment and a rebuke to the win-at-any-price spirit which was the dominating characteristic in the campaign.

To those Negro weeklies that saw some advantage in espousing the cause of the New York governor there is the sad story of political shortsightedness. Whatever they might have gained in the event of success could not be compared with the loss incident to the poor example set by overlooking every political principle established throughout the years since the struggle for human rights.

Two things are now certain, one is that this country will not have Tammany, the other is that it will not reverse itself on prohibition. If those who have believed otherwise can learn this lesson from the defeat of Gov. Smith it will be worth something to the future prospects of his party's success.

Hoover, the Hope of All America

Moral and constitutional issues of vital moment to the nation and to us as Colored Americans are at stake. The salvation of this Republic—especially as it concerns Colored America—rests in the preservation of its morale, and the even enforcement of the Constitution and the laws of the land. The "Sidewalks of New York" and "Dixie" are the negation in spirit of the Home, the Church, the School, and the Law, the four cornerstones of American civilization.

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1. Hoover, by his Quaker birth, by his training and by reason of his record, stands today as the sheet anchor of our country against the furious waves of the outlawry and bigotry that beat against it.

N.Y.

2. Hoover believes in the enforcement of the 18th Amendment, but also in the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments.

10-27-28

3. Hoover meets the issue of a square deal for all America in this government declaring his unshakable faith in Civil Service and in the necessity of appointing to office those who *deserve* the respect and confidence of the community. (Read Hoover's speech at Elizabethton, Tenn., October 7th.)

4. Hoover's belief in helping humanity equally—white and brown and black—has been proven in the Mississippi Flood, and European war reliefs, in Chinese, Austrian and South African construction programs.

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7. Hoover promises a continuance of restricted immigration which will continue the high wages and broadening field of employment for colored labor.

8. Hoover's attitude toward segregation and Jim-crowism is proven by his prompt abolition of segregation in the Census Bureau in Washington.

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10. Hoover standing on the Republican party platform promises to blot lynch law from the land.

11. Hoover pledges the Republican party to an immediate practical solution of the crying problems of the farmer in whose ranks are still the bulk of the twelve millions of colored Americans.

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MUD SLINGERS IN CAMPAIGN DRAG NEGRO WOMANHOOD INTO BATTLE

Governor of Mississippi Repeats the Rumor Hoover Danced with Mrs. Booze; Hoover Secretary Brands Tale "Indecent"

JACKSON, Miss.—The mud slingers in the presidential campaign have finally dragged in Negro womanhood to sacrifice it on the altar of political expediency.

The good name of Mrs. Mary P. Booze, daughter of the founder of Mound Bayou, Miss., a Negro town, and wife of the well known wealthy planter, was used in a political speech by Governor Theodore Bilbo, of Mississippi, who declared that Herbert Hoover danced with Mrs. Booze, on one occasion.

The statement was rebuked in a telegram sent the Governor by Mr. Hoover's secretary, but the secretary made the amazing statement that the governor's allegation was "the most indecent and unworthy" one made in the campaign. Northern Negro voters, and especially the host of women working for Hoover's election, stand aghast at the bald assertion by their nominee's private secretary that mere contact with a Negro woman constitutes an indecency.

Governor Bilbo denied that the statement was original with him, but said he was merely repeating what he had heard. The whole business is regarded as being part of the vicious whispering campaign being carried on in the south against both nominees.

Mrs. Booze characterized the statement as "bunk" and said in addition:

"I am a woman near fifty, a member in good standing of the Methodist church and do not dance. I haven't the slightest idea whether Mr. Hoover dances or not."

The Memphis Commercial-Appeal editorially calls the idea of Hoover dancing with Mrs. Booze or any other Negro woman a ridiculous one. It says further:

"Mr. Hoover was not discourteous When his train stopped at Mound Bayou and Mary Booze (note southern papers do not use the title Mrs. and Mr. for Negroes) was presented to him as the republican committeewoman he merely doffed his hat and said: "I am glad to meet you, Mrs. Booze."

WILMINGTON
NORTH CAROLINA
NOV 1 1928

THE "NEGRO QUESTION"

Despite efforts in certain quarters to make it appear otherwise, the so-called "negro question" has no place in the present presidential campaign. It can have none, for that matter, in any other.

No thinking man, whatever his political affiliations, believes that the election of either Mr. Smith or Mr. Hoover will materially affect the political or social status of the negro. The problems growing out of the association of the two races in this country are not the sort to be settled by the policies of any political group or even by legislative enactment.

That this fact is recognized by the better, the more intelligent class of colored folk, there is ample evidence. To them, there is no question of race preferment in the coming election. They are preparing to vote for one man or the other for reasons no different from those actuating the white portion of the electorate.

In this connection, an excerpt from an editorial in a recent issue of The Carolina Times, a negro publcation of Durham, is interesting. Under the caption, "Social Equality", The Times, says in part:

> No well-thinking negro cares to go where he is not wanted or invited, and utters a cry of disgust every time he hears the contrary.
>
> Laws and customs cannot regulate the social life of human beings. Social equality, if let alone, will take care of itself; the danger poin lies in forever harping over a thing no one has thought about.
>
> The negro is more anxious to keep his home, church, and social life negroid than the white man.

With which, every one familiar with conditions in the South will agree. Nor is it really important that such a viewpoint is not understandable to many who live elsewhere and would judge conditions in Dixie by their observations in northern or eastern cities.

It is undeniably a fact that the two races are working out their own salvation, at least so far as the South is concerned, along the only lines which offer hope of peaceful solution of a very vexing problem. This is coming to be more and more generally recognized, the country over. Less and less is there inclination on the part of other sections to interfere. And there is not the slightest chance that the election of either presidential candidate would be the signal for any marked change in the attitude or the policy of the federal government in the matter of colored patronage, especially in the South.

Republican Strategy Gone Wrong, Leaders Worried Over Bolt

Tremendous Drift To Smith Seen In Western States; Race Vote Makes New Jersey And Maryland Safe For Democratic Party

Special To Journal and Guide

Washington, D. C., Nov. 2—Predictions of the final result of the Presidential election on November 6 are regarded as foolish, but political observers are convinced that there will be a larger defection in the colored vote that has been traditionally Republican than ever before since the right to vote was conferred upon the Negro.

Estimates of the percentage of colored voters who will desert the Republican party vary. They range from 25 to 65 per cent.

These estimates are based upon the general state of mind of the colored voters. The gratitude of the Negro to the Republican party for freedom, citizenship and the ballot has been changed into an attitude of resentment because of abandonment of the principles which gave it birth.

Resent Racial Bigotry

Colored voters believe that the Republican party has waged a campaign of racial as well as religious bigotry In the North appeals have been made to colored voters to stand by the party of Lincoln. In the South, Republicans have fostered charges that Governor Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic candidate was responsible for racial equality in schools and dance halls; that he had appointed Ferdinand Q. Morton a Civil Service Commissioner; that he endorsed miscegenation, and so on. Much of the literature contained a picture of Mr Morton dictating to a white woman stenographer.

Colored voters are also convinced that the Ku Klux Klan is supporting the Republican candidates in this election. They believe that Mr. Hoover has given impetus to the lily-white movement in the South and that his election will mean a further setback to the Negro in politics.

Strategy Gone Wrong

Republican strategy has gone wrong. The Republican management figured on breaking the "Solid South" and getting the electoral votes of Virginia, North Carolina and Florida, Tennessee and Kentucky. Virginia and Florida are conceded to the Democrats. North Carolina is listed as leaning toward the Democratic column. Kentucky and Tennessee are doubtful, the Republicans having the advantage in the former and the Democrats in the latter.

If Republican strategy had worked out as planned, the defection of the Negro vote might not matter. But as things have turned out, the Republican management is considerably worried over the bent of the colored vote.

The desertion of the Republican party by the colored vote, it is thought, will probably give the Democratic candidates the electoral votes of Missouri, New Jersey, Maryland, and probably Ohio.

The Missouri Situation

It is reported from Missouri that there is a distinct drift of the colored vote to Smith. In scores of cities and towns where in previous years the Democrats have not even attempted to organize the colored vote, there are Smith-for-President clubs. In St. Louis, in the congressional district now represented by Leonidas C. Dyer, Republican, Joseph L. McLemore, a colored Democrat, is contesting. He probably will not win but he will carry with him a substantial vote for Smith.

All Night Conferences

In the closing weeks of the campaign, the Republican management sought to change its strategy and stem this drift of the colored vote to Smith. An all-night conference, it has been learned, was held last Saturday night at the personal headquarters of Mr. Hoover at 2315 Massachusetts avenue, northwest, the question of the defection of the colored vote being practically the only matter discussed.

Several of the most influential advisers of Mr. Hoover it was reported, insisted that the Republican candidate issue a clean-cut statement defining his attitude toward colored citizens and their aspirations. Others of his advisers were opposed, taking the position that such a statement would alienate klan support. No definite agreement was reached at this conference, but at the time it was understood that the matter would be given further consideration.

Brown Displaced

Walter Brown, who had charge of the Hoover campaign among colored voters, has been replaced by Ray Benjamin, of San Francisco, a friend of Mr. Hoover. Mr. Benjamin is now in charge and the Brown organization has been put in the discard Robert R. Church, of Memphis, Tenn., who kicked out of the traces several weeks ago is now back in harness working for Hoover and Curtis. This was part of the reorganization.

Political 1928

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

G. O. P. BOLTERS

Two popular business men of Chicago, W. Ellis Stewart, Secretary of the Liberty Life Insurance Company of Illinois, and Fred Manson, Traffic Manager of the Ohio Iron and Metal Corporation, are on the Smith band wagon.

Among the recent Smith supporters in Cleveland are Dr. C. C. Miller and the Rev. J. W. Ribbins, the latter pastor of one of the largest congregations in Ohio. The Rev. Mr. Ribbins has been appointed State Organizer for Ohio.

HARRY E. DAVIS IS GIVEN A PLACE ON G. O. P. COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 12.—Hubert Work, chairman of the republican national committee has announced the appointment of Harry E. Davis of Cleveland, Ohio as a member of the executive committee of the colored voters division.

Mr. Davis is an outstanding republican. He was educated at Hiram (O.) College, and received his training in law at Western Reserve university. He has served as a member of the 84th 85th 86th and 87th Ohio general assemblies and during the 86th and 87th general assemblies he served as chairman of the committee on codes.

In January 1928, the city council of Cleveland elected Mr. Davis a member of the civil service commission to serve for a six year term. He is a member of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and is a Mason and an Elk.

Hoover Assures Negro Of Equal Opportunity

DES MOINES, Ia., Sept. 10.—Negroes who are interested in the political advancement as well as the general progress of that race will be interested in a statement made here recently by James B. Morris, local attorney and editor of the Iowa Bystander after an interview with the Republican candidate.

"When asked his views on the so-called 'race question' Mr. Morris said "Secretary Hoover stated: 'If elected President of the United States, the colored people can depend upon me to see that no backward steps are made in their aspirations to achieve their full share of the opportunities under the American government.'"

Mr. Hoover showed unusual interest in the problems faced by Negro citizens in the effort to maintain their rights in this section and asked many pointed questions.

Curtis Never Klansman "He Notifies World"

NEW YORK, N. Y., Sept. 13.—Rumors that have been given circulation in the South that Senator Curtis, Republican Vice Presidential candidate, is a former Klansman, are emphatically denied by the candidate himself in a telegram to The New York World. A message from a correspondent of The World told that at a meeting of an Alabama "Klavern" of the Ku Klux Klan announcement was made that Senator Curtis was "a former Grand Dragon of the Kansas Klan."

Following its usual policy of careful investigation before publication, The World put the matter before Senator Curtis by telegram. His reply follows:

"Boston, Mass., Sept. 5.

"No foundation for the statement. And not now and never was a member of the organization mentioned.

CHARLES CURTIS."

SUPERINTENDENT OF NEGRO BOYS' SCHOOL DESERTS G. O. P. AND ASKS OTHERS TO FOLLOW

Little Rock, Ark., Sept.—T. W. Coggs, superintendent of the Negro Boys' Industrial School located here, recently made known his decision to forsake the ranks of Republican voters and support Gov. Alfred Smith and Sen. Joseph Robinson in the coming presidential election. In a brief statement to local newspapers, Supt. Coggs stated his reasons for thus giving his endorsement to the Democratic presidential and vice-presidential nominees.

"The Democratic party has honored our state by selecting our most distinguished citizen as one of its standard bearers. I, therefore, am laying aside party principles and joining the host of loyal citizens of this state in supporting Smith and Robinson.

"The fact that I, a Negro and life-long Republican have held a position for five years that might have been used as political pie is evidence that regardless of party affiliation, the political leaders of Arkansas have desired to do the best things for Arkansas, and in appreciation for this and other considerations that Negroes have and hope to receive from the Democratic party in Arkansas and the nation, they should join in whole-hearted support of Governor Smith and Arkansas' favorite son."

NEGRO G. O. P. CHIEFS PLAN THEIR CAMPAIGN

Assemble in Washington to Hear Party Leaders.

BY R. M. GATES.
Commercial Appeal Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30.—"Negro leaders of the Republican party assembled here Tuesday to discuss the plans for an active campaign among colored voters of the country and to complete organization plans begun here several weeks ago," says a statement issued today at Republican national committee headquarters.

"With Dr. John R. Hawkins, chairman of the executive committee of the colored voters' division of the Republican party, presiding, the chairman and members of the western and eastern bureau and of the publicity organization and voters' committees, told of the activities in the various sections of the country and outlined a program for a nationwide campaign for the support of colored on the Republican ticket. Reports from these individuals showed that active work had been started in the various sections and that the colored citizens would play an active part in the forthcoming election.

Dr. Work pointed out that the sole purpose of the Republican organization was to effect the success of the party ticket in the forthcoming national election, and referred to the importance of the colored vote.

"We do not," declared Dr. Work, "forget that we are opposing one of the strongest organizations the Democrats have ever boasted. Therefore we must bring before the voters, not the imaginary issues, but the real issues. We have selected Herbert Hoover as our standard bearer because we believe he is a better, a bigger and stronger man than his opponent.

"According to Mrs. Alvin T. Hert, chairman of the women's division of the national Republican committee, the vote of the colored women is of vast importance, and she urged the campaign committee to pay 'special attention to them.'

"'The women of the colored race,' decmlared Mrs. Hert, 'are tremendously important. They possess organization possibilities of which even the man can not boast. Bring them into the organization and make them an integral part of it.'"

REV. JOHN R. HAWKINS ANNOUNCES ADDITIONAL COMMITTEES

Washington, D. C., Sept.—According to an announcement made Tuesday at the headquarters of the Colored Voters Division of the National Republican Committee, headed by Dr. John R. Hawkins, the various committees of the organization have been strengthened during the past week by the addition of leading colored men and women in various sections of the country.

Those added were: Joseph H. Watson, Albany, Georgia; Mrs. Rebecca S. Taylor, Savannah, Georgia; Dr. B. W. S. Daniels, Savannah, Ga.; Sydney A. Jones, Savannah, Georgia; B. F. Cofer, Albany, Ga.; Mrs. Elizabeth Bray, Yonkers, N. Y.; John Peaker, Jr., New Haven, Conn.; Mrs. Blanche Stubbs, Wilmington, Del.; Aaron W. Lloyd, St. Louis, Mo.; Dr. T. A. Curtis, St. Louis, Mo.; Rev. V. A. Holmes, Kansas City, Mo.; Amos T. Hall, Tulsa, Okla.; Attorney Whitmore, Muskogee, Okla.; A. Baxter Whitby, Oklahoma City Okla.; John C. Minkins, J. M. Stockette, and William H. Jackson, of Rhode Island, as members of the Advisory Committee.

To the Organization Committee were added the following persons: George E. Bates, Newark, N. J.; M. D. Cornish, Camden, N. J.; Mrs. Bertha Higgins, Providence, R. I.; Mrs. Helen Whitman, Boston, Mass.; S. D. Hooker, Tulsa, Okla.; J. M. Tyler, Tulsa, Okla.; and James Rausch, Watonga, Okla.

The Speakers Committee were augmented by the following individuals: Clement G. Morgan, Cambridge, Mass.; A. G. W. Sango, Tulsa, Okla.; R. E. Stewart, Muskogee, Okla.; W. H. Twine, Muskogee, Okla.; Amos T. Hall, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Roscoe C. Dungee, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Two changes made, according to this announcement, was the transfer of C. H. Calloway, from the Western Speakers Committee to the Western Organization Committee and Arthur W. Mitchell, from the Eastern Organization Bureau to the Western Division in the same capacity.

R. R. CHURCH STRIKES BACK AT HIS CRITICS

Would Not Follow Apologists, He Says, Even At Request Of Hoover

HE REITERATES CAUSE OF COMMITTEE BOLT

Those In Front Of The Voters Are Not Themselves Voters, He Says

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Breaking the political rule of his life, Robt. R. Church replied this week to attacks on him carried in last weeks papers following his refusal to serve on the National Republican Campaign Committee.

In a prepared statement Church says:

"I have seen the article, written I am informed by Dr. Emmett J. Scott. It is a document of a kind familiar to all who know the fine African hand of its industrious but elusive author. For thirty years his brick-bats have been hurled from behind the coat-tails of protectors.

"What Dr. Scott may think of me or of my reason for withdrawing from the hand-wrought "committee" now directing and distressing Mr. Hoover's cause is without importance and will not, I feel, supplant the record I have made in an effort to advance our lines on the political field. I have never held an office except

through election by the people. Dr. Scott never held an office at all, and such positions as he has filled came from kind hearts unable to turn a deaf ear to his cry.

"Whether Dr. Scott continues to operate Howard University or run good Dr. Hawkins or frock coat diplomatic receptions as Minister to Haiti, is not the slightest concern to me. My interest in the present situation is exactly my interest in Mr. Hoover as our candidate and in the Republican party whose fortunes have long been mine. I got off the committee, not because I had been refused a leadership for which no man can [illegible] Hoover applies (and which no man bestow upon another) but because I could not in conscience associate myself with political parasites and pretenders.

Political Apologists

"To the charge that I am not a good follower. I plead guilty if I am asked to follow to the ballot box men who have no ballot to cast, and who have not them oral courage to attempt to cast one, or cry out against the crime of disfranchisement in their states. MEN WHO FIGHT, DON'T FOLLOW THOSE WHO RUN.

"There is not a colored Republican voter whom I would fail to follow or support if called to his standard. There is not a colored political apologist I would follow, not even at the request of Mr. Hoover, unless he was leading a procession to the public square there to receive the condemnation of an outraged people.

Lincoln Johnson

"Another point, that is too scandalous to be ignored, I touch. Dr. Scott brought in the name of the late Henry Lincoln Johnson, referring to him as my associate in party struggles, and linking his great name with gentleman of the present political arrangement, there we have sin at war with absurdity.

"Mr. Johnson, one of the great men in all history of great men, should be spared a comparison so odious. His memory should be more sacred than that. To mention the names of Dr. Hawkins, Dr. Scott and Dr. Holsey in the same breath with that of "Link" Johnson is a challenge to the patience of honest men.

Leader And Voter

"Mr. Johnson was a leader, a great lawyer and a voter. He was Republican National Committeeman at the time of his death and under the laws of Georgia he could not have been unless he was a registered voter. No year passed without his return to Georgia to register as a voter and keep his citizenship clear. NEITHER DR. HAWKINS HAS RETURNED TO NORTH CAROLINA, DR. SCOTT TO TEXAS, NOR DR. HOLSEY TO THE COURT HOUSE IN EITHER GEORGIA OR ALABAMA TO REGISTER HIS CITIZENSHIP AND PLAY THE FULL MAN.

The Main Point

The main point must not be lost sight of. I stated that I retired from the committee because, first, I wanted Mr. Hoover elected, and second, because those in front of the voters were themselves not voters. I STILL WANT MR. HOOVER ELECTED AND THE GENTLEMEN ARE STILL WITHOUT A VOTE.

HOOVER-SMITH HEARKEN TO LILY WHITES

Anti- Perry Howard Lily White Named To Organize Mississippi

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE STATEMENT

South Told Governor Smith Will Make Jobs For Menials Only

WASHINGTON, D. C.— One of the striking developments of the present campaign is the surrender of both the Republican and Democratic parties to anti-Negro sentiment.

The Republican party wants to break the Solid South. The Republican party managers were led to believe at first that there is a splendid chance for Republican success in North Carolina. Later Virginia and Florida of the ten states that constitute the Solid South were added to the list.

Lily-White Named

Horace Mann, who has recently come boldly into the open as the Republican southern manager, now believes that there is a chance of Mississippi going Republican. He has named Lamont Rowland, a lily-white leader who was opposed to the Republican organization in Mississippi headed by Perry W. Howard, the national committeeman, to conduct a campaign in that state.

The next few weeks may see the remaining states of the Solid South, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas, added to the list that will probably give their electoral votes to Herbert Hoover in the November election.

The Democratic party wishes to hold the Solid South intact. Propaganda regarding Governor Smith's attitude toward Negroes, however, is being used in the South by anti-Smith Democrats, who are opposed to him because of his religion and his stand on the prohibition question.

Social Equality

The white South is being told that if Smith is elected, Negroes will be appointed to offices, requiring confirmation by the Senate. The old bugaboo of social equality is also being raised by white southerners, and to make their arguments convincing race relations in New York City are cited as an example of what may be expected generally if Smith should be elected.

In order to offset this propaganda, the Democratic National Committee boldly came out this week with a statement from its Washington office denying that Governor Smith had ever had a colored stenographer. This statement also declared that the only positions colored persons had held under his administration were menial.

Jim-Crow Headquarters

There is also the fact that the Democratic National Committee is running a jim-crow headquarters in New York City. The headquarters of the Democratic National Committee are in the General Motors building. The headquarters of the Smith-for-President Colored League, which is sponsored as an independent movement by the Democratic National Committee, is in the Leavitt building. A white man, William Gaston, of Boston, is in charge.

Over 5 Million Voters

There are approximately 5,588,500 Negroes of voting age in the United States. A majority of them are in the South where disfranchisement is practiced. There are, however, a sufficient number in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri to determine the result in a close election.

There are other states in which there are large Negro votes. They include Oklahoma, Kansas, Massachusetts, Delaware and Maryland.

To What Extent

With these facts and figures, the question confronting both Chairman Work and Chairman Raskob is, to what extent shall their parties look upon the Negro vote as undesirable?

The colored voters' division of the Republican national committee is making an intensive drive to get the rebellious Negro vote solidly for Hoover, but it is handicapped by the efforts of the Republican party managers to win the Solid South.

NEGRO LEADERS NOT TO BE OUSTED FROM G. O. P. IN SOUTH

(Dallas Express)

Whether or not the constant agitation and unrest among Negro voters as the result of the lily white policy of the present G. O. P. leadership is bearing fruit cannot be definitely said. But it is certain that party leaders have agreed that for the present they are to be left undisturbed and that the party control in the south will remain as it is. As much is to be gained from news letters from correspondents in Washington. Bascom Timmons, who is one of the authorities on the situation and who writes for a local daily paper states that fear of Klan sentiment and control of the party in the event of the ousting of Negro leaders together with the idea that to change the leadership would not result in more electoral votes is the controlling argument in favor of leaving conditions as they now are. Another element of party leaders contends that without the Negro control there will be a decided defection in the Democratic ranks and the party will grow and thrive as a purely white man's party.

All parties in America may as well admit that eventually they will be faced with the problem of controlling the Negro members. The time is past when the matter of leadership can be dismissed with a wave of the hand and when Negro members can be trusted to evince no ambitions. The Republican party for all of its former years has been the one outstanding exception as far as open objection to Negro leadership has been concerned and it is probable that had there been no Teapot Dome scandal to be overcome there would have been no more objection to Negro leadership than was to have been expected from the lilywhite element. But as usual, the Negro is an easy scape-goat; and to point to the dethronement of a few Negro leaders under the guise of purging the party of patronage peddlers would have seemed to clear the skirts as well as the conscience of the leaders. But the truth may as well be admitted. Negroes are no greater patronage peddlers than are any other race of party leaders regardless of the name of the party. Politics as it is handled in America makes it the rule that "spoils" are to be expected whether they be in the form of office or what not. Had it been true that in all of the states this regime had been placed under fire there would have been no complaint lodged. But that was not the case. The Negro was singled out and marked for slaughter.

That the axe did not find the root of his neck was due to the stringency of political times and the consideration for the good will of the Negro voters who are the balance of power in several pivotal states.

It is unfortunate that this condition should maintain. But since it does, there is but one thing for Negroes everywhere to do. They must organize more closely for their mutual protection political and otherwise. Their votes must be welded in such a compact mass that to attempt to disturb any one element is to disturb the whole. And they must be willing to fight, not only for participation in the party councils but for everything which is the portion of all members of the organizations to which they claim allegiance. Why not Negro party leadership if it is advantageous? And in this case it must be realized that Democratic defection is at best but temporary Negro allegiance is traditional.

Party Affiliation.

Chronicle-Telegraph
PITTSBURGH, PA.

SEP 8 1928

STATE TO GIVE HOOVER 500,000 MAJORITY—HEFLIN

"Hoover will be elected by 10,000,000 to 15,000,000 majority," said Senator Thomas J. Heflin, Democrat, of Alabama, in Pittsburgh yesterday. He based the estimate, he explained, on things he had noted and observed on a lecture tour that has taken him into many states.

Senator Heflin delivered a lecture at the Washington (Pa.) fair grounds Thursday night on "The Dangers that Threaten the American Government." He will speak tonight at a Ku Klux Klan demonstration at Shaver's Grove, on the Monroeville road, 1½ miles north of Turtle Creek.

"I have delivered a dozen lectures in Pennsylvania," said the Senator, "and feel that I know the situation in this state pretty well. Smith has about as much chance of carrying Pennsylvania as a mouse-colored mule has of operating an airplane. Hoover's majority in Pennsylvania will be at least 500,000, and possibly 1,000,000."

"For whom do you intend to vote, Senator?"

"I have not said. I will not answer that question until Gov. Smith answers questions I propounded to him.

"I asked him if it was true, as a New York newspaper said, that he endorsed social equality between the Negro and white races. I asked him if he approves of the dance halls in New York where Negro men dance with white women. I asked him if he approved of Negroes and whites attending the same church. He has not answered."

Heflin said Hoover had a good chance of carrying not only the border states but also Virginia, North Carolina, "and some other southern states, which I will not name."

He mentioned a number of prominent Democrats of Alabama who are working for Hoover, and said the revolt against the Smith leadership was general throughout the South.

Three-fourths of the women of the country are for Hoover," he declared.

Heflin declared John J. Raskob, Democratic national chairman, was a Republican and retained his membership in the Union League Club of Philadelphia, to which only Republicans may belong. The Senator said he ascertained on a recent visit to Philadelphia that Raskob had not resigned from the club.

Commenting on the fact that eggs were thrown at speakers who addressed an anti-Smith meeting in Alabama Thursday night, Heflin said the incident would make votes for Hoover.

EVE. NEWS
DENVER, COLO.

SEP 7 1928

NEGRO VOTE HELD KEY TO ELECTION IN BORDER AREAS

Republicans and Democrats Wage Campaigns to Swing Black Ballots Into Their Columns in Indiana, Illinois and Missouri

SITUATION EMBARRASSING TO BOTH PARTIES

Smith's Friends Fear Their Activities in North May Irritate Whites in South; Hoover Followers Also Concerned as They Try to Hold Lines

BY LUDWELL DENNY

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7.—Negro voters can turn the national election in doubtful border states. Hence the politicians are scurrying about trying to devise ways and means to make the Negro vote safe for Hoover or Smith, as the case may be.

Ludwell Denny

Republicans have reason to fear a revolt at the polls in some Northern cities, where Negroes in the past have voted with almost automatic regularity for G. O. P. candidates. These changed conditions are said to be due to younger radicals of the race, who are preaching to their fellows that the Republican party has long exploited them by taking their votes without doing anything in return to justify the boasts of "Lincoln's party."

Quick to take advantage of this discontent, Democrats are going out for the first time with an almost nation-wide organization to catch these racial ballots.

Campaign strategists say there are three fronts in this battle: Industrial centers of the North such as New York, Chicago and Indianapolis; border states, including Missouri and its St. Louis Negro belt, and, of less importance because of so-called disenfranchising laws, certain Southern states, such as North Carolina, where election returns may conceivably be close.

Northern Problem Has Two Angles

The Republican and Democratic problem in the industrial area of the North is both political and economical. To meet racial discontent this year, they find they must pledge not only adequate political representation, but also protection for the welfare of the Negro workers, who are becoming "class conscious."

Unfortunately for the politicians, however, they find that the very propaganda required to capture the Negro vote is the kind that will lose white votes in the doubtful border and Southern states.

In the North, Republicans are trying to sell their ticket on the basis of being the traditional party of the Negro, committed to championing his equality of rights. But with Hoover trying to crash the border states and lead the G. O. P. into the Solid South for the first time, Republicans find their worst obstacle the Democratic warning to whites to beware of the "Negro's party."

Both Sides Work to Line Up Vote

This situation is becoming no less embarrassing to the Democrats. In the North they want the Negro voters to forget that the party in congress is dominated by Southern whites. In the South they want the whites to forget the Democratic appeal being made to Negroes in the North.

Smith's aides are working Harlem, the New York City belt. Organizations include Colored Democracy, led by F. Q. Morton, a Negro municipal employe, and the Smith for President Colored League.

In Chicago Republicans hope to hold the Negro vote by allowing a Negro to succeed the late Martin B. Madden in congress. Direct political representation by a Negro congressman generally is recognized by politicians to be the most effective manner of "keeping the Negro vote in line." Provided this end cannot be achieved "less expensively."

The Democrats are backing a Negro for the congressional seat from the 12th Missouri district in St. Louis.

Hoover and Smith Are Under Fire

There has been no Negro in the national house of representatives since George W. Murray of South Carolina, who served from 1893 to 1895. The last Negro senator was Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi, who sat in the upper house from 1875 to 1881. Including the carpet bag days following the Civil War, there have been 20 Negro representatives and two senators.

Both Hoover and Smth are being attacked openly and in whispering campaigns for their alleged bids for Negro votes. Senator Blease, Democrat, South Carolina, and others charge Hoover with sponsoring an order while secretary of commerce permitting about 50 Negro census office employes to work in rooms with white clerks.

Senator George Norris, Republican, Nebraska, and others attack the Republican party for alleged "buying and selling and trading and trafficking in (Negro) delegates from the solid South" in connection with the national convention.

Smith in turn is blamed in the South for alleged equality reference by Mayor Jimmy Walker in welcoming to New York last month the National Negro Business League.

Meanwhile Jack Johnson, the old Negro prize fighter, is reported anxious to take the stump for Smith.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Though Pitched On A High Plane, Hoover's Acceptance Speech Is Marred By Evasions.

Although it is pitched on a high plane, Herbert Hoover's speech of acceptance is marked by an evasiveness in striking contrast with the straightforwardness which was one of his chief characteristics during his Democratic days in the Woodrow Wilson administration. It is also unfortunate that with the exception of his forthright [illegible] to [illegible] statement, he either avoids many important subjects or uses phrases which are open to several constructions, particularly in his discussion of prohibition [illegible] are [illegible] thoughts [illegible].

Enquirer-Sun Columbus Ga. 8-15-28

It is when Mr. Hoover is discussing material prosperity ,and the elimination of waste and kindred engineering details that he seems most at home, but even though [illegible] treads with gingerly step. Once and only once, it seems to the ENQUIRER-SUN, does Mr. Hoover overcome his inhibitions and speak without consulting the traditions which govern Republican speeches of acceptance. Indeed, Mr. Hoover, in the statement to which reference is made, breaks a precedent—never before, so far as we are aware, has a Presidential nominee in a speech of acceptance, referred to his own religious beliefs. Mr. Hoover may or may not have had a definite purpose in doing so; in any event, no one—not even the most bigoted anti-Smith Hoover Southern Democrat—can misinterpret the expression of his abhorrence of religious intolerance. Mr. Hoover stands squarely for "religious tolerance *both in act and spirit*." He knows the history of the persecuted Quakers.

When Mr. Hoover heartily condemned religious intolerance without equivocating or temporizing, it began to look as if Hoover, the man, intended to continue to speak out of his heart straight to the people. But Hoover, the Republican nominee—Hoover in his new role of politician—quickly took up the thread of the speech and began, cautiously, uncertainly, evasively, to weave it back into the set pattern of political utterances.

Face-to-face with the infamous corruption which was epidemic in and during the administrations of both Harding and Coolidge, the Republican nominee employs the subterfuge of generalities and seeks to condone the guilt of the Republican administrations by citing the existence of corruption in political parties in state and municipal affairs. Here are Mr. Hoover's words in which his evasiveness is a fitting complement to the silence of President Coolidge:

> In the past years there has been corruption participated in by individual officials and members of both political parties in national, state and municipal affairs. Too often this corruption has been viewed with indifference by a great number of our people. It would seem unnecessary to state the elemental requirements that government must inspire confidence not only in its ability but in its integrity. Dishonesty in government, whether national, state, or municipal is a double wrong. It is treason to the state. It is destructive of self-government. Government in the United States rests not only upon the consent of the governed but upon the conscience of the nation. Government weakens the moment that its integrity is even doubted. Moral incompetency by those entrusted with government is a blighting wind upon private integrity. There must be no place for cynicism in the creed of America.

Mr. Hoover utters no specific word of condemnation. There is no mention of Fall, Daugherty, Jesse **Smith**, Gaston Means, Forbes, or Deacon Will Hays who disposed of the liberty bond loot which he had wrung from Sinclair. Mr. Hoover will discuss whiskey but **not** oil. His note to the corrupt Fall is of record. "What do you wish me to tell this man," wrote Mr. Hoover to Fall when a persistent oil man wanted to get a chance at Teapot Dome before it was given to Sinclair and Doheny.

The spirit of evasiveness persists when Hoover approaches the question of the Eighteenth amendment and the Volstead act—a subject which represents, unfortunately, a major perplexity for the two political parties. Mr. Hoover begins to straddle, to evade, and to use language which clearly fails to express a definite opinion on existing conditions. As for offering a remedy, the great organizer and administrator is not only voiceless but apparently helpless. He hears the mutterings of the "bone drys"; he remembers that in 1918 he said, "It is mighty hard for a man to get drunk on 2.75 beer"; his fifteen years abroad have shown him the logic and the value of temperance. The corruption in the enforcement of the prohibition law as unenforced by the Republican party stares him in the face. It is small wonder that he is confused; and when he speaks, his words are proclaimed by "bone-dry" newspapers as slaying the hopes of the modificationists, while many others, including the editors of the two **most powerful Republican anti-Volstead newspapers—the New York *Herald Tribune* and the Chicago *Tribune*—see in Mr. Hoover the** real hope of obtaining a change in the present situation, and regard his utterances as favoring a scheme which will give temperance a chance to recapture sobriety and revive a respect for law and order.

It is well to note the exact words of the New York *Herald Tribune*:

> There is scant comfort for the soft-minded, the idealist-in-a-hurry or the excited reformer in Mr. Hoover's speech. He reiterates his attitude toward prohibition as "an experiment noble in motive". The best hope, in fact, the only hope of modifying the present situation lies in such an approach as Mr. Hoover suggests ..—*through an impartial investigation that will convert the overwhelming mass of the voters, including the fair-minded drys, to a recognition of the necessity for reform.*

Distiller Mellon and the Republican party have had eight years to investigate "the necessity for reform". Mr. Hoover was one of the members of two recent Republican cabinets. Why was not his engineering ingenuity and his administrative genius used to investigate the prohibition problem, in order that he might discover an honest method of enforcement or an acceptable plan of modification? If, after living for ten years in the wettest city in America, where officials high and low break the prohibition laws, Mr. Hoover has nothing to propose by way of remedying this intolerable situation, one must conclude that he will continue to avoid any attempt to reach a reasonable solution of a condition in which corruption has been dignifi d into an art and threatens to become a definite policy in the Republican scheme of prohibition enforcement.

"I do not favor the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment," says Mr. Hoover. Does he oppose repeal? Does he indorse the Eighteenth Amendment? Will he recommend an enforcement appropriation of $100,000,000 or even $300,000,000 instead of the paltry $30,000,000 now appropriated for enforcement of the prohibition law? And is he suggesting an amendment to the Eighteenth Amendment when he asserts, "the Republican Party does deny the right of any one to destroy the purposes of the Constitution by indirection"?

The Republican party has not protested against the deliberate destruction of the purposes of the amendment which provides for a representation, based on the census figures. Yet this amendment has been ignored, nullified, junked.

Does Mr. Hoover object to the method that the South used to nullify the Fifteenth Amendment? All of his ardent Anti-Smith Democratic supporters in the South stand for the destruction of the Fifteenth Amendment by indirection, or any other method, which shall smash an amendment that is obnoxious to them. Those patriotic Republicans, the Negroes of the South, who, after delivering their votes to Mr. Hoover in Kansas City, were kicked out of their party to make room for Anti-Smith White Democrats, may well ask why no mention was made of their plight. No word from Mr. Hoover on the Federal Anti-Lynching Law plank of the Republican platform—no reference to the Fifteenth Amendment, the purposes of which have been destroyed by the Hoover Democrats who will not only vote for the Republican nominee but who have used the ingratitude of Mr. Hoover and his party to thrust the faithful Negro Republicans into the limbo of forgotten souls. The omission of all reference to the Republicans' natural Southern allies, temporarily displaced by Anti-Smith Democrats, must have stunned those Negroes who have long and loyally labored in the Republican vineyard in seasons of poor and worse vintage.

The traditional attitude and ingratitude of the Republican party toward the Negro is so well known that Mr. Hoover may have decided to avoid the hypocrisy any comment would have entailed, but there are other omissions which should and will invite queries as to where Mr. Hoover stands. What of our ill and crippled heroes of the World War? Mr. Hoover is still moved by memories of the suffering in the starving countries where he gave such valiant service under Woodrow Wilson, but he ignores the plight of our own boys who offered their lives to their country. He forgets the corrupt Forbes who squandered millions which should have gone to alleviate the suffering of our shell-shocked and crippled soldiers. The members of the American Legion must have been amazed that their comrades are held unworthy of a word, and the grafting Forbes not corrupt enough to draw an indignant phrase from the Republican nominee.

In his far-flung travels Mr. Hoover seems to have overlooked Nicaragua, along with Russia and China. President Coolidge has a war on in Nicaragua. Marines have for month after month slain the alleged bandits. The President's representative reported a year ago that peace existed, Sandino and 150 "guerillas" were the only hold-outs. Since then reports indicate that more than 800 of Sandino's men have been killed. Yet it appears that he still has a band of 100 followers. Does Mr. Hoover favor a continuation of this warfare to insure American financiers that they will get the interest on the loans made to those Nicaraguan officials who by intrigue and force of arms, *and American marines*, happen to be in power in Nicaragua? Will he countenance an invasion of Mexico on similar grounds?

What of the World Court and other matters related to the League of Nations. In 1920 Mr. Hoover was one of the 31 so-called "best minds" that signed a statement to the effect that the only way to get into the League was to vote for Mr. Harding. Where does Mr. Hoover, as a "best-minder", stand today?

Mr. Hoover is aware that agriculture, textiles and the bituminous coal industries are, as he puts it, "still lagging in their recovery". If it requires 4,000 words merely to tell the farmer that there is an agricultural problem which the Republican party eight years ago pledged itself to solve and wants to stay eight years more on the "solving" job, it would have been a waste of space for Mr. Hoover to attempt to offer a remedy to the textile industries or the starving miners in the bituminous fields.

And it is not strange that Mr. Hoover, in his zest for discussing efficiency, waste elimination and theoretical prosperity, should fail to mention America's 4,000,000 unemployed, the strikes in Massachusetts, the astonishing number of commercial bankruptcies and bank failures. Instead he tells how he reorganized his own department by grouping the various agencies under a single responsibility and authority. Why this was not done in other departments he does not say, but it is a matter of so much importance that he considers it "an obligation to enlist the support of Congress to effect it". Eight years wasted, and with the great economy President in the White House.

This brings us to Mr. Hoover's praise of President Coolidge—inordinate flattery not in keeping with the Hoover genius:

> I would violate my conscience and the gratitude I feel, did I not upon this occasion express appreciation of the great president who leads our party today. President Coolidge has not only given a memorable administration, he has left an imprint of rectitude and statesmanship upon the history of our country. . . . He has charted the course of our nation and our party over many years to come. It is not only a duty but it is the part of statesmanship that we adhere to this course.

This is Mr. Hoover's view of the President who has not even whispered a protest against the corruption of his own party and members of his own cabinet. But for Senator Walsh and Senator Norris, Fall and Daugherty might yet be in the Coolidge cabinet. But for an alert Senate, which twice rejected the appointment of Charles Beecher Warren, Mr. Coolidge would have had as his attorney general a representative of the sugar trust. And even now the President has named as head of the Department of Interior, Roy O. West, counsel for the Insull power companies, and adviser to Samuel Insull whose tainted money kept Frank L. Smith out of the United States Senate.

The silence of Mr. Hoover on Muscle Shoals, and Boulder dam, problems an engineer should delight in, must be left, along with his change of mind on flood relief measures, for another occasion. For the moment we turn back to a statement which Mr. Hoover made early in his speech:

> Our party platform deals mainly with economic problems, but our nation is not an agglomeration of railroads, of ships, of factories, of dynamos, or statistics. It is a nation of homes, a nation of men, of women, of children.

Splendidly spoken, Mr. Hoover. But how much better it was said by another public man nearly fifteen years ago:

> For me, the beauty of my state no longer reposes in its majestic hills, green valleys, emerald lakes, navigable rivers, picturesque palisades, but in the *ethos* of its workers—*the soul of its struggling masses.*

Fifteen years ago! And the speaker was Alfred E. Smith, who was to become four times governor of the great state of New York, and the Democratic nominee for President.

NEWS
CHARLESTON, S. C.

JUL 31 1928

Why Negroes Are Republicans

We see by the papers that a colored woman probably a respectable and worthy colored woman, of Mississippi, a member of the Republican national committee from that state, attended a meeting of the other women of the committee in Washington and caused a little "embarrassment"—which is strange—or it may be that it is a Democratic canard. The colored woman did not have lunch with the white women—for some reason or other.

The incident is not amusing. It is but another reminder of the tragic blunder of giving the negroes the suffrage—a blunder now regretted by nine-tenths of the white people of all parties in all the states. The woman was a pathetic figure—representative of the most sorrowful aspect of life in this prosperous and mighty republic.

And the embarrassment? Two parties in South Carolina? If we shall have them, that particular incident, not in years, will be here reenacted—but that there will be embarrassments no end is certain.

Mr. Roosevelt appointed a highly respectable negro to federal office in this state—in Charleston. There are ten or twenty federal offices to be filled now to one then.

There are worthy, respectable, intelligent, capable colored men—why is not one of them appointed prohibition enforcer? "Why?" Because there is not enough righteousness supporting this law in South Carolina to make safe the life of a good negro enforcer in the "dryest" district.

We can't get away from this negro question in our Southern politics. Would that we could. The Republican party, Wade, Stevens, Sumner (some of them with the holiest of motives), drove it into us with bayonets, shot it into us with powder and ball, between 1865 and 1868, while our land lay prostrate, bound and gagged, and it is with us to stay.

Do we want a centralized government in Washington owning and operating power companies and railroads appointing hundreds of thousands of men? Do we want any law that authorizes a President to invest a state with his agents, white agents or black agents?

The negro race has leaders, educated, able, aggressive. Most of them are in the Northern cities. They are demanding their "rights" under the federal constitution. The are, every day and hour, insistent that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments be enforced in the Southern states. Can one blame them? Can one censure an able negro in New York, like W. E. B. Dubois, for being human?

The able negro leader is a Republican, for concentration of government in Washington offers the surest hope of political preferment and recognition for his race. When there shall be some hundreds of thousands of federal appointments to be made from Washington, the negroes will have a share—an increasing share—perhaps not next year nor the year after that, but as surely in the years to come as negro votes shall count in elections. They count now in elections, in Northern states.

No comprehending negro leader can see a chance for negro preferment in South Carolina as long as federal appointees shall be kept out of South Carolina, as long as the number of them shall be small, as long as government shall be in the hands of white South Carolinians.

In the degree that government is moved to Washington, white government is jeoparded in South Carolina.

JOURNAL
Jersey City - NJ
AUG 8 1928

Thomas Fights Tonight To Block Rev. Byrd As Leader

Colored Republican Control Involved in Battle Over Alderwyn Thomas' Reinstatement Under Superintendent of Elections Ferguson.

"This is a fight for the Hudson County colored Republican leadership and it is a battle between Rev. Dr. William Byrd and me," declared Alderwyn Thomas, speaking about tonight's rally arranged by Thomas Republicans in Fraternal Hall on Kearney Avenue to bring about the reinstatement of Thomas as a $2,100 aide to the Superintendent of Elections of Hudson County.

Thomas A. McDonald just before he was ousted dropped Thomas. Tonight's rally is for the purpose of getting the new Superintendent of Elections, John Ferguson, to reinstate Thomas.

"I have no doubt that I am going to be reinstated," added Thomas. "I have been assured of that, but tonight my friends are going to show in Fraternal Hall what they think of me."

Thomas is sure Rev. Dr. Byrd will get some jolt tonight at the rally of Thomas' backers.

There is a lot at stake in this year's fight for the Republican colored leadership in Hudson.

The man who is acclaimed as colored leader will have a chance at the Republican doughbag.

The colored leader will be liable to have a hand in the distribution of the campaign fund in Hudson and this fact has added to the vigor with which the fight is being waged.

The fact is that the colored Republicans in Hudson are split up. Bion Jones has been at the head of the Colored Republican Club of Hudson County. Mrs. William Byrd, wife of Rev. Dr. Byrd, has organized a Colored Women's Hoover Republican Club and Alderwyn Thomas claims to be the leader for the county by reason of his position as president of the Colored Republican Association of Hudson County, Inc.

Thomas counts on a large attendance tonight in Fraternal Hall, where Thomas' friends will rally in favor of his reinstatement.

Tonight resolutions are to be adopted asking the new superintendent of elections to put Thomas back on the pay roll as soon as possible.

Thomas is trying to get the following to be out tonight to speak in his interest: Rev. F. W. Means; Rev. W. S. Smith, Counselor Robert S. Hartgrove, Assistant U. S. District Attorney Oliver Randolph.

The Colored Republican Association of Hudson County, Inc., includes these officers:

Alderwin S. Thomas, president; W. E. Searles, first vice president; Elizabeth Torrence, second vice president; James A. Johnson, secretary; C. G. Williams, assistant secretary; R. A. Epps, treasurer; Otis Fouch, sergeant-at-arms; R. E. T. Walker, chaplain. The trustees are: Walker Money, Sarah Cunningham, Walter Carter, Cornelia Jackson, Janie Harris.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation

Republican.

SWEEPING DRIVE FOR NEGRO VOTE IS IN READINESS

G. O. P. Chiefs Gather at D. C. Preparatory to Opening a Campaign for Hoover Support

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5. — "Nefro leaders of the Republican party assembled here Tuesday to discuss the plans for an active campaign among colored voters of the country and to complete organization plans begun here several weeks ago," says a statement issued at Republican national committee headquarters.

"With Dr. John R. Hawkins, chairman of the executive committee of the colored voters' division of the Republican party, presiding the chairman and members of the western and eastern bureau and of the publicity, organization and voters' committees told of the activities in the various sections of the country and outlined a program for a nationwide campaign for the support of colored for the Republican ticket. Reports from these individuals showed that active work had been started in the various sections and that the colored citizens would play an active part in the forthcoming election.

Dr. Work pointed out that the sole purpose of the Republican organization was to effect the success of the party ticket in the forthcoming national election, and referred to the importance of the colored vote.

"We do not," declared Dr. Work, "forget that we are opposing one of the strongest organizations the Democrats have ever boasted. Therefore we must bring before the voters, not the imaginary issues, but the real issues. We have selected Herbert Hoover as our standard bearer because we believe he is a better a bigger and stronger man than his opponent.

"According to Mrs. Alvin T. Hert, chairman of the women"s division of the national Republican committee, the vote of the colored women is of vast importance, and she urged the campaign committee to pay 'special attent.on to them.'

" 'The women of the colored race', declared Mrs. Hert, 'are tremendously important. They possess organization possibilities of which even the man can not boast Bring them into the organization and make them integral part of it."

HOW THE G. O. P. LOVES THE SOUTH

While the Republican party is wooing the South this year as never before since the Democrats regained power in their own land, and with money and verbal honey is attempting to attract Southern voters to its standard, it is again revealing, in other sections of the country, its historic hatred of the South.

Telling how the Republicans are entering the South "with wings and a harp," and at the same time are reviling the South in other sections, The Houston Post-Dispatch discusses the propaganda emanating from G. O. P. headquarters for the special consumption of Republicans in the Northwest, the Middle West and the East. This propaganda well illustrates the brand of "friendship" which the Republican National organization holds toward the South, says The Post-Dispatch, which continues:

"The word is being spread that the Republican party must be returned to power to 'prevent the South from gaining control' of important machinery of government.

"Republican newspapers and stump speakers are using this argument freely. In the Northwest and Middle West the effort is being made to frighten farm voters by raising the bugaboo of 'planter dominance' over the agricultural department and over farm relief legislation at the hands of Congress. In the East the effort is being made to frighten business interests by picturing the South as a hotbed of anti-business radicalism. The fact that a Democratic victory this Fall would place Southern Democrats in control of highly important committees of Congress is being seized upon. Congressman John Garner's prospective assumption to the speakership of the Lower House finds repeated mention. G. O. P. propagandists picturing Mr. Garner in a light which is highly unfavorable to him and to Texas.

"This persistent song of hate against the South is the more remarkable in contrast to the honeyed words with which the G. O. P. greets Southern Democratic defectionists. The same huge campaign fund is being used to fan the old fires of sectional hatred against the South, for the benefit of the G. O. P. in other sections, and to lend financial aid to the efforts of defecting Southern Democrats who have gone over to the Hoover camp.

"If further evidence of the tactics of the Republican National headquarters were needed, it is furnished by the official sanction given by this headquarters to venomous attacks directed against former President Woodrow Wilson.

"Quoting from and giving its official approval to the utterances of a German newspaper recently converted to the Hoover cause, the Republican headquarters has sowed the German-speaking communities with anti-Wilson propaganda ghoulish in nature.

"In some of this literature, which attacks a dead immortal in an effort to capitalize half forgotten war passions, particular stress is laid upon the fact that President Wilson during his lifetime was a warm personal friend of Gov. Smith. Responsibility for American entry into the World War is laid at President Wilson's door, while instead of being pictured as pro-British, Mr. Hoover is pictured as possessing a heart brimful of love for the people of German origin.

"This is the sort of campaign which Southern defecting Democrats are aiding and abetting, though the anti-Smith groups of the South are merely pawns in the Republican attempt to play upon group, sectional, racial, religious and other prejudices—with utter disregard for consistency or the rulers of fair play.

"The Republican effort to enter the South with wings and a harp, beguiling Southern Democrats on 'moral issue' grounds which subtly overlook the G. O. P. corruption record of the last eight years, and at the same time to raise its anti-Southern war cry and slander the memory of Woodrow Wilson in the effort to win Germanic votes, is entirely typical and in keeping with past history of the G. O. P.

"There is a minor flaw in the scheme. The Republican National headquarters underestimates the ability of Southern Democrats to read large-written political signs and size a situation up for what it is worth."

'Wets' Among Negroes For Hoover According To Republican Statement

By RUSSELL KENT
Special Correspondent Of The Montgomery Advertiser

WASHINGTON, Sept. 6.—The "wets" among the negroes are for Herbert Hoover for president, according to publicity matter issued with the approval of the Republican National Committee. Oscar DePriest, negro Republican nominee for Congress in Chicago, who probably will be elected in November, is quoted as authority on this point.

"Hoover is the hope of the negro," according to a statement attributed to another Chicago citizen of color. A Brooklyn negro minister lauds Hoover and says that should anything happen to Hoover as president Senator Curtis would be acceptable as "a friend of our race," while if Gov. Smith should be elected and die the presidency would go to "a man from a state whose treatment of the colored race is most backward"—referring to Senator Robinson and Arkansas.

An appeal is made also to negroes of the South, Dr. R. R. Moton, head of Tuskegee Institute and S. W. Green, of New Orleans, ranking officer of the colored Knights of Pythias, being quoted in the remarkable statement issued from national G. O. P. headquarters.

If any doubt exists about the Republicans making a special appeal to negro voters, it will be removed by quoting in full and exactly, this statement issued to newspapers in behalf of the colored voters Division of the Republican National Committee, which follows:

"According to expressions received here from negro leaders in the East and in the West, the colored citizens of those sections where their votes have a direct bearing upon every election, have a high regard for Herbert Hoover, the Republican nominee for the presidency of the United States and have an abiding faith in his ability to conduct the affairs of the country in a capable, fair and just manner.

"Differing widely in their opinions on prohibition, these leaders, however, are in absolute accord that Secretary Hoover is the right man for the presidency and that if the president were removed by some misfortune the country and the destiny of their race in the United States, would be in as safe hands with Senator Charles Curtis in the saddle, safer by far than with Senator Robinson directing the nation's affairs.

"Oscar DePriest, negro candidate for United States Congress and an avowed wet, declared: 'I greatly appreciate the statement by Mr. Hoover in his acceptance speech, that he proposes to 'pre-

serve, protect and defend' the Constitution of the United States, which includes all amendments from first to the last. Through the enforcement of all Constitutional amendments, the rights of all people will be protected and a strict enforcement of the 18th amendment will make the American people either sanction or repeal that amendment.

"His message on farm relief showing that he has a constructive program is all that any fair-minded citizen could ask and his declaration on flood control and deep waterways will assure to the shipping interests of the country, some relief from the heavy transportation rates that have been so burdensome. This will not only benefit the farmers in obtaining cheaper transportation for their products but will benefit the merchants and consumers. I want to see Mr. Hoover elected, although I am a 'wet,' but I am not willing to see the prosperity of America and certainty of a loaf of bread traded off for the uncertainty of a glass of beer.

Prohi Lauds Hoover

"From the home state of the Democratic nominee, comes the following comment of Dr. H. H. Proctor, a prominent Brooklyn minister and a prohibitionist:

"Contrasting the two candidates and their views, Dr. Proctor said: 'I was especially gratified with the masterly way in which the former secretary of commerce, handled the liquor question. I am unqualfiedly in favor of prohibition, which has been such a vast benefit to the country and I favor Mr. Hoover's stand on this question rather than Gov. Smith's. Then too, in case the New York governor was elected and should die, the colored voters should consider who would succeed to the chair—a man from a state whose treatment of the colored race is most backward. On the other hand, should Hoover be elected and succumb, his successor would not only be a strong prohibitionist and a friend of our race, but would come from a state with a fine tradition with respect to civic equality."

"Dr. M. O. Bousefield, president of the Liberty Life Insurance Company, of Chicago, characterized Mr. Hoover's address as being 'full of sympathy, human interest and a belief in equal opportunities.' Continuing he stated 'It takes supreme intelligence to estimate and understand correctly prejudices and race problems. In this Mr. Hoover is the hope of the negro, as his is perhaps the best trained mind which has aspired to the presidency. His stand on prohibition is not only logical, but coincides with that of the majority of negroes who want no Constitutional tinkering, or the stressing of 'states rights.'"

According to the opinion expressed by William Pickens, New York City, one of the foremost authors and lecturers of the negro race, and field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Hoover "has a more understanding grasp on the race problem and on the national problems and the international policies of this country, than any other presidential candidate of recent decades."

"In the Southern states negroes had an opportunity to deal intimately with the former secretary of commerce when he was directing the relief work following the Mississippi River flood in 1927, and were deeply impressed with his fairness and with his executive ability, according to such leaders as Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of the Tuskegee Institute and president of the National Negro Business League and S. W. Green, of New Orleans, who is the supreme chancellor of the colored Knights of Pythias.

Moton's Declaration.

Dr. Moton, who served as chairman of the colored advisory committee during the relief work, declared: 'Mr. Hoover is familiar with the problems of this country, whether national, sectional or international. His grasp is firm and sure; his outlook statesmanlike, controlled and directed by strong human sympathies. Associated with him on the work of the Mississippi Flood Relief Committee, I had ample opportunity to know the earnestness and sincerity of his efforts in behalf of all classes. No man in America is better qualified to serve this country in strong, virile, highminded leadership than is Herbert Hoover.'

"Running in the same vein, S. W. Green pointed out: "Herbert Hoover should appeal to the citizens of the United States, regardless of party affiliation, as a statesman with a clear and concise grasp of the problems of our government and one who if elected president will manage the affairs of this government in the interests of every section of our great country and for the benefit of every class of our citizenry. His policy of equal opportunity for every man, woman and child regardless of race or religion is the expression of a heart as broad as humanity.'

"Rev. W. H. Jernagin, Washington, D. C., president of the National Sunday School and B. Y. P. U. Congress of America, which boasts of three and a half million membership pledged his support to the standard bearer of the Republican party and stated that according to his observations, 95 per cent of the members of the organization which he heads are in accord with the principles of the Republican party and of Mr. Hoover.

" 'Personally I believe,' he said, 'Mr. Hoover's record as food administrator and secretary of the Department of Commerce, as well as the manner in which he handled the Mississippi River flood relief work thoroughly demonstrated his executive ability and his qualities as a statesman who recognizes the ability and preparedness of all races of men.' "

WHAT ABOUT TEXAS' COLORED VOTERS?

In a recent issue of The Informer, editorial attention was called to the fact that some definite program should be launched in Texas to organize and enlist the large number of colored voters to the cause and standard of the Republican presidential and vice-presidential nominees; but up to this good hour nothing has been said or done to effect such an organization and sponsor such a program.

Whether one believes it or not, Texas will witness a hectic fight on the presidential sector during the next few weeks; and, if the Republican leaders of the state and nation are in earnest about making a good showing in the Lone Star State, they should take time by the forelock and organize all their forces to this end.

For years the main strength of the Republican party in Texas (and the majority of other purely Southern states) has been recruited from the Negro group; in fact, the fires of republicanism in Dixieland have been kept alive and smouldering by the ebony-hued adherents and devotees of the party of Lincoln.

During later years the colored Republicans of the South have lost interest in partisan affairs, due to the policy of racial exclusion and ostracism followed by most of the "lily-white" party leaders in this section of the country, who have futilely and vainly sought to build up and maintain a WHITE Republican party in the South.

In the impending presidential election, while thousands of Texas Democrats, who have moral, social, political, religious and sectional scruples against supporting Governor Smith, will cast their ballots for the Hoover-Curtis presidential electors, the fact should not be overlooked that there are more than 100,000 true and tried colored Republicans in Texas, who can be relied upon to support and vote for the Republican presidential ticket, provided these race voters are assured that their votes are desired and appreciated by the party leaders.

In the final days of the campaign, if it is shown that Hoover sentiment is predominating among Texas Democrats, a last-minute effort will be made to offset the Democratic defection by aligning and lining up dissatisfied and disgruntled Negro Republicans for the Smith-Robinson presidential ticket.

During the gubernatorial campaign in Texas during 1924, the Republican party lost an excellent chance of electing Dr. George C. Butte governor of this state, due chiefly to the fact that they permitted their gubernatorial candidate to raise the "race question" and thereby insult the self-respecting Negroes of Texas coupled with the fact that no concerted and organized effort was made to corral the colored electors of the state.

Now, another fine opportunity faces the Republican party in Texas, as it relates to the presidential race; and the party leaders in this state will be recreant to their bounden duty if they sit supinely by and fail to take advantage of every situation to poll votes for the Hoover-Curtis presidential electors.

It takes votes to win an election, and the unselfish party leader is not concerned in the color, creed or class of said voters.

In this connection, Texas Negroes should not sit down and wait for some "party leader" to make possible the organization of our forces, but we should bestir ourselves and perfect organizations in every county where colored citizens reside, to muster and poll the race's full voting strength in the general election for Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis.

Racially speaking, we are continually contending that we are full-grown and free American citizens, and yet we are always waiting to see what is going to happen or who is going to "touch" us before becoming interested in political affairs, which more or less vitally and directly concern and affect our racial group.

As usual with us, the question of paramount importance is, "Who will take the lead in such a statewide movement?"

Texas Negroes who are interested in the candidacies of Mr. Hoover and Senator Curtis, should hold a statewide conference, select their leaders, raise their campaign fund, choose their campaigners and other workers and conduct an intensive drive in this state for the Republican national ticket.

Such a parley should be held at once in some centrally located Texas city, and an invitation extended to some of the national Republican leaders of color to visit the state and confer and counsel with our group in such a partisan undertaking.

Even if it is impossible to obtain the presence of some outstanding Republican national figure, there is sufficient organizing ability among Texas Negroes to perfect one of the most effective and virile organizations of its kind in the country.

serve, protect and defend' the Constitution of the United States, which includes all amendments from first to the last. Through the enforcement of all Constitutional amendments, the rights of all people will be protected and a strict enforcement of the 18th amendment will make the American people either sanction or repeal that amendment.

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Dr. Moton, who served as chairman of the colored advisory committee during the relief work, declared: 'Mr. Hoover is familiar with the problems of this country, whether national, sectional or international. His grasp is firm and sure; his outlook statesmanlike, controlled and directed by strong human sympathies. Associated with him on the work of the Mississippi Flood Relief Committee, I had ample opportunity to know the earnestness and sincerity of his efforts in behalf of all classes. No man in America is better qualified to serve this country in strong, virile, highminded leadership than is Herbert Hoover.'

"Running in the same vein, S. W. Green pointed out: "Herbert Hoover should appeal to the citizens of the United States, regardless of party affiliation, as a statesman with a clear and concise grasp of the problems of our government and one who if elected president will manage the affairs of this government in the interests of every section of our great country and for the benefit of every class of our citizenry. His policy of equal opportunity for every man, woman and child regardless of race or religion is the expression of a heart as broad as humanity.'

"Rev. W. H. Jernagin, Washington, D. C., president of the National Sunday School and B. Y. P. U. Congress of America, which boasts of three and a half million membership pledged his support to the standard bearer of the Republican party and stated that according to his observations, 95 per cent of the members of the organization which he heads are in accord with the principles of the Republican party and of Mr. Hoover.

" 'Personally I believe,' he said, 'Mr. Hoover's record as food administrator and secretary of the Department of Commerce, as well as the manner in which he handled the Mississippi River flood relief work thoroughly demonstrated his executive ability and his qualities as a statesman who recognizes the ability and preparedness of all races of men.' "

WHAT ABOUT TEXAS' COLORED VOTERS?

In a recent issue of The Informer, editorial attention was called to the fact that some definite program should be launched in Texas to organize and enlist the large number of colored voters to the cause and standard of the Republican presidential and vice-presidential nominees; but up to this good hour nothing has been said or done to effect such an organization and sponsor such a program.

Whether one believes it or not, Texas will witness a hectic fight on the presidential sector during the next few weeks; and, if the Republican leaders of the state and nation are in earnest about making a good showing in the Lone Star State, they should take time by the forelock and organize all their forces to this end.

For years the main strength of the Republican party in Texas (and the majority of other purely Southern states) has been recruited from the Negro group; in fact, the fires of republicanism in Dixieland have been kept alive and smouldering by the ebony-hued adherents and devotees of the party of Lincoln.

During later years the colored Republicans of the South have lost interest in partisan affairs, due to the policy of racial exclusion and ostracism followed by most of the "lily-white" party leaders in this section of the country, who have futilely and vainly sought to build up and maintain a WHITE Republican party in the South.

In the impending presidential election, while thousands of Texas Democrats, who have moral, social, political, religious and sectional scruples against supporting Governor Smith, will cast their ballots for the Hoover-Curtis presidential electors, the fact should not be overlooked that there are more than 100,000 true and tried colored Republicans in Texas, who can be relied upon to support and vote for the Republican presidential ticket, provided these race voters are assured that their votes are desired and appreciated by the party leaders.

In the final days of the campaign, if it is shown that Hoover sentiment is predominating among Texas Democrats, a last-minute effort will be made to offset the Democratic defection by aligning and lining up dissatisfied and disgruntled Negro Republicans for the Smith-Robinson presidential ticket.

During the gubernatorial campaign in Texas during 1924, the Republican party lost an excellent chance of electing Dr. George C. Butte governor of this state, due chiefly to the fact that they permitted their gubernatorial candidate to raise the "race question" and thereby insult the self-respecting Negroes of Texas coupled with the fact that no concerted and organized effort was made to corral the colored electors of the state.

Now, another fine opportunity faces the Republican party in Texas, as it relates to the presidential race; and the party leaders in this state will be recreant to their bounden duty if they sit supinely by and fail to take advantage of every situation to poll votes for the Hoover-Curtis presidential electors.

It takes votes to win an election, and the unselfish party leader is not concerned in the color, creed or class of said voters.

In this connection, Texas Negroes should not sit down and wait for some "party leader" to make possible the organization of our forces, but we should bestir ourselves and perfect organizations in every county where colored citizens reside, to muster and poll the race's full voting strength in the general election for Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis.

Racially speaking, we are continually contending that we are full-grown and free American citizens, and yet we are always waiting to see what is going to happen or who is going to "touch" us before becoming interested in political affairs, which more or less vitally and directly concern and affect our racial group.

As usual with us, the question of paramount importance is, "Who will take the lead in such a statewide movement?"

Texas Negroes who are interested in the candidacies of Mr. Hoover and Senator Curtis, should hold a statewide conference, select their leaders, raise their campaign fund, choose their campaigners and other workers and conduct an intensive drive in this state for the Republican national ticket.

Such a parley should be held at once in some centrally located Texas city, and an invitation extended to some of the national Republican leaders of color to visit the state and confer and counsel with our group in such a partisan undertaking.

Even if it is impossible to obtain the presence of some outstanding Republican national figure, there is sufficient organizing ability among Texas Negroes to perfect one of the most effective and virile organizations of its kind in the country.

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation.

Republican

EVERY EVENING
WILMINGTON, DEL.

AUG 20 1928

G. O. P. BOSSES FEAR NEGRO DEFECTION.

There is much talk regarding the Negro voter just now and his attitude towards the nominees of the chief political parties, and it has even gone so far as to hint that the black voters are weary of their purchased allegiance to the Republican party, and will break away from the bosses in November in greater numbers than they have ever done in the past.

Negroes have come to a realization of the fact that they are vital factors in the political battle pitched for November. Without the solid vote of the Negroes neither New York nor Pennsylvania could possibly be won by the Republicans and surely without their unified support the Delaware Republicans would be defeated. In New York there are three-quarters of a million blacks, who have voted in the main for the G. O. P. candidates, and in return a handful of their leaders are passed out a few petty political jobs. If the Negroes or three-fourths of them should withdraw their support from the Republican "organization" as the corrupt political machine modestly camouflages its viciousness, the City of Brotherly Love would be won by the Democrats despite the usual election day orgies of ballot box stuffing and other crookedness. Of course it is understood there, as here, that Negro loyalty to the G. O. P. is maintained by hard cash to buy and pay for their votes, but we are sure if the Negroes could even glimpse the fact that they are degrading their race by this repeated sale of their franchise, they might quit the false leading and take a step forward in the respect of their white brethren. They are permitting themselves to be used to put disreputable white leaders in power and maintain them there, all for a miserable mess of pottage, that lowers them in the esteem of the men who bought and paid for their votes.

It need not be pointed out that the Negroes are the only class of people who sell their franchise to the highest bidder at election time, but they can vastly improve their own standing in the community and advance the cause of their race if they vote openly and honestly for their choice of candidates and not to countenance the bogus claim that it was the Republican party that shook off their shackles and set them free. It was Abraham Lincoln who liberated them from slavery in spite of the Republican party and its leaders.

Augusta, Ga. Herald
Sunday, August 12, 1928

BEN DAVIS TO SPEAK TO NEGRO VOTERS AT THEATER HERE TODAY

BY WALTER S. HARRIS

One of the greatest crowds ever to assemble here to listen to an address is expected to be present at the Lenox Theatre this afternoon, at 4:30 o'clock, at which time Benjamin Jefferson Davis, former, and prospective Republican National Committeeman for Georgia, and editor of The Atlanta Independent, will speak to citizens of Augusta and vicinity. Committeeman Davis arrived here last night and was tendered a smoker in the offices of the North Carolina Mutual by friends. He will attend church during the day at Springfield Baptist Church.

Because of the unique position occupied by Editor Davis and being well informed on present day questions—most especially the political situation—during these trying times, the country being full of upheaval within the ranks of the two major parties, it is expected that many of those interested in the trend of the times will avail themselves of the opportunity and hear Ben J. Davis this afternoon.

The meeting is open to all citizens, without regard to color, who desire to know, see and hear the versatile editor who has guided the affairs, of the G. O. P. in Georgia for the past several years. As a speaker, writer, an organizer, there are no superiors to Ben J. Davis; a master of the platform and convincing debater. Naturally, at this time, it is expected that the visitor this afternoon will be very interesting. He was the recognized head of the Georgia delegation to the Nationaly Republican Convention at Kansas City, and, apparently, is still directing affairs in the state as national committeeman. He will, in all probability, discuss the political situation as it now appears, and tell of the national convention and the part Georgia played in that great gathering's deliberations.

Sam Seals will preside over the meeting this afternoon, and the famed Thankful Quartet will render several selections.

PROGRESS

AUG 1928

Says Republicans Would Drop Negro

Indiana Educator Claims North Hands Off on Race Question

Many Southerners will vote against Herbert Hoover this year because of the abolition of race segregation in the Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce while Hoover was Secretary of that department, Miss Lavinia Engle, secretary of the Maryland League of Women Voters, said yesterday at a discussion of the Negro question in the Institute of Public Affairs.

Miss Engle stated that the breaking down of racial lines in the bureau, together with the fact that patronage and appointments of the Republican party in several Southern States are controlled almost entirely by Negroes, would serve to hold many Southerners in line for Al Smith.

Her statements were made in the course of a discussion of the Negro question in the South at the round-table on political parties.

Dr. A. R. Hatton, of Northwestern University, who conducted the round-table, stated that the Negroes in the North are no longer voting the Republican ticket exclusively, and that they are showing a tendency to be considerably more independent politically.

He also expressed the conviction that four-fifths of the white people in the North regard the extension of the suffrage to the Negroes during the Reconstruction period "a colossal blunder and almost a tragedy."

With regard to the race question in the South at the present time, Dr. Hatton voiced the belief that "there is not the slightest inclination on the part of the North to interfere with the South's handling of the Negro problem."

"The North is coming to recognize it as a question with which it is coming more and more face to face, and it realizes that it is to its advantage to leave the Southern race problem to Southern people," said the speaker, who is a native of Indiana, and an independent in politics. He is supporting Hoover in the present campaign.

Asked how it would affect the Negro if the two major political parties in the south were fairly evenly divided, Dr. Hatton said that it can get anything like an even break with the whites of the South, "it will drop the Negro like a hot potato."

His idea is that under such circumstances, neither party would show special favors to the Negroes for fear of losing a large share of its white support.

Hunsdon Cary, of Richmond, also took part in the discussion and expressed the opinion that if the first section of the fifteenth amendment were repealed, "half the South would go Republican at the next election." This section of the amendment forbids discrimination as to the franchise because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

He explained the background of the South's traditional policy on the race question, outlining the reign of terror to which the South was subjected during the reconstruction period and the efforts to put through the Lodge force bill.

THE NEGRO AND PRESIDENTIAL RACE

With both major political parties unlimbering their oratorical pyrotechnics and getting up full steam for an intensive campaign, the attitude of the American Negro in the presidential race is daily coming to the fore; and, from present indications, it appears that many erstwhile colored Republicans will forsake the "grand old party" and cast their votes for the Democratic presidential electors.

Throughout the North, East and Middlewest there is a growing sentiment among Negro voters, according to a recent unbiased survey made in that section of the country by political authorities, to desert the party of Lincoln, Grant and Roosevelt, and to support the party of Cleveland, Wilson and Smith, as far as the national ticket is concerned.

The charge is openly made that the Republican party has forsaken its ancient principles and tenets, and that the action of party leaders towards colored Republicans in the South—as shown in the recent treatment accorded Perry W. Howard of Mississippi, Benjamin J. Davis of Georgia, Walter L. Cohen of Louisiana, Robert R. Church of Tennessee and William M. McDonald of Texas—has done much to alienate colored voters in the important and pivotal states of the country.

To get even with the Republican party leaders, it is stated on good authority that thousands of Northern and Eastern Negroes plan to support and vote for Governor Alfred E. Smith and Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Democratic presidential and vice-presidential candidates, respectively.

Some of these colored political leaders are contending that such a course will be a fine disciplinary measure for the Republican party; that the party will assume an altogether different attitude towards its colored constituents in the event the Democratic party is victorious in the presidential sweepstakes; that one never misses the water until the well becomes dry.

They further allege that under Republican national administrations constitutional nullification has become a national pastime, and that racial segregation is even rife in governmental departments at Washington, despite the nearly eight consecutive years the "grand old party" has been in control of all branches of the national government.

These race "bolters" point with pride to Governor Smith's record and friendly attitude towards the Negro race during his many years in public office, and they are bold enough to argue that Mr. Smith will not be dominated and influenced by the South in the event of his election, and that the colored race has absolutely nothing to lose by supporting and voting for the Gotham governor.

So many outstanding Republicans of both races are openly espousing the candidacy of Governor Smith that The Informer has been literally besieged with queries from colored citizens of this state and section, who are anxious to know which candidate or ticket to support at the November election.

While The Informer is somewhat independent in its politics, not being hide-bound to any political party, this paper, as one of the original Hoover boosters and supporters, can assume no other honorable course but to continue its support and advocacy of Mr. Hoover for the presidency; believing that he is better qualified for the highest elective post in the country than his Democratic opponent, and holding to the deep-seated belief that no minority group or bloc can hope for much from such a hybrid partisan organization as the present Democratic party.

To illustrate our point, we wish to cite attention to the attitude assumed by the Democratic party in the North and South, as it relates not only to the Negro, but to national issues and problems.

The Northern Democratic party is liberal in its views on the "race question," and is backing a black candidate for congress from the St. Louis district, opposing Congressman Leonidas C. Dyer, father and proponent of the ill-fated Dyer anti-lynching bill.

The Northern Democratic party goes out of its way to corral the colored votes, while the Southern Democratic party goes out of its way to insult, intimidate, humiliate and disfranchise colored electors; maintaining and trying to perpetuate the infamous "white man's primary" election, which excludes no race on account of color except the Negro race.

At present the Democratic South's rallying cry, in order to maintain the partisan solidity of this section, is the "Negro issue," and the awful consequences which will accrue to the nation if Mr. Hoover and his "'nigger'-loving party" are retained in control of the national government; while on the other hand the Northern Democratic party is organizing and conducting drives among the colored citizens, and offering all kinds of inducements in order to get them to support both their state, congressional, senatorial and presidential tickets.

Holding such divergent views, it does not require a political prophet to foretell the ultimate outcome with such a mongrel party in control of the national government!

Then, just imagine what would befall this republic in general and the Negro race in particular, should some eventuality place Senator Robinson, the Arkansas Negrophobe, in the presidential chair!

If the Negro race has fared rather badly at the hands of the Republican party, what would be its plight under such unfortunate conditions and adverse circumstances?

From 1912 to 1920 the "solid South" had wellnigh control of the national government, and God forbid that this nation and our people should suffer a similar fate again!

The Informer has the highest respect for Governor Smith, for few men in public life possess the courage and stamina demonstrated by him on public questions; but we fear the gift-bearing Greeks, knowing full well that the Democrats have not as much use for Negroes as the Republicans, and that the doctrine of the "donkey party," a la Dixie, is **"white men up and black men down."**

If any Negroes, either of Texas, the South or nation can consistently and conscientiously support and vote for such a hybrid political party, then that is their business, and we have no fuss to wage with them; but as for The Informer, we elect to support and vote for the Hoover-Curtis presidential electors because of the forces backing them and traditions behind the partisan organization whose standard-bearers they are.

Furthermore, The Informer holds to the opinion that the Negroes of Texas should organize their forces and cast the race's full voting strength for Mr. Hoover and Senator Curtis in the November general election; for they more nearly represent and typify the time-honored and cherished American ideals and institutions than do their Democratic opponents.

Granting that both major political parties are evils, it seems to be the better part of wisdom or valor to choose the lesser of the two evils, which means that Negroes will perform a greater public service by supporting and voting for the Republican nominee for the presidency than by casting their ballot for the Demo-

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Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican

Dr. Julia P. H. Coleman Reported As Attempting To Explain Why She Repudiated Pledge To Support Paige

Reported To Have Said She Can Get Anything Wanted From Grenthal; Charged Hayes With Secret Leaving To Stop Naming Johnson

So general has been the public condemnation of Dr. Julia P. H. Coleman for the stand she has taken in the fight for race representation in the 19th Assembly District that she has felt called upon to give some explanation of her actions to friends.

To one friend, who is one of Harlem's most prominent citizens, she freely admitted that prior to the meeting at which the Republican candidate for the Assembly in this district was designated, she had promised to support Attorney Paige and had also promised to second his nomination. But she is said to have declared, she did not know he was going to oppose the district leader for the nomination.

Called By Grenthal.

When she reached the meeting, Dr. Coleman says she was called upstairs by Mr. Grenthal and he explained to her that Mr. Paige was fighting Grenthal and he, Grenthal, did not know what the colored people wanted. He asked her, says Dr. Coleman, whether the colored people of the district would prefer the Assembly or the Congressional nomination, and she told him they wanted the Congressional nomination by all means.

She is also alleged to have told her friend that she was getting money out of this campaign and that she could get anything she wanted from Mr. Grenthal.

Says Hayes Slipped Away.

Among other statements she made was one to the effect that the Rev. Dr. William P. Hayes has never officially declined the nomination for Congress tendered by the Republicans of the 21st Congressional District. She charges that he was persuaded not to accept the nomination by Alderman Fred R. Moore, and then secretly left town at the last minute, without giving former Assemblyman E. A. Johnson who was also seeking the nomination, time to file petitions.

Dr. Coleman is president of the local Federation of Women's Clubs, and president of the St. James Presbyterian Church forum. She has always held herself out to be a staunch advocate of equal opportunity and equal rights for the Negro, but her actions in this political fight for racial representation is not in keeping with the sentiments she has expressed on previous occasions.

HEAD OF CHURCH

Bishop R. C. LAWSON
Founder and Chief Pastor, Refuge Church of Christ, Apostolic Faith.

Alderman John Clifford Hawkins Will Not Make The Race For Party Primary Nomination For Congress

Sends Declination To Leader Conklin, Giving Reasons For His Action; Dr. Wm. P. Hayes Recommended By 21st A. D. Leaders

In a letter to Republican Leader Robert S. Conklin of the 21st Assembly District, New York City, released to the press on August 3, Alderman John Clifford Hawkins of the 21st Aldermanic District refused to accept the recent tender of a designation as Republican candidate for the U. S. Congress from the 21st Congressional District, New York City.

The designation was made at a meetinng of the Republican leaders from the five Assembly Districts which comprise the congressional district, held Monday night, July 30, the districts represented being the 13th, 19th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd. The naming of Alderman Hawkins followed upon a strong insistence that the Negro's voting strength in this district entitles him to the congressional nomination.

New York Times 8-1-28

Reasons For Selling.

Although other names were considered by the leaders, it was believed that Mr. Hawkins, who, prior to being elected to the Aldermanic Board, had been a member of the State Assembly from the 21st A. D., would be the strongest candidate and the one most capable of a successful campaign.

Incidentally, it is reported, there was nothing to indicate the possibility of a declination of the offer by Mr. Hawkins.

However, according to his letter to Mr. Conklin, the designee gives three reasons for declining: His election to the Board of Aldermen, with one year, five months more to serve; inability to finance a congressional campaign; embarassment at having the campaign financed for him by the party.

Dr. Wm. P. Hayes Endorsed.

Mr. Hawkins' withdrawal left the field open, and these were several prospective candidates, the most prominent, perhaps being the Rev. Wm. P. Hayes, pastor of Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, who has been endorsed by the 21st A. D. Republicans to take Mr. Hawkins' place. The commitee named to fill vacancies, with William McGruder as chairman, and Mrs. Margaret A. Scaly and Mortimer Kraus as members, will probably accept Dr. Hayes as the candidate for nomination at the primaries on September 18.

Other candidates considered were James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., who declined because of ill health, and the Rev. Dr. A Clayton Powell, pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church, who refused to consider it, declaring that as lifetime pastor, his church work was too important to permit him to give time to any other duties.

The following is the text of Mr. Hawkins' letter to Leader Conklin, making known his decision not to accept the designation:

Text of Letter.

August 1st, 1928.

Hon. Robert S. Conklin,
34 Pine Street,
New Yoork City.

My dear Mr. Conklin:

Since my interview with you last evening, I have thoroughly considered the proposition of my designation as Republican canddate for the high office of member of Congress from the Twenty-first Congressional District. I want you and the other District Leaders concerned to know that I fully appreciate the high honor which you have bestowed upon me and for which I offer my sincere thanks. I consider this offiice one of the highest offices within the gift of the people. I believe that of all Legislative bodies in the United States, the House of Representatives at Washington is the one body in which there should be a Negro member. I appreciate the fact that within the judgment of the Committee, I was deemed qualified to fill such a high office.

Gives His Reasons.

After thorough consideration of the many requirements tantamount to a successful election, and notwithstanding my willingness to do everything I can to the end that the Republican Party may be successful in the coming election, I find it impossible for the following reasons to take up the burden at this time:

I believe that in view of the fact that I have been recently elected to the office of Alderman from the Twenty-first Aldermanic District, for a term of two years, only seven months of which have been served, I should be relieved from the candidacy for the position of Congressman at this time, and that some other colored man who is qualified to be a candidate for Congress and who would command the respect of the electorate should be offered this nomination.

2. I am at this time unable to finance so stupendous a proposition as a campaign for Congress.

Since I am financially unable to prosecute an aggressive campaign which is the only campaign that would be successful, I would be embarrassed if it were financed for me.

For the above reasons I am unable to accept the designation for Congress at this time, and I ask that the Party release me from such a proposition. I want, however, to go on record as being heartily in favor of a colored candidate for Congress as I am convinced that the best interest of the Republican Party will be served by so doing.

Yours for Party success,
JOHN CLIFFORD HAWKINS.

An Independent Candidate.

In a 2,200 word statement, issued August 3, Attorney Louis A. Lavelle announces his definite independent candidacy for nomination as the congressional candidate from the 21st Congressional District. In his lengthy communication, Mr. Lavelle declares he has been fighting for elective representation for the races since 1910, and that in 1920 he was defeated by former Congressman Martin Ansorge by "a very small margin of the total primary vote cast."

Mr. Lavelle makes an appeal to "the hundreds of persons who have requested and urged me to make the race for Republican party nomination for Congress" assuring them that "Yes, I am a candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress . . . and earnestly solicit the Republican enrolled voter's support."

NEGRO PRESS OF THE COUNTRY PRAISES HOOVER'S ADDRESS

Herald-Cen 9-1-

Washington, D. C.—Wholesale approval was accorded the acceptance speech of Herbert Hoover, Republican nominee for the president of the United States, by colored editors throughout the country.

While they favored his stand in general they especially commended him for his position with respect to equal opportunity for all Americans, irrespective of race, color or creed.

The editor of the Philadelphia Tribune found favor with the program for the promotion of business and prosperity but concerning the declaration about equal opportunity pointed out:

"Mr. Hoover, in his acceptance speech, touched the thing nearest to our heart. The biggest thing, and the most important thing which confronts the American Negro today, is his lack of opportunity to develop into a well rounded American citizen. If Herbert Hoover will use his high office, when elected, to the end that the American Negro would have even a semblance of equal opportunity, he would stand equal with Abraham Lincoln, the greatest of all Americans.

Mr. Hoover made his position very clear in his acceptance speech concerning equal opportunity and pointed out in a forceful manner that he favored equal opportunity for all and declared it a right of every American citizen.

Reassuring Note

Down in Virginia, the editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide expressed his view as follows:

"Candidate Hoover's acceptance speech, delivered last Saturday, contained a note that should be reassuring to the underprivileged and disadvantaged classes of American citizens. In spite of Mr. Hoover's assertion that this country is the most prosperous on the face of the earth, it is clear from his vigorous declaration in favor of equal opportunity for all Americans that he recognizes that there are in our social, economic and legal system certain drawbacks the thirteen million Negro citizens find hope."

to full enjoyment of the fruits of labor and pursuit of happiness."

Reveals Statemanship

While the foregoing comments are typical of many, there were editors who were concerned with the entire address. The editor of the Louisville Leader pointed this out.

"The address reveals statesmanship of the highest order, a statesmanship which causes not only the importance of the economic phases of the conditions of America, but can look beyond these and discern the relation of sound economic conditions to happy homes and spiritual well being. Here Mr. Hoover touches the heart of the great mass of voters. Here the Republican nominee shows a masterly grasp of the situation and gives the people of this country an idea of what kind of a man was named by his party at Kansas City and what sort of president he would make."

O. K. For New York

The Detroit Independent editor took still another turn and in addition to commending Herbert Hoover as the logical man for the presidency of the United States issued the following warning to the colored voters of the Republic:

"Al Smith is all right in New York as governor, but will be all wrong in Washington as president, under the influence of Blease, of South Carolina, Harrison of Mississippi, Heflin of Alabama, and associated with Robinson of Arkansas as vice president."

Oklahoma Eagle

The editor of the Oklahoma Eagle opined that "Herbert Hoover in a brilliant speech of acceptance stated clearly his stand on all the issues of the campaign: farm relief, the tariff, labor, public work, public waste, economy, flood control, the ballot, religious tolerance, civil service, child welfare, foreign relations and equality of opportunity. It is the last named section of his address that

Houston Informer

memorialize 2d Vinnie

According to the editor of the Houston Informer, Herbert Hoover demonstrated beyond the shadow of doubt or peradventure that he is a statesman of the first rank and well qualified to direct the ship of state for the next four or eight years."

"No man in American life" continued the Texas editor, "is more conversant with national needs and issues than Mr. Hoover and his allusion to a program of construction, as compared to a program of reconstruction following the World War, shows that he is not an 'heir apparent to the throne' but that he is of presidential timber and an able executive in his own right."

Colorado Statesman

From the West came the declaration of the editor of the Colorado Statesman, of Denver, Colorado, that "Needless to say the Colorado Statesman is in absolute accord with Mr. Hoover's pronouncement concerning Eqaul Opportunity. No American citizen should aspire for more than an equal opportunity in the race of life and none should be denied less. Such sentiments publicly expressed and broadcast will be studied and appreciated by citizens of all sections, vocations and political affiliation. Our faith in Mr. Hoover is great; our admiration for his many noble qualities, his clearness of vision and statesmanship, is unbounded. He offered a philosophy of public service based on appreciation of family life and racial progress."

Highly Honored

"The Republican Party should feel highly honored to have such representative folk espouse its cause", opines the Twin-City Herald of Minneapolis, while the New York News comments "We felicitate Chairman Hubert Work of the Republican National Committee on his selection of the colored Hoover Campaign leaders. It is a recognition of the new type of colored men in Republican politics. It is yielding to the spirit of the times and the spirit of the present generation of colored citizens, interested in their own cause and the cause of their country."

New York Age

The New York Age says in closing "With a staff of campaign directors of the class and calibre of those presented, the issues of the campaign should be carreid direct to the voters, so that they may be aroused to vote under standingly. It will be noted that in addition to the new blood injected into the direction of the campaign, enough of the tested veterans of politics have been retained, either in an active or advisory capacity, to secure the benefit of their experience and wisdom in the ways of getting the ballots safely garnered in the right columns.

"The Hoover campaign among Negro voters appears to have started off on the right footing. These voters are to be accorded the fullest representation in the conduct of the campaign. They are no longer to be treated as children, but are to regarded as an important factor in party success."

Louisville Leader

In a strong editorial, which appeared in the August 18th issue of the Louisville Leader, I, Willis Cole, local editor and publisher, declared the movement, which proposes a Negro ticket is full of pitfalls and stamped it as Democratic propaganda. At the same time he urged the colored voters to "compare the treatment given Negro delegates at the national conventions of the two parties."

"Race voters are not to be deceived by what is very probably Democratic propaganda" Mr. Cole wrote. "They will also be very likely to compare the treatment given Negro delegates and visitors at the national conventions of the two parties."

Political 1928
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

'Steam Roller' Methods Used By Leader Grenthal's Machine As He Is Designated Again For Assembly

Negro County Committeemen Fail To Support Myles Paige For Nomination, Even Though Many Had Pledged Selves To Do So

A majority of the Republican committeemen of the 19th Assembly District selected Abraham Grenthal as their choice for the State Assembly in the coming election after a bitter fight Monday night, August 6.

Mr. Grenthal has completed four terms as Assemblyman from this district and he was told in no uncertain terms that the majortiy of the voters of the district felt that it was time he stepped down to give aspiring Negroes of the district an opportunity to represent themselves.

Age

The name of Myles A. Paige, a popular young lawyer, who was a candidate for the State Senate two years ago, was presented as a candidate to oppose the present incumbent. His name will be presented to the voters of the district on Primary Day, September 18, for them to decide whether or not they want a member of their race to represent them in the Assembly.

Grenthal Was Worried.

8-11-28

That Mr. Grenthal was worried as to the outcome of the convention was evidenced by the manner in which it was conducted. Although scheduled for 8 p. m., the meeting was not called to order until 10 o'clock. While the white politicians and county committeemen were rounded up by the leader and brought in to support him and all of the Negro committeemen were interrogated in advance as to how they were going to vote. To many who were wavering or who expressed opposition to Mr. Grenthal, the possibility of getting some political position was held out as a bait, so that when the vote was finally taken, the present leader won by a count of 37—17.

New York

During the course of the meeting, steam roller tactics were constantly in evidence. As soon as Dr. Israel L. Feinberg had been appointed chairman, Michigan C. Brown made the motion that the courtesy of the floor be granted Alderman Fred R. Moore for a few minutes. Mr. Feinberg ruled that this motion was out of order because the convention had not been fully organized. The chairman promised that Mr. Moore would be given permission to speak later, but he did not keep his word.

Disregarded Her Pledge.

Mr. Grenthal was placed in nomination by Miss Ruth Jones, a Negro woman, and his nomination was seconded by William Cornelius, also colored, and by Mrs. Hattie Johnson, who ended her remarks with the words, "I am for Abraham Grenthal, right or wrong." The day before she had participated in a conference and pledged herself to vote for Mr. Paige.

Mr. Paige was placed in nomination by E. M. Gilliard and the nomination was seconded by Michigan C. Brown, clerk of the 7th District Muncipal Court, and one of the most experienced politicians in Harlem. Mr. Brown pointed to the changes that had taken place in the district under Mr. Grenthal's leadership, and declared that Mr. Grenthal was responsible for the racial prejudice now rampant in the district. He also pointed out the fact that Mr. Grenthal is the district leader, the Assemblyman and State committeeman. He urged that the majority of the voters of the district be given representation in one of these positions.

J. DeWitt Spencer also seconded the nomination of Myles Paige, and came out strongly for race leadership of the district.

Changed Their Votes.

An humorous turn was given the convention during the balloting when a number of colored committeemen, who had pledged themselves to vote for Mr. Paige, changed their vote to Grenthal. One of these persons, Deputy Atorney General C. T. A. French, whose appointment to his present position was facilitated by Fred R. Moore, and whose law pracice is altogether with Negroes stayed outside on the clubhouse steps rather than take a stand on the question. Another was Dr. Julia P. H. Coleman, who had not only promised to vote for Mr. Paige, but had also promised to place his name in nomination or second it. When her name was called for a vote, she whispered the name of Grenthal.

The Rev. Richard M. Bolden founder and pastor of the First Emmanuel Church, a Negro organization, was among those who voted in favor of Mr. Grenthal.

It was estimated by a frequenter of the club that no less than a dozen of the votes recorded for Mr. Grenthal were fraudulent. He not only voted all civil service employees in his favor, but he permitted the voting of several of the white committeemen by proxy. The request had been made that the committeemen stand up when they voted, so that those tallying the vote could be sure the right party was voting. But this procedure was not carried out.

Collector Anderson's Orders.

It was also alleged that Collector Charles W. Anderson of the Third Internal Revenue District gave orders to all members of his staff, who are county committeemen in the 19th district, to vote for Mr. Grenthal as against a colored man.

At conclusion of the meeting, Sidney Lewis told the committeemen that unless they supported Mr. Grenthal, the regular nominee, they were not loyal Republicans and should get oot of the party. Mr. Lewis also said that he did not believe the Negroes were entitled to the office of Assemblyman. Mr Gilliard and several of those who had supported Mr. Paige pointed out that it was not disloyal to engage in a primary fight.

Mr. Paige assured his supporters and the audience that he would not be intimidated and that the figh would continue through the primaries.

REPUBLICANS BOLTERS LOOK TO WILSON

WASHINGTON.—That the movement on the part of many Republican leaders to bolt the party is reaching wide proportions was indicated this week when J. Finley Wilson announced further plans for the meeting of the Negro Voters' League in Chicago, August 24.

According to the Grand Exalted Ruler, a large number of leaders throughout the country have written him pledging that they will not only attend the meeting, but that there is a growing disaffection of party loyalty in the respective districts.

Interracial Ticket

Developments in connection with the interracial ticket headed by Jacob S. Coxey and Dr. S. P. W. Drew have also announced notification ceremonies to beh eld in Philadelphia on Labor Day.

In Ohio the Coxey movement cooperated with the movement to elect Harry C. Smith governor of that state.

The Rev. W. J. Winston, president of the Northern Baptist University, will make the notification address. Mrs. D. F. Jackson, of Selena, Mo., has been named by the United Woman's Political League to organize colored women.

Doubtful States

The various Wilson movements, it is stid, plans active organizations in all doubtful states.

NEGROES SEE TRIUMPH.

July 21, 1928.

Editor of The Commercial Appeal:

We have already written you telling you what will happen in November. Hoover will be elected. But to better inform you we ask that you read Vox Pop in this week's Liberty entitled "You Can't Say He Didn't Warn Us."

Commercial Appeal 8-5-28

For years in the north we wished to pray the churches take up our cause and this year they have done so in the candidacy of Hoover. These very churches freed us in "61" you know that, you yellow livered nigger haters, and through them we will free you to observe the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments and if any one is denied the ballot it will be your white ignorant tar-heeled hill billies.

Memphis

We have the majority in ten states and the majority will rule. We will elect a Republican Congress and Senate and after the seats are reapportioned the slave driving rum swogglers from the south will be passe.

Bishop Cannon and Doctor Barton have only just begun and just try and stop them. Just try it and see where you'll get off.

A southern Democrat isn't half as good as a nigger and a northern Democrat isn't much better or they would leave the party and join the Republicans. If we had more states like Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire who go Republican yearly the country would be better off.

Secretary Kellog has pointed the way and Hoover will soon get our case before the League of Nations. You rotten southern politicians will have nothing to say there.

Better join the Republican party now with Hoover because you'll have to do it soon.

The truth is bitter but even thick heads like you ought to see what's coming.

EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE.

EASTERN MEN OUT FOR SMITH

Boston Physician Resigns From G. O. P. Body

BOSTON, Mass.—Dr. William Worthy, a well-known and influential physician of this city has resigned from the Republican city committee and announced his intention of supporting Governor Smith for president.

In giving his reasons for leaving the G. O. P., Dr. Worthy said: "I believe Governor Smith to be an honest and efficient public servant, whose record speaks for itself. There is no doubt in my mind that the Republican party has broken faith with our group, and that our only means of redress is to use our ballot against the party."

MR. HOOVER SOUNDS AN OMINOUS NOTE

In his speech accepting the Republican nomination for President yesterday, Mr. Hoover at last committed himself unequivocally to prohibition. He said:

> I do not favor the repeal of the 18th amendment . . . .
>
> Modification of the enforcement laws which would permit that which the Constitution forbids is nullification. This the American people will not countenance. Change in the Constitution can and must be brought about only by the straightforward methods provided in the Constitution itself. There are those who do not believe in the purposes of several provisions of the Constitution. No one denies their right to seek to amend it. They are not subject to criticism for asserting that right. **But the Republican party does deny the right of anyone to seek to destroy the purposes of the Constitution by indirection.**

Let the Republican New York Herald Tribune, which has been endeavoring to reconcile the wet East to Mr. Hoover's nomination, make the most of this declaration!

Let the wet Republicans of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan (and California) make the most of this utterance!

While the Anti-Saloon League rejoices, the Ku Klux Klan gloats and the political ecclesiastics beam with satisfaction, let the fireside Democrats of the South reflect seriously upon the ominous words of the Republican candidate who denies the "right of anyone to seek to destroy the purposes of the Constitution by indirection."

In the light of Mr. Hoover's demonstrated lack of sympathy and patience with the Southern viewpoint on matters touching the delicate relations of the races; in the light of the open warfare which Senator Moses, one of his managers, has made upon the South for its special interpretation of the 14th and 15th amendments, in the light of Republican "traditions" which Mr. Hoover specifically glorifies, and in the light of the Republican party's recent plank endorsing the principle of the hostile Dyer anti-lynching bill—in the light of these grave matters, what, we think it proper to inquire, is the Democratic South to think of Mr. Hoover's declaration of principles regarding all articles of the Federal Constitution?

Mr. Hoover's sweeping declaration is open to but one reasonable interpretation: He believes, as a matter of principle, that all articles in the Federal Constitution should be rigidly enforced according to the "purpose" of those who wrote them. His declaration is full of sophistry, so far as that is concerned, but we are to judge it at its face value.

Mr. Hoover is opposed to any modification of the Volstead Act, which was written to give force to the 18th amendment. He would regard modification, however mild and constitutional, as "nullification," although he does not comment upon the flood of "prescription whisky" which is sold in most of the States, and so much of which is manufactured by Andrew Mellon's distillery.

Mr. Hoover leaves us no alternative but to infer that by defeating the "purposes" of the 14th and 15th amendments by "indirection," the Southern States in his opinion, "nullified" these amendments. Mr. Hoover virtually declares against the Southern viewpoint with respect to these fundamental matters.

Let Mr. Hoover's Southern Democratic supporters explain away, if they can, his declaration of principle regarding provisions of the Federal Constitution.

Let the leaders' of Hoover's cause in the South keep faith with their own people and tell the truth. Let them call upon Mr. Hoover to discuss specifically the 14th and 15th amendments and say whether he proposes to enforce them in the same manner that he proposes to enforce the 18th amendment. It is their move. Let them speak, if they would not be false to their own people!

ARMOND SCOTT STIRS NATIONAL VOTERS LEAGUE; RESENTS TUSKEGEE DICTATION

Chicago, Aug. 25.—A brief morning session of the newly formed National Negro Voters League was featured by the reading of a letter from Armond W. Scott, of Washington, D. C., a former grand exalted ruler of colored Elks, congratulating J. Finley Wilson, president of the league, on the stand he had taken in declining of a committee position as an advisor to the Republican national committee.

Scott referred to the league session, which he was unable to attend, as "holy protest against the indifferences and duplicity of a party that we have served for more than 60 years, like a herd of brainless sheep, following blindly leaders whose only function was to lead to slaughter in order to save their own hides.

"I read," he said, "with a great deal of pride and pleasure in yesterday morning's Post your declination of the empty offer extended to you to become a member of the advisory committee. I received a similar invitation, but I would have no respect for myself if I accepted the same, and today, I too, am sending in a letter to the chairman of the national committee declining his invitation.

Assails Tuskegee Influence.

"Not only am I refusing to serve because of the humilitation to which the party in power has permitted our people to be subjected in the Capital of the Nation, but I resent the selecting of a few voteless Negroes in the city of Washington to manage and dictate the colored end of the Republican campaign, while they have ignored the outstanding men of color throughout the country. I am further opposed to allowing Tuskegee to dictate to the voters of this country when none connected with that institution has the privilege or right to vote.

"I am with you to the end that we may ultimately impress the Republican hypocrites that we will no longer follow leaders picked by them, but will select our own, but we must select men who will let the people of this country know that when the Republican party picks out one amendment to the Constitution and declares for it in its platform, which amendment has to do with the social activities of people, at least we shall demand that they also declare their devotion and allegiance to the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, which not only tend to protect and safeguard us in our political and civil rights, but are the very fundamental principles on which this Government is founded."

Plan Quiz of Nominees.

Wilson was busily engaged today in establishing contact with nine men and women of Republican faith and a like number of Democratic persuasion who will be expected to approach presidential nominees of the major parties with interrogations as to where they stand on segregation in Government departments, and on Nation-wide enfranchisement of the American Negro.

Political - 1928.
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Brookhart Scores Conduct of G. O. P. State Committee

Senator Declares That He Is Not Able To "See Any Excuse for Georgia Organization."

PATRONAGE PROBE IN GEORGIA ENDED

Postmistress at Conyers Tells Committee of Paying Five Per Cent of Her Salary.

After hearing testimony that five per cent of their salary was the customary payment of postmasters to the Georgia G. O. P. central committee, and that the amount collected was spent for salaries and expenses in Georgia, the senate subcommittee adjourned its Atlanta session Wednesday afternoon and left for Washington where a conference will be held today with the postmaster general. Later the probers are expected to investigate patronage charges in Mississippi. Constitution

Before leaving Atlanta, Senator Smith W. Brookhart, of Iowa, chairman of the subcommittee of the senate appointed to investigate charges of Georgia senators that federal offices in this state were sold to the men or women who could pay most for them, scored the conduct of the state republican committee in levying tribute to federal officeholders.

"I can't see any excuse for any such organization," he said. 7-12-28

"I don't say that we have evidence on which to base prosecutions for violations of a federal statute, but from the testimony we have heard it seems to be fairly clear that the crowd has collected a lot of money, and so far as I can see all it has been used for has been to pay salaries to committee members and incidental expenses. I can't see any use in an organization that functions only once every four years maintaining so much activity."

$1,200 Expenses Monthly.

The senator referred to testimony before the committee purporting to prove that Ben Davis and his associates collected from federal office holders over the state enough money to make an expense account of approximately $1,200 each month. "Apparently the republican national committee hasn't been getting any of the money," he said.

The committee over which Brookhart presided was charged by the senate with conducting the investigation in Georgia and other southern states and reporting back to senate in December. The committee, composed of Senator Brookhart and Senator Locher, of Ohio, will study the testimony taken and plan a more comprehensive survey of the patronage situation.

"If the facts warrant, of course, we will recommend legislation to remedy any deplorable condition that may exist," Brookhart said.

"It is my opinion that the appointment of postmasters should be determined entirely by the rating applicants for the positions obtain in civil service examinations. I don't see any use in having examinations to determine the fitness of an applicant for the place if the person making the highest rating is thrust aside and the job given to the second or third highest because of political preference or financial considerations. There is too much of that sort of thing."

Pay Five Per Cent.

Miss Esther McCollum, postmastress at Conyers, Ga., told the committee at its closing hearing Wednesday afternoon that she understood that she must pay 5 per cent of her salary in order to hold her job.

Miss McCollum said she came to Atlanta regarding an application for reappointment and talked with John W. Martin, treasurer of the central committee. Constitution

"Did Mr. Martin demand of you a sum of money in order for you to obtain reappointment?" queried Senator Locher, who conducted the questioning during the afternoon session Wednesday. 7-12-28

Sum Not Demanded.

"No. He did not demand anything, but he told me it was customary for postmasters to give a certain per cent of their salary to the republican organization." Atlanta, Ga.

"How much?"

"Five per cent, or about $100 a year for me."

"Do you have any understanding by which you are to pay five per cent of your salary?" Senator Locher asked.

"No."

"You paid into the treasury just about the amount Mr. Martin suggested?" queried Senator Smith W. Brookhart, chairman.

"Yes, about that amount, five per cent," the woman replied.

Senator Brookhart asked her whether she had told a postal inspector that a friend, now dead, paid $500 to Martin in her behalf.

"No, that is not the way I told him to write it," the postmistress replied. "What I said was in answer to a question as to who might have paid Mr. Martin $500 for me, if it had been paid. I said I knew of only one man who might have done such a thing for me—a man who lived in my town and who was now dead and whose name I did not want to reveal."

"Didn't you talk to Mr. Crawford about this payment?" pressed Senator Brookhart. The person referred to was Louis H. Crawford, United States marshal here.

"Yes, I did," replied the witness, and, under further questioning, related that she had been sent to Crawford by W. R. Watson, former postmaster at Lithonia, Ga., who, she said, had advised her to pay $300 to $400 in cash.

"What did Crawford tell you?" asked Brookhart.

"He told me not to pay it," the woman replied.

Watson's Reply.

Miss McCullum then said that after she had told Watson about Crawford's advice that he had said he "didn't know what to think about that." She said that men who had been in politics all their lives had advised her that money would be required before she could get the appointment.

Senator Locher then joined Senator Brookhart in trying to determine whether she knew that a friend had paid $500 for her. She held to her original statement.

"Mr. Watson was a close friend of your father and was afraid that you would loose the job if you didn't pay the money, wasn't he?" Senator Locher demanded.

"Yes, he was."

At this point William Schley Howard, attorney for the republican committee, queried: "Watson was a postmaster himself, familiar with the machinery and you went to him for advice?"

"Yes, sir," Miss McCullum replied.

In answer to a query by Senator Locher, she said she did not remember whether she went to Watson's house before or after she had talked to Martin.

Did Not Find Martin.

She went to Martin only after she came to Atlanta to see Roscoe Pickett, chairman of the committee, and did not find him, she said.

Asked if she afterwards saw Pickett, the witness replied that she did and that he told her not to pay any money. "He told me he would take care of me," she said.

Negotiations for the filling of the postmastership at Stockbridge was the highlight of the morning session. T. J. Davis, an unsuccessful applicant for the office, accused Ben J. Davis, negro national committeeman, of having asked him $250 for the position.

T. J. Davis said that he had refused to pay Ben Davis the money until after the appointment. He said he did pay the republican county chairman $50 when he obtained his indorsement and that Davis told him the county official was not authorized to collect any money.

Denied $250 Offer.

On cross-examination by Attorney Howard, attorney for the republican committee, Davis denied that he had voluntarily offered to pay Ben Davis $250 for his recommendation, and that Davis had told him that such an offer automatically disqualified him for the office.

Attorney Howard asked that Ben Davis be allowed to return to the stand and testify in rebuttal to the statement of T. J. Davis. Ben Davis said:

"I had recommended a Mr. Wilson for the appointment at Stockbridge. Several days later Mr. Davis came to my office, said he was an applicant and had the backing of the republican organization in his district. He further said he had paid $50 to George Lemon, who told him he was representing me, with the view of getting the appointment.

"I told Mr. Davis he could not pay Lemon or anybody else money in consideration for the appointment. I further told him it was illegal and took a copy of the act of congress which Senator George so kindly sent me at my request and showed him that it was a criminal offense.

"Mr. Davis then said that he did not mind donating money to get the appointment and that he would pay $250. I told him that if he paid money for such a purpose and if I accepted it, we would both be committing a crime. I further told him I had already recommended Mr. Wilson for the job and that the appointment was expected any day.

Wilson Teaching School.

"Mr. Wilson was at that time teaching school and his time was expected to be up in the spring. I was advised by the postmaster general that an appointee would have to devote at least seven hours per day to the job as postmaster. Mr. Davis came to my office at least once a day and sometimes more often, trying to get me to recommend him. He said Mr. Wilson was disqualified, that the board of education would not accept his resignation.

"One day he came to my office and proceeded to prefer charges against Mr. Wilson, saying that he owed some bills in his home town he had not paid and was in bad standing. He left the bills with me. I sent the bills to Mr. Wilson. A few days later, Mr. Davis returned to my office and asked for the bills, saying that he had made a mistake.

"He then renewed his offer of $250 for the appointment and said that someone else would pay it for him. I told him that it made no difference who paid it it would be a criminal offense for it to be paid, both on the part of the payee and myself. I again showed him the act of congress covering that."

Mrs. Giddings Testifies.

Mrs. Hattie Giddings, postmistress of Boles, told the committee that she had been solicited for contributions three months before her appointment and that afterwards the attempt to obtain money was renewed. She said she did not pay anything because she did not think it was her duty. Ben Davis recommended her for the position, she said.

J. E. Lee, an unsuccessful applicant for the postoffice at Pearson, next took the stand to assert that two men had offered to insure him the job if he would pay $600. He said he refused to pay the money asked, but he did pay a sum he did not estimate.

Under questioning by Senator George, Lee said the county republican chairman came to him after he declined to pay $600 and told him there "was no use to go further." He said it was generally said throughout the country that the Pearson postoffice was for sale, but that he was told "I'd have to pay for it if I wanted the job."

"The Republican Party Is the Ship and All Else Is Sea"

It was Frederick Douglas, champion of Negro freedom in this country, who coined this axiom: THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS THE SHIP, AND ALL ELSE IS SEA, and his saying is as true today as it was when he uttered it, out of the fullness of his soul.

The pessimistic utterances going the rounds of the Negro press that the Negro was eliminated from the Party and his voice largely hushed at Kansas City are contrary to the facts. A careful study of Negro representation in the Kansas City Convention will dispel these pessimistic views and correct an error that is likely to do both the Negro and the Republican Party an injustice. The average Negro newspaper correspondent does not write according to the facts, but according to his feeling and prejudice. But few of them are loyal or care anything about the race, and have only two things in their minds, a dollar and a sensation. Nothing constructive ever comes from one of their pens, it is always something destructive. They never teach harmony, their one object is to stir up strife and dissension. They did nothing but lambast and abuse the Negro delegates during the Convention, and libel them since. Many of them have no papers and represent no constituency, yet they holler louder about race interest and race loyalty than the men who own newspapers and represent constituents.

There were as many Negro delegates at the Kansas City Convention as at any other National Convention in twenty years; they were more equitably and generally distributed. The South had her usual quota, from Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, District of Columbia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Arkansas. The North sent Negro representtives from Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Colorado, Nebraska and California. We had doorkeepers, sergeant-at-arms and a reading clerk. So you see we have not decreased in our representation or has the Republican Party as such sought to exclude the Negro from participation in Party Councils.

It is true that we have two less members on the National Committee than we had before, but the Republican Party, as such, is not responsible for the decrease. Nobody is to blame for it except the Negroes themselves, and our number and momentum will continue to decrease in the Party Councils so long as we grow Negroes who will be willing tools of unscrupulous white men to crucify Negro men and womanhood on a cross of prejudice. The situation in Georgia is purely of Negro making, and Georgia would have her National Committeeman and woman today had Georgia representatives at Kansas City abided by their written instructions. The campaign against the nominee from Georgia was in the hands of two white men, one of them unknown in Republican politics until a few months before the Convention, and who said at Kansas City that the nominee had too much power, that his word was party law in Georgia and that he would not stand for a white man to have that much power, much less a "nigger." The other white man associated with him in the management of the campaign is too well known to call his name; he is a member of the Ku Klux Klan and has announced from time to time that he would spend the balance of his life to defeat Ben Davis in Georgia politics, and that if he could put Davis out and put his man in, he would be in charge of the patronage in Georgia. A few years ago this same man indicted Ben Davis five times in order to suppress him politically, and moved to squash the indictment later when his plans failed.

So you see whatever we lost at Kansas City is purely of Negro making, and the Party is in no sense responsible for our loss. We got about what we earned and possibly more than we deserved. We must learn to take stock and the responsibility for our own short comings, and quit charging the Party with the responsibility for our cat and dog fights among ourselves.

There is a fight going on now among Negro leaders in the country as to who shall and who shant control the Negro end of the Hoover campaign. We always complain about the color question and segregation and yet you will find ninety per cent of the Negro leaders willing to be segregated and packed into jim-crow quarters like sardines for a dollar, or a little cheap notoriety.

Let us be optimistic, face conditions as they exist, rely on our own resources and take full responsibility for our fortunes or misfortunes; and quit sitting around whining that somebody is doing something to me "kase I'se a nigger."

In spite of all the alarm the public hears now from the self-appointed Negro leaders, who were seeking nothing but money at any cost at Kansas City about what we lost, and are losing, not a one of these race Moses did one thing to help the race retain its representation at the National Convention or otherwise. They did what they could to discredit the members on the National Committee, charging that they voted with the lily-whites against the race. This propaganda was deliberately and maliciously planned with a view of lessening our representation and influence in the Party. All this "stuff" about race loyalty is "bunk," these little fellows without a constituency are leeches on the body politic living on deceit and deception, and would sell the race for a dollor or a woman, for these busy-boddies live only in proportion as they can stir up strife, create dissension and libel the race's real representative.

The Republican Party is all right, as it was when Fred Douglas, the champion of our freedom, immortalized himself when he coined the axiom, "THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS THE SHIP, AND ALL ELSE IS SEA." The Party has done nothing to us; we have done everything to ourselves, and have sought to capitalize our own stupidity to hide our inefficient leadership.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
Wednesday, July 18, 1928

MR. HOOVER AND THE RACE QUESTION

Editor The Advertiser:

This year especially I have been enjoying your editorials. At times you have reached the heights of the prophetic role and, alas, at other times you descend to the depths of mere propaganda. You are sitting in judgment just now upon the preachers who have anything to say about the political situation. You reach for your "hammer" with a gloveless hand when you go to write about them. These "political parsons" seem to be a thorn in your flesh somehow. And yet, you are the very person who has been preaching tolerance and liberty and the religion of Jesus as you conceive it. You say that Jesus did not preach or practice prohibition; that one can not find anything in the scriptures to give our prohibition laws the sanction of the Bible. As for that matter one can not find the word gambling in the Bible, but we have laws against it and probably you would not be willing to champion their repeal. The religion that Jesus lived and taught was both individual and social. Divine sanctions did not stop with the writings of the books of our Bible.

However, the purpose of this letter is to ask certain questions. And probably the best way to start is to plunge right in:

1. What is tolerance?

At the time Mr. Smith was nominated by the Democratic convention at Houston you had a front page editorial about it as a great victory for tolerance. Every time you editorially discuss the nominee of the Democratic party for president you are very tolerant. But when you write about Mr. Hoover you call him the "negro social equality man." My opinion is that Mr. Smith and Mr. Hoover have the same opinions with reference to racial tolerance. Are you preaching religious tolerance to help the candidacy of Mr. Smith and racial intolerance to hinder the candidacy of Mr. Hoover? When you make a plea for tolerance why not plead for the whole truth as represented by that word?

2. What is freedom?

Is freedom one thing for the press and another thing for the pulpit? Surely you hold to the doctrine of the freedom of the press. What would you think if you saw a want ad like this:

Wanted: Trumpets for judges; Muzzles for ministers?

You preach freedom with reference to your pen, but you do not allow me the same freedom with reference to my voice. Is it quite fair to preach freedom and claim freedom for one's own actions and words and at the same time deny freedom to the actions and words of the other fellow?

3. What is religion?

Of course when I see the term religion I am thinking of the Christian religion. In your editorial of July 11, 1928, you have this sentence: "The wise Father in Heaven apparently does not intend for men collectively to remove any temptation from the path of men." Then what does He intend? Jesus taught us to pray: "Lead us not into temptation." Did he mean for us to pray one thing or one way and do another way? You seem to think of religion as being individualistic only. It is individualistic but it does not stop there. It is also social. We are to labor for a better world. Would you say that religion is one thing and politics another thing? or that religion is one thing and business is another thing? If these are separate then Christianity is simply a formality and one is reminded of what the poet said:

"They're praising God on Sunday.
They'll be all right on Monday.
It's just a little habit they've acquired."

The God of the Christian is not simply confined in the temple of worship. He lives in the struggles of humanity. God's children are a family and He is interested in what they are doing. Religion is life and can not be divorced from business, politics or anything else where humanity is involved.

At your suggestion for brevity this is very short sketching, but I hope that you will be able to see a view point other than the one used in your editorials.

Yours very truly,
NORMAN McLEOD,
Pastor First Methodist Church, Troy, Ala.
July 16, 1928.

Political Ads

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

HOOVER CEMENTS VOTES OF NEGROES

Effect Of Speech In Tennessee Seen As Ten-Strike By Kent

By RUSSELL KENT
Staff Correspondent.

WASHINGTON Oct. 10—Whatever else Herbert Hoover may have accomplished by his Tennessee speech Saturday he finally cemented the negro vote of the border and northern states to his banner. 10-11-28

The choice as his introducer of Alfred A. Taylor one of the few Southern men in Congress to support the Lodge force bill was a stroke with the negro voters. Former Governor Taylor was one of the Southern Republicans whom the Southern-Tammany alliance fighting the Force bill in 1890 hoped to win over to the opposition, but Taylor stood with Lodge. As the Force bill passed the House by a vote of 155 to 149, a margin of only six votes, it can be understood how important the votes of Taylor and the other Southern Republicans were. True, the Force bill was killed in the Senate by a filibuster but the House did its part and the active negro organizations have always been grateful to Alf Taylor. It pleased them tremendously to see Mr. Hoover choose Taylor out of all the distinguished citizens of Tennessee for the honor of introducing him.

The negro leaders have been rallying to the Hoover banner for weeks. The statement of Oscar De Priest, negro Republican nominee for Congress from Illinois, that the election of Mr. Hoover meant the enforcement of all Constitutional amendments, was reassuring to negroes, who have been anxious to obtain legislation bringing about the Federal enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

They were still further reassured, when Representative Leonidia C. Dyer, Republican, Missouri, in an interview declared that the Dyer anti-lynching bill taking punishment for lynchings out of state and putting them into Federal courts, would surely pass in the next Congress. Dyer was a delegate to the Kansas City convention and a strong Hoover supporter.

There are two reasons for Dyer's optimism. Despite the fact that his bill has twice been defeated. The bill was never defeated on a clear-cut vote. Once it was defeated because the entire Democratic membership fled from the House and broke a quorum. That was in the Harding administration. The next time it was defeated in the Senate on a filibuster.

But the G. O. P. feels sure that if Governor Smith is defeated this time a wedge will be driven in the Southern-Tammany Democratic combination, which not only defeated the Force bills, but also defeated the anti-lynching bill of the Harding-Coolidge administration. In other words, if Smith can be defeated the Republicans surely will add to their majority in Congress. Neither Dyer nor any other Republican knows that Tammany would fail to stand by the South as it has stood by it since reconstruction days, but they assume that if the election is lost to the Democrats through the loss of a Southern state, Tammany hardly would keep up her end of the ancient combination.

Hope For Change.

The other hope of the Dyer bill proponents is that a reform can be brought about in Senate rules making filibusters impossible. The Senate reform of rules sought by Vice-President Dawes has its good points, but it has been fought by the Southern senators on the grounds that it would make it impossible to filibuster to death Force bills and anti-lynching bills and similar negro-vote-catching measures which are attempted periodically by the G. O. P.

The Republican managers have concentrated on an effort to bring about a rift between the South and Tammany. The fact that Tammany Hall was the one place where the Southern Democrats could find a welcome on Northern soil in 1868 and was, therefore, the meeting place of the Democratic National Convention of that year, is a little too far back for the bulk of the present generation to know much about.

Even the imaginary issue of prohibition has caused thousands of Southern voters to forget that "the guarding of the portal of the Southern white man's doors," has been one of the reasons for the existence of the national Democratic party.

The Republican party, the leaders of which forty years ago were telling the nation that "Tammany Hall and the rebel crew (the South) have won their last victory, (the first election of Cleveland,) now has sent its candidate South to make in plain and unmistakble terms a plea for the divorcement of the Southern-Eastern Democratic alliance, the alliance which defeated the Force bill.

"I, with other Americans, have perhaps unduly resented the stream of criticism of American life, the stature and character of our people," Mr. Hoover said. "More particularly have I resented the sneers at Main Street—in no other country does there exist the intelligence, the devotion and the probity and ability to rise to a great emergency that exists in the Main Street of the American town and village.****History shows that crowded cities too often breed injustices and crimes, misery and suffering."

These sentences and the paragraphs near the end of Mr. Hoover's address fit into the plans made by the Republican National Committee immediately after Governor Smith's nomination to arouse the prejudice of the rural communities against New York City, because it is the residence of Governor Smith. The chief newspaper propagandists of the G. O. P. have insisted that the contest this year really was one between the large cities and Main Street of the smaller communities.

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Mr. Thomas came out flat-footed sometime ago for Governor Smith because he recognized the only way to bring the Republican party to its senses as far as the Negro is concerned is to defeat it at the polls. The only way to do that is to vote for Governor Smith.

"No political party will worry over the ills of any group if it can count upon its support without it. Politicians look after the interests of those who can raise them to power and punish them for broken promises. Had the Negro race divided its vote at the first Republican betrayal in 1877, it never would have been disfranchised. Both parties would have been in rivalry for his vote, and he could have traded it for the fullest citizenship. 10-13-28

Instead, he continued to vote for the shades and memories of Lincoln, Sumner, and Frederick Douglas, as he has been until recent years, until that party has bartered away nearly every right which his Fathers won. That party has kept us fighting Democrats, and keeping them out of power since the Civil War, and then made a separate peace with them, and left us out in the cold. Danville

The Republican has been charged with sins of Omission, and they stand in criminal guilt of that charge. The South, and all of its hellishness could not stand a day were it not for Republican treachery. The South has never taken a step against us that did not find t he Republican party in control of the White House, the Supreme Court, and both houses of Congress, and it never did a single thing to protect us. So, they stand guilty of all of the ills we suffer, for they could have protected us from all of them, and they would have if we had revolted long ago.

But worse, they are not only guilty of "acts of Omission." They stand convicted of the most heinous acts of COMMISSION. They have lent the Supreme Court to the cause of Negro enslavement, for it has scrapped the 14th and 15th Amendments by legalizing the Jim Crow Car, disfranchisement, and nearly every other assault the white South has made against these two bulwarks of liberty whose unmistakable purpose and intent were the destruction of all color distinctions. Only this last December, I sat in the Supreme Court only to hear Chief Justice Taft, standing where Taney stood exactly seventy years before, and deliver the Dred Scott Decision of the twentieth century legalizing segregation in education—a blighting blow to millions unborn.

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WILL NATIONAL REPUBLICAN LEADERS ACT IN TEXAS SITUATION?

(EDITORIAL)

With the apparent intention on the part of Texas Republican leaders of ignoring and completely failing or refusing to organize more than 100,000 qualified Republican voters in Texas, presumably on the grounds that they are Negroes and their activity for the Hoover-Curtis ticket might alienate some of the Hoover-Democrats, The Informer, the first newspaper in Texas to advocate the Republican nomination of the former secretary of commerce for the presidency, wonders if the Colored Voters' Division, directed by John R. Hawkins of Washington, D. C.—with such able advisors as Emmett Jay Scott, former Texan; Editor Robert Vann of Pittsburgh, Claude A. Barnett of Chicago, Albon L. Holsey of Alabama, Roscoe C. Simmons of Chicago, Benjamin J. Davis of Georgia, Homer G. Phillips of St. Louis, and other party notables—is going to sit supinely by and permit this large bloc of votes to go by default in the impending presidential election.

While The Informer is fully aware of the policy pursued by the Republican national committee of not "dabbling" into party politics in the several states (leaving the matter of state organization and activity largely up to party leaders in the states), this paper wonders if the ntional party leaders would adopt this "hands off" policy in a pivotal or determinative state, if the same situation obtained as now exists in Texas.

In a recent published statement, Hon. Thomas B. Love of Dallas, one of the Hoover-Democratic leaders in Texas, stated that fully 250,000 Democrats would desert the party standard in this state and cast their ballots for the Hoover-Curtis ticket at the general election; and a travel over the state will convince the most skeptical that Texas is a real battle-ground as far as the 1928 presidential race is concerned.

GRANTING THAT THESE FIGURES ARE CONSERVATIVE, AND THAT THERE ARE ABOUT 100,000 WHITE REPUBLICANS IN TEXAS. GIVING THE STATE APPROXIMATELY 350,000 VOTES AT THIS STAGE OF THE GAME OUT OF A POSSIBLE 800,000, A PERSON DOES NOT HAVE TO BE AN EXPERT AT MATHEMATICS TO READILY SEE THAT THE 100,000 TO 125,000 ADDITIONAL NEGRO VOTES WILL BE THE DECIDING FACTOR IN SUCH A CLOSE RACE.

Of course, due allowance must be made for the large number of Democrats who, being unable to stomach either Governor Smith or Mr. Hoover, will find it convenient to absent themselves from the polls on election day; and it is our guess that fully 100,000 or more will refuse to vote for presidential electors of either ticket.

This reduces the customary Democratic majority in this state, and tends to narrow the race down to the point where 75,000 to 100,000 votes will determine the presidential result in what has previously been regarded and considered as the "banner Democratic state of the union."

THE SMITH-DEMOCRATIC LEADERS IN THIS STATE HAVE BECOME ALARMED AND FRANTIC, AND ARE CONDUCTING THEIR TRADITIONAL CAMPAIGN OF APPEALING TO THE RACE HATRED AND PREJUDICE OF WHITE CITIZENS TO "STAND BY" THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE; EVEN ARGUING, AT LEAST BY INFERENCE, THAT PARTY IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN COUNTRY, AND THAT A MAN'S FIRST DUTY IS TO HIS PARTY, RATHER THAN TO HIS HOME AND HIS COUNTRY, AS WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN TAUGHT.

The Informer is not suggesting that Chairman Work attempt to convert the Republican party leaders in Texas (for such a task is hardly possible or probable), but this paper is unable to discern where any objection could be raised by partisan leaders in Texas to the Colored Voters' Division lending tangible and definite assistance to the colored Republicans of this state in an organized endeavor to poll the full voting strength of this group at the election Tuesday, November 6, 1928.

It was or is our understanding that the purpose of this organization is to get out the vote for the presidential ticket in all sections of the country, being national both in scope and activity.

Furthermore, if the Colored Voters' Division does not have plenary power in such partisan situations, where their activity could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be considered directive or officious, The Informer would lke to know what functions the race division possesses and just what its real status is.

IF THE PRESENT POLICY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN TEXAS OF EXCLUDING AND OSTRACISING THE THOUSANDS OF COLORED VOTERS HAS THE OFFICIAL STAMP OF APPROVAL OF CANDIDATE HERBERT HOOVER, CHAIRMEN HUBERT WORK, JOHN R. HAWKINS AND OTHER NATIONAL PARTY LEADERS OF BOTH RACES, THE INFORMER AND 100,000 OR MORE NEGRO VOTERS OF TEXAS WOULD LIKE TO BE SO INFORMED BEFORE THE GENERAL ELECTION

It is utter folly and stupidity to sit idly by and expect the dissatisfied and disgruntled Hoover-Democrats to "carry" Texas for the Republican presidential ticket; and, furthermore, these Democrats are telling the world that they are only supporting the Republican presidential ticket and are not the least bit concerned in building up a Republican state, district or county organization.

WHAT WILL THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL LEADERS, PARTICULARLY JOHN R. HAWKINS AND HIS COLORED VOTERS' DIVISION, DO ABOUT THE NEGRO SITUATION IN TEXAS? WILL THEY SEEK TO CORRAL THESE VOTES, OR PERMIT THEM TO EITHER GO BY DEFAULT OR LAND IN THE SMITH-ROBINSON COLUMN?

DR. E. C. CLEMENTS, STATE G. O. P. COMMITTEEMAN, IGNORES HOMER PHILLIPS, ORGANIZER

Committeeman Quoted as Saying He Wants None of Phillips and His Workers in the State

SAINT LOUIS.—A rift between Dr. E. C. Clements, Republican national committeeman from Missouri and Homer G. Phillips, organizer in charge of colored Republican work in western states, with headquarters in Chicago, is becoming more apparent here.

Clements has approved the appointment of Judge Crittenden Clark as head of the men's division in the state; Mrs. Mamie O. Trice as head of the women's division and Mrs. Willa Pollard Allen, all of whom were appointed by the state committee. B. F. Adams, appointed by Phillips as state organizer for Missouri, displeases Dr. Clements who says that he "wants it distinctly understood that neither Homer G. Phillips or any of his crowd is wanted in the state of Missouri and that this state wants only bona fide Republicans to carry on the work or some one who has been a Republican in the last four years."

Over long distance telephone yesterday afternoon, Mr. Phillips made the following statement:

"I have done no more in Missouri than I have been doing in nineteen other western states. I have appointed organizers in them as part of the program of the Western Division of the National committee. I have put men and women to work. B. F. Adams has been at work in Missouri. He was appointed by me only after conference with the newly elected state chairman, B. G. Voorhies, the conference taking place in Jefferson City on the day when the state committee met and he was elected chairman. At the same time and place I conferred with George Wagner who is in charge of organization in Missouri. The matter was referred by Mr. Voorhies to Mr. Wagner and I made the appointment.

"Mr. Adams has been at work. I have only this day received from him his report showing that he organized a Hoover-Curtis club at Lexington Tuesday night and another at Richmond last night. This makes twenty-seven clubs in all which he has organized for Hoover and Curtis in Missouri.

"I am too busy to make answer to anything Dr. Clements may say."

Political- 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

COURIER
CAMDEN, N. J.

AUG 4 1928

TEXAS AND G. O, P. HOPES

Having pointed out to the Republican party e'er this that it would do well to concentrate on the east and abandon any considerable hope of success in the deep south, this newspaper receives the results of the recent Democratic primary in Texas as another proof of this contention.

The gentleman who bears the alluring name of Love, and who based his candidacy for lieutenant-governor of Texas almost exclusively on the pledge that he would not vote for Governor Smith for president, was badly beaten by Barry Miller, who is willing to take the Democratic presidential nominee as he finds him.

Governor Dan Moody, who didn't like Smith at the time of the Houston convention but who, like Miller, has accepted the convention's verdict as he found it, received more than TEN TIMES THE VOTE CAST FOR ANY OF THE PRIMARY CANDIDATES WHO HAVE BOLTED SMITH.

The significance of this is that the Republican hopes for breaking into the "solid south" were directed principally upon Texas. If they hoped to carry any of the states of the deep south—which does not, of course, include the border states—it was believed that Texas would be the one. Surely the primary should serve to demonstrate the futility of that hope.

We predict again that the deep south, while disliking Smith, will vote for him. In that section it is a battle of prejudice.

The south has violent prejudices on prohibition and religion but it has a prejudice even more violent against the Negroes, who are Republicans.

We condemn, of course, all three prejudices, but we also recognize their existence, and we believe the racial prejudice offsets the other two.

The time will come when the increasingly industrial south will see the light and vote for its expected benefits instead of its outworn prejudices.

But that time is not yet.

PRESS
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

AUG 3 1928

Says Negroes Scorn G. O. P.

Lightfoot Tells of Sentiment at Political Conference Here

IGNORED, THEY CLAIM

James A. Lightfoot, Negro attorney and politician, has issued to the press an account of what he says is a conference of Negro political leaders in Atlantic City. He says they are dissatisfied with republican treatment of the race and refused to make any endorsements, either of Hoover, Kean, or Larson.

His statement follows in part:

"Among the colored vot, 'there is confusion,' unrest, dissatisfaction. There are many reasons for it. Some of them are as follows:

"The Negro has not been allotted a single position by party appointment of any consequence for the past four years—not one.

"It is true that Oliver P. Randolph, of Newark, is an assistant United States district attorney, but no one would ever know it. He holds the position in name only. Randolph, himself would not know it, but for the fact that he draws his salary check.

"The selection, by the white leaders, of Dr. Walter Alexander, of Orange, as one of the delegates-at-large to the last national conference, was against the recommendation and wishes of the colored vote, and they have not gotten over it.

"The New Jersey Negro is incensed at the treatment accorded the delegates of color from Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee and Georgia at the past national convention, and they charge both President Coolidge and Mr. Hoover with the responsibility for the credentials committee's action, and further feel that the decisions were actuated by nothing less that to carry favor with the lily-whites of Dixieland.

"They further charge that the same catering to southern sentiment by the administration is responsible for attacks and prosecution of Den Davis, of Georgia, and Perry Howard, of Mississippi. It is stressed that Cohen was the only one of the regularly elected delegates of the Louisiana delegation accorded a seat, and that the same was true of Robert Chuch, of Tennessee.

"They charge that the administration has done nothing to relieve segregation in the government departments at Washington; and that Mr. Coolidge, as his predecessor, the late Mr. Harding, has been content to place his stamp of approval on the policy of segregation inaugurated under President Wilson.

"As for Mr. Hoover, while recognizing his great humanitarian work throughout the world, it is charged that he permitted the rankest discrimination to be shown towards Negroes in the Mississippi flood relief work; that an almost peonage system insofar as Negroes were concerned, was permitted by him during that relief work. And while they give him some credit for wiping out segregation in his department as secretary of labor, it is stressed that this was done some two months prior to the national convention the past June.

"All the foregoing points were vehemently stressed at a conference of Negro voters of New Jersey, held in this city Thursday, July 26, when more than one hundred leading Negro republicans, representing the state's twenty-one counties, met here at the call of Attorney Isaac H. Nutter, who presided as chairman of the meeting, and Attorney Lightfoot, who was secretary of the conference. The meeting was largely attended by women, who were more caustic in their denunciation of the policies of the party than their brother male delegates.

"While the conference did not go on record for Governor Smith, singularly enough it refused absolutely to endorse Mr. Hoover for the presidency; and not content with this, it also withheld its endorsement of Senator Larsen and Hamilton F. Kean, republican candidates for governor and United States senator respectively.

"The conference adjourned to meet the second week in August at Atlantic City, the date to be fixed by the executive committee, at which time every voting district in the state will be represented by its delegates. Then will be decidd what course the Ngro will tak."

EVE. UNION
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

SAYS NEGROES WILL NOT VOTE G. O. P. TICKET

Lightfoot States Colored Race Ill-Treated at Political Confab Here

CONFUSION EXISTS

Claiming that the Negro members of the G. O. P. have been treated unfairly by that party, James A. Lightfoot, prominent colored attorney and politician in this city, announced in a statement to the Press-Union that the colored voters would not support Hoover, Kean or Larson. This statement, he explained, came after a conference with colored leaders of Atlantic City.

His statement follows in part:

"Among the colored voters 'there is confusion,' unrest, dissatisfaction. There are many reasons for it. Some of them are as follows:

"The Negro has not been allotted a single position by party appointment of any consequence for the past four years—not one.

"It is true that Oliver P. Randolph, of Newark, is an assistant United States district attorney, but no one would ever know it. He holds the position in name only. Randolph, himself would not know it, but for the fact that he draws his salary check.

"The selection, by the white leaders, of Dr. Walter Alexander, of Orange, as one of the delegates-at-large to the last national conference, was against the recommendation and wishes of the colored vote, and they have not gotten over it.

"The New Jersey Negro is incensed at the treatment accorded the delegates of color from Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee and Georgia at the past national convention, and they charge both President Coolidge and Mr. Hoover with the responsibility for the credentials committee's action, and further feel that the decisions were actuated by nothing less that to carry favor with the lily-whites of Dixieland.

"They further charge that the same catering to southern sentiment by the administration is responsible for attacks and prosecutions of Ben Davis, of Georgia and Perry Howard, of Mississippi. It is stressed that Cohen was the only one of the regularly elected delegates of the Louisiana delegation accorded a seat, and that the same was true of Robert Chuch, of Tennessee.

"They charge that the administration has done nothing to relieve segregation in the government departments at Washington; and that Mr. Coolidge, as his predecessor, the late Mr. Harding, has been content to place his stamp of approval on the policy of segregation inaugurated under President Wilson.

"As for Mr. Hoover, while recognizing his great humanitarian work throughout the world, it is charged that he permitted the rankest discrimination to be shown towards Negroes in the Mississippi flood relief work; that an almost peonage system insofar as Negroes were concerned, was permitted by him during that relief work. And while they give him some credit for wiping out segregation in his department as secretary of labor, it is stressed that this was done some two months prior to the national convention the past June.

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POST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AUG 5 1928

Attitude of Colored Voters.

To the Editor of The Post—Sir: I have just concluded reading Mr. Bargeron's article in which he outlines the plan of campaign to be conducted among the colored voters of the country by the political management of the Republican party. I have this to say, that if the Republican leaders between campaigns would give one-tenth as much attention to the colored vote as they so ostentatiously exhibit upon the eve of the greatest political struggle since 1896, their sincerity and good faith might not be questioned.

There are 15,000,000 colored people within the United States, nearly three times as many people as compose the present Austrian nation since its dismemberment. They are contributing their share in the productive power of the United States, and yet the Republican leaders have so manipulated the political situation that they have "jockeyed" every colored man in the Nation out of individual political power. There isn't a single one left with anything like the power formerly exerted by Frederick Douglass, B. K. Bruce and Booker T. Washington.

A Republican Senate refused to confirm Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, and had it not been for Robert M. La Follette, the Progressive, and David I. Walsh, Democratic senator of Massachusetts, Mr. Cohen's name would have been rejected for the third time.

Senator Walsh got on a train and traveled 500 miles to reach the Senate in time to put over Mr. Cohen's confirmation, while Republican senators stood by and cynically voted against him. Mr. Cohen is the last colored Republican in the South holding a distinguished political appointment.

I wish furthermore to say that former Chief Justice White, of the Supreme Court of the United States, himself a Southern Democrat, gave colored America its first judicial victories before that tribunal. From the Dred Scott case to the appointment of Mr. Justice White, all of our cases were lost before that tribunal, and we did not begin to get favorable decisions until this great jurist appeared in the seat of judicial power.

I intend to support in this campaign the most brilliant gubernatorial officer in America—Alfred E. Smith, for three reasons:

(a) I am tired of Republican humbuggery.

(b) Gov. Smith has given the Nation a clear-cut referendum on the prohibition folly.

(c) His election will give no encouragement to the gallant gentlemen of the Klan.

THOMAS H. R. CLARKE.

Correspondent Sees Danger of United States Being Imposed Upon by European Diplomacy When New Kellogg Treaties for Renunciation of War Are Put Into Effect, Believing Cancellation of War Debts Ultimate Aim of Foreign Statesmen.

To the Editor of The Post—Sir:

"Will you walk into my parlor?" said a spider to a fly;
"'Tis the prettiest little parlor that ever you did spy."

If Uncle Sam don't watch his step this is just where he is going to find himself—in the European parlor, with no way of escape.

The European statesmen and diplomatists, aided and abetted by the international bankers, have been obsessed with but two ideas ever since the World War, viz: Getting the United States into the League of Nations, and unloading upon the American people the whole financial costs of the war. They have pursued these purposes in season and out of season, and with a persistence, patience and cunning that excite wonder and admiration.

At times their efforts have been crude and above board, but more often they have taken the form of subtle propaganda directed with the greatest finesse, in which they have been aided by many of our people, and sometimes even by the blundering of our officials. Our officials, inspired either by domestic politics, or their own vanity to make reputations in international affairs, are continually doing something or proposing something that if realized will get us just into the position the Europeans want us in.

Now take the so-called Kellogg treaty to renounce war. The thing on its face seems innocent and harmless enough; but be assured that, when once adopted, propaganda will be started to devise some means to make it effective, that is, to make it something more than a mere negative declaration. In fact this has already been suggested. That wily old fox, Lord Cecil, in his eagerness at the great opportunity he foresees, forgot his usual caution and finesse, and just the other day suggested that when this treaty became effective some means would have to be adopted so that the World Court might interpret it, and pass upon the questions that are sure to arise under it.

This sounds logical enough, for many questions must necessarily arise out of this treaty, and some means must be devised for interpreting its scope and meaning, and settling any differences that are sure to arise among the signatories, if the thing is to have any value whatever and operate as a soothing syrup among the nations instead of an irritant. What more natural than that such questions be submitted to the already existing and experienced world court? Therefore at no distant time after the adoption of the Kellogg treaty we may look for proposals for a supplemental treaty to that end.

Having taken the first false step Uncle Sam can not with any grace resist this proposal because he initiated this treaty, and it is really his offspring, and to do so would disown his own child. Now the World Court was created by the treaty of Versailles, and in reality is part and parcel of the League of Nations. The council of the league elects its judges, and, if I mistake not, pays their salaries and the expenses of the court.

The only possible way we can get into this court is either by the front or the back door of the league; and the results and disastrous consequences to us will be the same which ever way we enter, for the cards are all stacked against us. This is the parlor into which we are being so ingratiatingly coaxed, and in which we will find ourselves in no time after adoption of the Kellogg treaty, or subject ourselves, if we stay out, to the execrations of Europe, and charges of bad faith, and being unworthy of being dealt with in international relations.

Once in, good-by to our Monroe Doctrine; and be assured that we will then be jockeyed into a position where we will have to submit to cancellation of all war debts ,and will find ourselves up to our neck in all the purely political affairs of Europe and the mere tool of their unscrupulous statesmen and diplomatists for the furtherance of their nefarious schemes.

ALEXANDER SIDNEY LANIER.

Post Classified Ads are on the job from morning until night.

Negroes Are Assured Equal Opportunities If Hoover Is Elected

Republican Nominee Manifests Great Interest in Problems of Negro in Their Struggle for Equal Rights and Opportunities.

Des Moines, Iowa, September 5. Negroes who are interested in the political advancement, as well as the general progress of the group, will do well to support the candidacy of the Republican nominee for the Presidency of the United States, according to a statement made here Wednesday by James B. Morris, local attorney and editor of the Iowa Bystander.

Mr. Morris, who attended the recent Hoover celebration at West Branch, interviewed Mr. Hoover following the mass meeting. The interview, which was arranged through the courtesy of Mr. H. E. Spangler, chairman of the Hoover Agricultural Conference committee, was entirely satisfactory, according to Mr. Morris, who declared "Hoover stands unequivocably for the enforcement of the entire Constitution of the United States and for equal opportunity for all American citizens."

"When asked his views on the so-called 'race question,," continued Mr. Morris, "Secretary Hoover stated: 'If elected President of the United States, the colored people can depend upon me to see that no backward steps are made in the aspirations to achieve their full share of the opportunities under the American government.'"

Mr. Hoover showed unusual interest in the problems faced by colored citizens in the effort to maintain their rights in this section and asked many pointed questions.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

HOOVER CHIEF NOW PLAYING WITH KU KLUX

Publicity Against Catholic, Negro, Jew Prepared In Col. Mann's Office

DISTRIBUTION IS MADE THRU KLAN NEWSPAPER

Col. Mann Is Hoover Aide In Charge Of Southern Campaign

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(Afro Bureau)—The Republican party is conducting a campaign of bigotry in the South.

Notwithstanding the high-sounding declaration of Chairman Hubert Work of the Republican national committee when he assumed command that the Hoover campaign would be pitched on a high plane. It is playing with the Ku Klux Klan.

This discovery was made by two correspondents for daily newspapers when they visited the offices of Horace A. Mann in the Munsey building. Mr. Mann is seeking to lure disgruntled southern Democrats to the support of Mr. Hoover.

By Klan Organ

Publicity for southern newspapers appealing to racial and religious prejudices is being prepared in the offices of Mr. Mann, it is reported. This matter is distributed to the smaller newspapers in the South by the Fellowship Forum, a Klan organ.

There is nothing to show that the matrices, plates, cuts and publicity in other forms being distributed by the Fellowship Forum to small southern newspapers come from the Republican national committee. But Mr. Mann is working for the committee and the preparation of this matter in his office under his direction is conclusive proof that it has the sanction of the Republican committee.

Would Buck Solid South

The distribution of this propaganda by the Klan organ is a part of the scheme to break the "Solid South". The Hoover campaign management has been led to believe that there is a possibility of Republican success in Virginia, North Carolina and Florida.

The condition upon which this could be accomplished, however, was stated to be the elimination of the Negro from leadership in the party in southern states. Walter L. Cohen, Republican leader in Louisiana for quarter of a century, was deposed at the Kansas City convention. This was the first move to make the party in the South 'lily white'.

Perry Howard Next

Following swiftly upon the adjournment of the Kansas City convention, Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, was indicted for alleged trafficking in Federal offices in his state. The Republican convention had already refused to confirm the selection of either Benjamin Jefferson Davis or Joseph H. Watson, both colored men, as national committeeman for Georgia.

The party having been stripped of its Negro leadership, the next move was the call of C. Bascom Slemp, one of the leaders of the 'lily white' movement, to headquarters for work in southern states.

Macon, Ga. Telegraph
Monday, July 23, 1928

Show the Authority

In an editorial in the Lyons Progress, Editor Moseley says:

> The Progress is happy to inform The Telegraph and other wet, Tammany, Al Smith papers in Georgia that the Republican electors in Georgia will be white men and white women. This information is based upon an authoritive statement obtained before we would attempt to deny the allegations made by The Telegraph, for we want to be sure of our stuff; we want to be honest and fair in this campaign.

To match Mr. Moseley's fairness, The Telegraph desires to make it clear that what it said about Negro electors was that the people of Georgia would have to vote for them this November if the Republican party follows its practice of the last 60 years. They have been on the ticket in Georgia and there does not appear to be any good reason, except cheap politics, for them not to be on this year.

The Telegraph would like to know, however, where Mr. Moseley got his information that they will not be on the ticket and where Henry Clay Davis got his information. Both profess to be in possession of information to that effect, but Mr. Hoover and Dr. Work, who are really the only ones in position to say so, have been as silent as Mr. Coolidge himself about it. Editor Moseley is in no better position to get such information than The Telegraph. He is or was—unless he has resigned in pursuit of his determination to be honest—secretary of the Democratic executive committee of Toombs county. He is now a demi-Republican, of course, since he is bolting, but it is hardly likely that Dr. Work would take so new a convert into his confidence.

It is entirely possible that there will not be Negro electors on the ticket, but if there are not to be, why does not someone in authority have the courage to say so? The present situation places Mr. Hoover in a bad light. He stands convicted of trying to play the Northern Negro and the Southern white bolter at the same time. If he intends to leave Negro electors off the ticket, he hasn't the courage to say so, because it would incur the enmity of Northern Negroes; if he intends to put them on, again he hasn't the courage to say so because he fears that prejudice will deprive him of strength he might have from the finicky Southern white bolters.

The point The Telegraph makes is that if the Negroes were good enough to represent Georgia at Kansas City and vote for Mr. Hoover there, they are good enough to vote for him in the electoral college and Mr. Hoover certainly would not be so cheap as to repudiate the overwhelming majority of the support the Republican party has always had in the South.

The Telegraph has not held the Negro up to scare or prejudice anybody. It has said as effectively as it knew how that the Republican party turned its organization in Georgia over to a Negro whose sale of patronage has made him a discredit to his race—to any race. So far as the public has been informed, the Republican leaders in authority—and Mr. Moseley and Mr. Davis have not exhibited credentials to show that they are—have retained Ben Davis in leadership. They have not openly repudiated him; they have not openly repudiated the patronage peddling. If he is not the National committeeman, who is? Who is exercising the function of that office? Who is dictating the patronage in Georgia now? Insofar as any public announcement is concerned, Ben Davis is the holdover National committeeman and is exercising the functions of the office. And insofar as any public announcement is concerned, the Republican electors for whom the people will vote in November, will include Negroes—and perhaps even Ben Davis—among their number. If any actual authority for controverting that statement exists, why are not Mr. Moseley and Mr. Davis able to cite it?

Until it is shown, The Telegraph will continue to doubt actuality of any such authority, preferring to believe that Mr. Hoover is not so little as to repudiate all the decent Negroes in Georgia who have voted the Republican ticket. Even if he does desire a cleanup of the situation and even if he does remove Ben Davis, he has no ground for keeping other Negroes off the electoral ticket except the ground of pandering to a prejudice of the malcontents of the Democratic party.

NEW YORK TIMES
AUG 3 1928

CANDIDATES AND POSITIONS.

Smith Has Stated Dry Law Stand, Hoover Is Non-Committal.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The Presidential campaign this year presents an exceptional opportunity to test basic character.

One candidate frankly tells the voters before and after his nomination for the highest office within their gift just what he believes and will advocate if elected. He does not equivocate, straddle or conceal—as seems fashionable with many candidates for office.

The other candidate is non-committal as to his personal and specific intentions if elected. His course is in line with traditional expediency on the part of candidates for office. But as this candidate was not even advised as to his own party affiliations only eight years ago—whether a Republican or Democrat—perhaps we should not yet expect him to have a matured conception of his personal views on a certain controverted issue which he termed a "fine experiment," or words to that effect.

The candidate who has frankly told the people what he believes and stands for has simply given the people an opportunity to say by their votes whether or not they favor his policy. Are not the voters entitled to this opportunity? Is the candidate to be blamed for the manhood that takes the voters into his confidence? This candidate is of the people, from the people, and to the people he frankly submits his cause. Although a member of the minority party in his native State, he has four times been honored by large majorities for Governor, and his integrity and statesmanship have won the highest praise from such eminent men as former Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes and former Senator Elihu Root—members of the

opposition party and Americans of the highest type.

The other candidate has held only appointive offices, and has admittedly demonstrated high ability and integrity therein. In personal integrity and private life both candidates stand above suspicion or reproach—for which we may all be thankful.

But the frankness of one candidate in telling the people what he believes has drawn the fire of certain ministers and others who hold different views. One strange feature of this opposition is that it involves the assumption that even a suggested modification of the Volstead act is treason, nullification, &c. Under the Constitution and the laws, since when has it been treason to suggest changing the law? Was it any less treason to pass new amendments or laws, say ten or fifteen years ago, than now? The Constitution still carries its provisions for amendments. The people who authorized the Eighteenth Amendment still retain the right to change it. The Congress that passed the Volstead act had no sacred power to commit all future Congresses to that act—regardless of whether good or bad.

Clearly, the people have not surrendered the right or privilege to consider making new amendments or changing the Volstead act, doing so as provided by the law of the land.

The Civil War produced the negro amendments, and the World War the Eighteenth and the Volstead act. Other late amendments—income tax, popular election of Senators, woman suffrage — were rather peace-time measures. But the advocates of these various amendments were not charged with "treason," "nullification," &c.

Is not the present right of the people to seek new laws just as sacred and supreme today as during the times when each and all of the several amendments were made?

The pro-Volsteaders illogically charge those supporting modification as being "nullifiers." The great majority of the American people are temperate; opposed to the saloon and the bootleg traffic. And it may be true that a majority of the people—admittedly for temperance—honestly believe that the cause of temperance and law and order may be better served by modification of the beverage laws. Referenda in several widely separated States may, or may not, indicate this.

The Houston platform commits the nominee to honest enforcement of existing laws, but does not require either the party or the nominee to renounce the right to recommend changes of existing laws.

That Governor Smith entertains a scrupulous regard for his official oath was shown by the severest human test when the appeal of Mrs. Snyder, then under death sentence for the murder of her husband, was before Governor Smith for Executive clemency. Governor Smith said his personal sympathy for the woman in dire distress would extend clemency, but under his official oath as Governor the majesty of the law—not his personal feelings—must prevail.

Apropos of the ministerial attitude, the position of Bishop Warren Candler of Atlanta and Bishop Collins Denny of Richmond shows restraining grace in opposing the efforts to scramble the Church and politics—a mixture not likely to improve the quality of either ingredient. These eminent Christian leaders of Southern Methodism are religious statesmen.

The Administration of Governor Smith has been notable for many constructive measures which have endeared him to the people and also won the support of a Republican Legislature and the friendship of men in all ranks of life.

Ripe in governmental experience, tested and honored, Governor Smith, the child of the people, the idol of the people, will restore the Government at Washington to the people, for the people—all the people.

And the candidate who has gone direct to the people with a definite policy for their approval or rejection, with the Presidency in the balance, has displayed an innate strength of character and honesty not excelled anywhere in civil life.

CHAS. M. ALDERSON.

Houston, Texas, July 28, 1928.

RECORD

Spencer - W Va

AUG 2 1928

REPUBLICANS TO COUNT ON NEGRO VOTE NOV. 6

Explanation Made That Alfred Taylor, Gubernatorial Candidate Tried To Get "Jim Crow" Law Into Effect in This State as Late as 1921.

Political observers, following developments in West Virginia's November battle for ballots, are viewing with keen interest the bid Democratic leaders are making for the colored vote in this state. For the past several weeks a quiet and subtle campaign has been underway and overtures have been made to leaders of the colored race with the hope of prying those votes from the Republican column and thereby reducing the heavy margin now enjoyed by the majority party.

The Republican chieftians however are not becoming apprehensive or alarmed. The have decided to wage their campaign entirely upon the record of the party and the past record of their nominees and regard the outcome with confidence. They believe that the colored race is familiar with the beneficial legislation the Republican party has sponsored in its behalf in the past and will not be "hoodwinked" into deserting the party that has so long rendered them helpful assistance.

In connection the return of Henry D. Hatfield, of Huntington, senatorial nominee, as titular head of the party is proving an important factor, for the legislation enacted during his administration as governor, in behalf of the colored race, proved the most constructve of any administration before or since, and included among other outstanding achievements the establishment of West Virginia Collegiate Institute and educational measures that gave the colored youths of the state the same educational opportunity that was enjoyed by the white youths.

The fact that J. Alf Taylor, Democratic nominee for governor while a member of the house of delegates from Fayette county during the session of 1921, introduced a bill to segregate colored and white passengers on all railroads in West Virginia, is also regarded by Republican leaders as seriously hampering the efforts of Democratic chiefs to win the colored votes.

"Jim Crowism" Out of Date

It is generally conceded that "Jim Crowism" went out of date in West Virginia with the Civil war and observers of things political are speculating on the manner in which the Democratic leaders can justify their bid for colored votes in view of their gubernatorial nominee harboring anti-colored sentiments when a member of the legislature seven years ago.

No great exodus of colored votes from the support of General William G. Conley, Republican nominee for Governor, is expected by Republican leaders and they are confident that the great mass of these votes will remain steadfast in support of the Republican ticket in November.

Mr. Taylor's bill was short lived, for the legislature of 1921 was overwhelmingly Republican, and the measure, introduced on January 25, 1921, was referred to the committee on railroads, where it died the painless death of "pigeon-hole" doom. Designed to "promote the comfort of passengers on railroad trains," House Bill No. 425, which Nominee Taylor sponsored, provided:

JOURNAL
MILWAUKEE, WISC.

AUG 1 1928

Side Doors for Negro Votes

There are two sets of Republican campaign headquarters in Washington. One is the regular affair where everybody comes and goes. But special rooms have been provided for Bascom Slemp and his associates, appointed to work with such southern Democrats as may follow the lead of Bishop Cannon and other churchmen and prohibition workers in revolt against the Democratic candidate. For it is thought tactful that these southerners shall not come in contact with southern negroes who come and go at regular headquarters.

Even that does not solve all the problem. There was the story of Mrs. Booze, negro committeewoman from Mississippi who had accepted the general invitation to Republican committeewomen to meet in conference with Mrs. Alvin Hert, and had not realized that this was a very particular conference, with pictures to be taken and a fashionable luncheon following. It was all very difficult for Mrs. Hert, who is from Kentucky, and for Mrs. Booze. But presently the negro woman plead her "previous engagement," and the luncheon was saved.

We are so far from even meeting our problem of races, to say nothing to solving it. The south likes the negro, but cannot think of letting him vote. The north likes his vote, but arranges a side door for meeting him socially—sends him tactfully away from really social functions, with a new sense of bitterness and frustration.

Houston, Tex., Post
Thursday, July 26, 1928

WHITE MISSISSIPPI—

In spite of the wishes of Herbert Hoover and the "equal rights" howling of Perry Howard, Mississippi will not accept the negro as the equal of the white.

Two weeks ago Perry Howard issued a biggity, bellicose statement in which he bragged that his black and tan delegates to the Grand Oil Party's convention had been seated by Hoover adherents. Loudly he proclaimed the recent ruling abolishing segregation of whites and blacks in Hoover's department to be "the most forward step of any cabinet member in recent years," adding that no member of "our race group" can fail to support the Hoover-Curtis ticket.

Thus the Republican party, through Howard, its recogniezd agent, is placing the approaching presidential campaign in Mississippi on a purely race basis. Knowing that it has offended what few white supporters it had here, it now looks to the blacks for ballots.

An emphatic reply was not long coming. Within six days after Howard's braggadocian blunder three members of his race in his home state had been shot, dragged, and strung to trees, whereas in the six months preceding not one black, no matter what his crime, had been so treated. From the state's west line, where at Clarnsdale one black was severely handled for attempting to knife two white boys, to its east, where at Hattiesburg four were seriously injured in a race fight, came warning evidences that the work of Reconstruction days is not to be undone.

Howard and Hoover are neither statesmen nor friends of the negro, if they persist in their efforts to push him prematurely into a place he cannot fill, and in which the state's white Democracy will steadfastly refuse to accord him recognition.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Dr. I. Garland Penn Sees Rocks Ahead

Editor of The New York Age:

I am intensely interested in the success of the Republican ticket and the dry cause. I am, however, seeing rocks ahead if the Republican Party attempts what seems to me to be extreme and sacrificing methods of ending the power of Negro leaders in high party councils as in the case of Perry W. Howard.

I like the straightforward, honest to goodness statement of Howard in the Negro press, and think it ought to be taken at full face value until otherwise proven.

Then, too, your view expressed in your editorial in issue of July 21 entitled "A Queer Southern Alliance," is exactly my view of the case.

Would have you cut out ten of these editorials and mail to me as per enclosed stamped envelop? I enclose stamps to cover cost. I have already used one of your editorials to good effect, and will use others when received.

I feel sure you will follow this up. You are always doing big things for our people. Your fight for the Dry Cause in New York is great.

I. GARLAND PENN

Austin, Texas.

Militant Brooklyn Minister Says Negroes Should Not Support Smith

Pledges $200 Towards the Support of Any Colored Man Selected to Run for Congress in Harlem in Coming Campaign

Rev. Dr. Thomas S. Harten, national organizer of the National Equal Rights League and pastor of the Holy Trinity Baptist Church, held an after-church mass meeting Sunday. It was surprising to know how the news spread, for the meeting was only announced after the morning service, and in spite of the hot weather a large number of white and colored people gathered to hear what this militant pastor and race champion had to say.

After the sermon, which was delivered by Rev. John Percy, a member of Holy Trinity and a student at the Virginia Theological Seminary, Rev. Harten "rolled up his sleeves," so to speak, and delivered a very strong address relative to racial and political matters.

8-8-28

He said, "Anybody can talk, but action is the thing that counts today. I've called you here to both think and act. The Republican party, the party of our fathers, was founded upon justice and fair play; but today it seems that the great principles of human rights are forgotten by the grand old party, while a few of our Negro leaders play to the howling mob without making the proper demand for our citizenship rights. On the other hand, the Democratic party gave birth for the purpose of keeping the black man down, and the Democratic South is just as much opposed today to the Negro receiving his citizenship rights as it was 60 years ago."

"To my mind Governor Smith is one of the most dangerous men when it comes to the black man ever nominated. I'm opposed to Governor Smith, and feel that every right-thinking and race-loyal Negro ought to be. I'm not opposed to Governor Smith because he is a Catholic. According to the Constitution of this country he has as much right to be a Catholic as I have to be a Baptist. There are men of the Catholic faith I would vote for a President, but not for Al Smith. I'm not opposed to him because he is a Democrat. I'm opposed to him because he is not the type of a Democrat as ex-Mayor John Hylan, who is one of the greatest friends of our race New York City or State ever had in public office. Nor is he the type of a Democrat like ex-Governor, at present U. S. Senator from Massachusetts, David R. Walsh, who is also a Catholic. I'm opposed to Governor Smith because he has been the most indifferent Governor towards our group New York State ever had.

"There are Governors from below the Mason-Dixon Line I would prefer seeing in the White House than Governor Smith. Woodrow Wilson, one of the most prejudiced Presidents we've ever had; in fact, the Republican Party hasn't succeeded in over eight years in wiping out the discriminatory laws against our race which were enacted, under his administration; I would prefer seeing Woodrow Wilson rise up out of his grave and go to the White House than Governor Smith.

"Today the black man is without a party. During political campaigns the candidate comes, delivers flattering speeches and makes great promises, which only last until election day. In fact, the present Republican administration stood by and held the coats of the Southern Democrats while they stoned us; in other words, they have held their peace while the Democrats violated the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, while sending up a mighty howl about the Eighteenth.

"To my mind, it will not pay the Negro to lose friendship over Mr. Smith nor Mr. Hoover, but our only salvation lies in selecting some real men of our race, not only in Harlem, but throughout the country, and send them to Congress, to the State Legislatures, and elect them judges. There are enough votes in Harlem to do this. The thing we need to do is to prove that we mean business. The Negroes in Harlem, in their next primary election, should elect a leader from their own ranks and create a fund to help defray the expenses of the candidate. Don't tell me there are not some able, race-loving black men in Harlem who are qualified to lead.

"It is not my desire to dictate the policies of our group in Harlem, but Brooklyn and Harlem are one and the same city. What concerns the Negro in Harlem concerns me; in fact, my interest in the black man is not only national but international. I expect to get in the fight to help to bring this about. I will pledge $200 from this church for the campaign of any colored man who is nominated, and I believe there are a number of other churches that will give as much or more. Then I will take over from Brooklyn a number of intelligent men and women who will make a house-to-house canvass helping to register the Negro vote without any charges. I will give both my time and money to help."

A permanent organization was formed for the purpose of bringing about the election of anyone who would be nominated.

LEADERS NAMED BY CHAIRMAN WORK TO DIRECT ACTIVITIES AMONG NEGRO VOTERS IN U. S.

Hawkins of Washington Heads Executive Committee; Eastern Organization Head Is Fred R. Moore

Washington, D. C.—Much interest has been excited by an announcement from National Republican Committee Chaiirman Hubert Work giving the personnel of a Colored Voters' Division to direct the Hoover-Curtis campaign among colored citizens of the United States.

Members of the executive committee of this group are John R. Hawkins of Washington, financal secretary of the A.M.E. Church, chairman; Allon L. Holsey, secretary Tuskegee Institute and of the National Negro Business League, secretary; Walter Foster of Boston; State Senator Adelbert H. Roberts of Chicago; John E. Nail of New York; Mrs. Myrtle Foster Cook of Kansas City; Robert R. Church of Memphis; Mrs. A. W. Hunton of New York City; and Dr. Emmet J. Scott of Washington.

Gratified By Response.

Chairman Work, in announcing names of the committee, said: "We are gratified that there has been such a fine voluntary response and pledge of support from the colored people. This committee is composed of leaders of thought and opinion representing their business, professional, religious and educational life. In my opinion, the election of Herbert Hoover will herald a new day of hope and opportunity for the group they represent."

Headquarters offices of the colored voters division will be in the Barr Building, with branch headquarters in Chicago and possibly New York.

A number of special committees were also announced, including organization and speakers committees, East and West; publicity, first voters' and general advisory committees, the last named to be composed of two hundred Negro citizens representing every section of the country.

Heads of Bureaus.

The organization committee, eastern bureau, is headed by Alderman Fred R. Moore of New York City, with Mrs. Addie W. Hunton of Brooklyn as associate chairman; Ernest T. Atwell of Philadelphia, general field organizer; Lieut.-Col. West A. Hamilton of District of Columbia, in charge of organization of ex-service men. Cornelius R. Richardson of Richmond, Ind., is chairman of the Western Bureau, with Homer G. Phillips of St. Louis general field organizer, and Lieut. George W. Lee of Memphis in charge of ex-service men.

Robert L. Vann of Pitsburgh heads the publicity committee; W. T. Andrews of Baltimore is Vice-chairman, and Claude A. Barnett of Chicago, secretary, the personnel to be made up of representatives of outstanding colored newspapers.

Collector of Internal Revenue Charles W. Anderson of New York is chairman of the general advisory committee, with Scipio A. Jones of Little Rock as vice chairman. Raymond Pace Alexander of Philadelphia heads the first voters' committee, with Jesse Heslip of Toledo as vice-chairman, and the speakers committee chairman are George W. Harris of New York, eastern, and Roscoe Simmons of Chicago, western bureaus.

Strong Women Named.

In the announcement, which is sent out by A. H. Kirchhofer, associate director of publicity for the Republicn National Committee, a number of colored women are named as among the strong leaders who will function in various key capacities in the organization. These include Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune of Florida; Mrs. Daisy Lampkin of Pittsburgh; Mrs. Sallie W. Stewart of Evansville; Mrs. Mary C. Booze of Mississippi; Miss Nannie H. Burroughs og District of Columbia; Mrs. George S. Williams of Savannah; Miss Hallie Q. Brown of Wilberforce. and Mrs. Lethia Fleming of Fleming of Cleveland.

In acknowledging his appointment as chairman, Mr. Hawkins, who seconded the Hoover nomination at Kansas City, made the following statement:

"A spirited campaign, in which business, professional and religious leaders of the race will have a prominent and active part, is to be launched immediately. This program will give an effective voice to the rank and file of the race, and will bring home anew to every colored man and woman voter the fact that the Republican Uarty is our party, conceived in liberty and freedom and dedicated to the task of improving our civic and political status and condition. We must do our part in furthering its success as well as shaping its policies to fit the common needs of our race and our country."

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The Coxey movement in Ohio had joined with the movement tc elect Harry C. Smith, negro editor, as governor of Ohio. The Coxey notification wil lbe made in Ohio by J. P. Green, of Cleveland, on the same date as the Drew notification in Philadelphia. Smith, as an Ohio candinate for various offices, has polled normally 60,000 votes

It was also stated by Dr. Drew that the notification address, in Philadelphia, would be made by Dr. Willis J Winston, president of the Northern Baptist University. Mrs D. F. Jackson, of Selena, Mo., has been named by the United Woman's Political League to organize colored women. The movement headed by Wilson plans a negro party organization in al doubtful States. This movement has been accentuated by announcement from Hoover headquarters of a negro Republican organization, on which the names of many leading negro Republicans did not appear.

HOWARD TO "DEFEND" HOOVER.

It is notable, and significant, particularly in the south, that Percy Howard, the negro republican leader who was recently "caught with the goods" in lobbying federal patronage, and is now under indictment, will go on the stump for Candidate Hoover.

In an interview sent from Washington to the Chicago Defender, leading negro publication, issue June 30th, he said:

"I shall take the stump and defend Mr. Hoover without equivocation on the charge of lilywhiteism attributed to his friends. There has never been a stronger ticket than Hoover and Curtis. Mr. Hoover has taken a more forward step than any cabinet officer in abolishing segregation. This great mind heard the cry of Cohen—the Louisiana negro collector of port—and the word went from Washington to Kansas City that, regardless of regularity, Cohen personally should not be turned out of the convention."

Those heretofore democrats in the south who are trying to scuttle the party from the within in the interest of Mr. Hoover, might be enlightened by reading the Mississippi negro's reasons for supporting the republican candidate—to "defend him against the charge of lilywhiteism," and "because of his order abolishing negro segregation."

Percy Howard had charge of the Hoover pre-convention campaign in the south. He is a lawyer, and held the position of assistant United States attorney general, which position he was made to resign recently because of his flagrant violations of law in selling patronage—a step that Mr. Hoover would probably have prevented if public decency would not have been outraged had he remained in such a position.

That Mr. Hoover does not consider the charge of consequence, however, Howard is to become one of his campaigners of defense against any charge of "lilywhiteism."

Let southern white men and women read and ponder!

HOOVER CAMPAIGN DIRECTORS.

The announcement made last week by Chairman Hubert Work, of the appointment of a Colored Voters Division of the Republican National committee, to direct the Hoover-Curtis campaign, was notable for several reasons. The appointment of such assistants to promote support among the colored voters of the country is no new thing, but this present corps of directors is different in class and character from previous appointments of this sort. As Chairman Work aptly said, "this committee is composed of leaders of thought and opinion representing their business, professional, religious and educational life."

The character of the committee is appropriately indicated by the names of the officers who head it. John R. Hawkins of Washington, who seconded Mr. Hoover's nomination at Kansas City, is chairman of the executive committee, with Albon R. Holsey, secretary of Tuskegee Institute and of the National Negro Business league, as secretary. Among the other members are State Senator Roberts of Chicago, John E. Nail of New York, Robert R. Church of Memphis, Mrs. A. W. Hunton of New York and Dr. Emmett J. Scott of Howard University. Robert L. Vann of Pittsburgh is head of the Publicity Committee with W. T. Andrews of Baltimore as vice chairman. The Organization Commitee will have its Eastern bureau in New York, with Fred R. Moore as chairman, and Ernest T. Attwell of Philadelphia as general field organizer.

There will also be an advisory committee of two hundred, with Hon. Charles W. Anderson of New York as chairman and Scipio A. Jones of Little Rock as vice chairman. Among the outstanding women serving in various key capacities in the organization are Mrs. Mary M. Bethune of Dayton, Fla.; Mrs. Daisy Lampkin of Pittsburgh, Mrs. Sallie Stewart of Evansville, Ind.; Mrs. Mary C. Booze of Mound Bayou, Miss.; Miss Nannie H. Burroughs of the District of Columbia, Mrs. George S. Williams of Savannah, Ga., Miss Hallie Q. Brown of Wilberforce and Mrs. Lethia Fleming of Cleveland.

Chairman Hawkins said that a spirited campaign would be launched immediately, the program of which will give an effective voice to the rank and file of the race. It is especially designed to bring home to every colored man and woman that the Repubican party is our party, "conceived in liberty and freedom and dedicated to the task of improving our civic and poitical status." He urged that we must do our part in furthering its success, as well as shaping its policies to fit the common needs of our race and our country.

With a staff of campaign directors of the class and calibre of those here presented, the issues of the campaign should be carried direct to the voters, so that they may be aroused to vote understandingly. It will be noted that in addition to the new blood injected into the direction of the campaign, enough of the tested veterans of politics have been retained, either in an active or advisory capacity, to secure the benefit of their experience and wisdom in the ways of getting the ballots safely garnered in the right columns.

The Hoover campaign among the Negro voters appears to have started off on the right footing. These voters are to be accorded the fullest representation in the conduct of the campaign. They are no longer to be treated as children, but are regarded as an important factor in party success.

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Political - 1928 Republican.
Party Affiliation.

Kelly Miller Submits Stinging Indictment Of Republicans; But Urges Support Hoover

Journal and Guide
Aug. 29, 1928

Special to Journal and Guide

Washington, D. C., Aug. 29—Indicting the Republican Party in a stinging bill of particulars for its sins of omission and commission against the Negro from the time of President Hayes, when the party began to recede from its party began to recede from its "pristine moral grandeur, to the present, Prof. Kelly Miller, nevertheless, in an open letter to J. Finley Wilson, urges the support of the Negro race for Herbert Hoover in the coming presidential election solely on the grounds that Mr. Hoover is opposed to repeal of the 18th amendment and the Volstead Act.

In fact, Dr. Miller, in spite of his arraignment of the Republican Party, believes that in this campaign it is the forced sponsor of a sound, patriotic American doctrine, which is prohibition, and that prohibition is the only fundamental principle involved in the present campagin.

More than three-fourths of Prof. Miller's lengthy letter comprising more than 1500 words is devoted to a pungent recital of the party's record of double-dealing and faithlessness to the Negro since placing the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments into the constitution, while the remainder is devoted to a plea for support of the party's nominee because he stands for prohibition. The professor's open letter to Mr. Wilson was inspired by the latter's letter to Chairman Hubert Work, setting forth Mr. Wilson's declination to serve as a member of the Colored Republican Advisory staff to which he had been named. This letter was published in the Washington Post.

Mr. Wilson, who is grand exalted ruler of the I. B. P. O. E., is chairman of the Negro Voters' League, an organization tentatively formed at the Republican National Convention at Kansas City in June as a protest against certain treatment accorded the Negro representation at the convention. The league is comprised of a representative group of colored men and is meeting this week in Chicago for permanent organization and for the purpose of charting a course in reference to the presidential election.

Refers To Wilson's Letter

Declaring Mr. Wilson's attitude, "is expressive of a wide spread spirit of revolt which is well nigh conterminous with the colored race," and that "there can be little or no doubt of the universality of this feeling," the professor asserts:

"The reason for this revolt is so self-obvious that the Republican Party is forced to acknowledge and appreciate it. Of course during the campaign season they always promise better things, if the black man will just help them out this time. The same old ruse has been worked for ten quadrenniums. But after each succes the Grand Old Party has not only forgotten its preelection promise, but has grown bold and ruthless in its reactionary attitude. At the end of each quadrennium we find ourselves pushed further and further down the scale of political privilege and preferment."

Believes Debt Paid

Professor Miller believes the Negro has paid his debt of gratitude to the Republican Party, for he declares:

"Two generations of unyielding obedience ought to count as payment in full for the debt of gratitude which we owe the party of Lincoln and Sumner for what it accomplished in the days of its pristine moral grandeur. But continued gratitude in the face of flagrant injustice is a psychological impossibility. Wounded friendship is more grievous to bear than than avowed enmity."

Citing the Negro's grievances against the Republican Party, Prof. Miller submits the following partial bill of particulars, which he declares, "every Negro resents, however they may differ in their mode of manifesting their resentment:

Bill of Particulars

"The abandonment of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments was begun under President Hayes and completed under President Coolidge. When the Kansas City Convention deliberately refused to put the fourteenth and fifteenth on the party agenda along with the 18th amendment it thereby drove the last nail in the coffin of our political expectation and clenched it on the other side. The stubborn protest of the fifty Negro delegates went unheeded, as if unheard.

The deliberate and ruthless crucifixion of Perry Howard, the displacement of Ben Davis from the national committee, the flattening out of Walter Cohen of Louisiana by the lilywhite steam roller, the threatening of Robert R. Church, the noblest Roman of them all, amply put the Negro leadership on warning that its regime has come to an end, and that the triumph of the lilywhites is at hand. The whole race must resent with unrelenting animosity the deep damnation of their taking off. The low cunning of the coward was resorted to. All these men were charged with political piccadillos and stained with the stigma of dishonesty and dishonor. The Grand Old Party which condoned a regime of corruption unparelleled in the history of our government assumed the livery of righteousness and condemns these black offenders who it is alleged were profiteers by a few dollars. There was not one word of open condemnation of Daugherty, Fall and the Teapot Dome. But Ben Davis and Perry Howard must be stamped with the brand of everlasting infamy. Surely the Negro has borne the white man's transgressions and the chastisement of his peace is upon us. We are bruised for his inequity.

Raped Haiti

"The Negro is not unmindful of the fact that the Republican Party brutally raped our little Haitian sister and forcefully deprived her of the virtue of self-liberty. Instead of playing the big brother this nation has become the big bully to the struggling weak and helpless. The justifying plea is as old as oppression. The exploiter always professes to dominate the weak for the benefit of the overridden. The institution of slavery was for the good of the slave.

Referring to discrimination in the Civil Service which makes it practically impossible to recruit the government clerical force, Prof Miller declares that "by requiring photographs which at once condemns the Negro applicant and by allowing heads of bureaus the power of choice among three certified candidates, the Negro is effectively shut out from the qualified service." Prof. Miller says. "the time when a colored person has been certified and accepted almost runs against the memory of man. There were at one time forty-five colored clerks in the Pension Office, now the number has been reduced to five and the ranks are still thinning." "This is an unpardonable piece of meanness on the part of the government," continues the professor, who adds, "It deliberately cheats the deserving Negro out of his justly earned due. And yet the Republican Party stands complacently by although this matter has been over and again called to its attention. The few Negroes who are left in the classified service are subject to the insult of humiliating segregation and penned up in compartments as if afflicted with leprosy."

"What Shall The Negro Do?"

After drawing this stinging bill of particulars against the Republican Party, Prof. Miller then asks: "What shall the Negro do in the midst of the emergency which is now upon us?" "Some will support Al Smith for vindictive reasons, while others with slave fidelity, will say to the Grand Old Party, "though you slay me, yet will I serve you." It was true when Frederick Douglass said: 'The Republican Party is the ship; all else the sea.' But this was a generation ago. Since then the old bark of safety has become unseaworthy. The Negro may as well seek passage on other crafts upon the sea of political uncertainty."

Though Prof. Miller believes the Negro may as well "seek passage on other crafts upon the sea of political uncertainty," he concludes his letter with a warning to the Negro against "vindictive politics." He declares "Vindictive politics will get the race nowhere. The Negro should align himself with firm principles and sound politics independently of whichever party espouses them."

"There is only one fundamental principle involved in the present campaign, and that is the principle of prohibition," according to Prof. Miller. "It is a sound, patriotic American doctrine, which political exigencies have forced the Republican Party to sponsor, adds the Howard professor, who declares "The Negro is the chief victim of intemperance and drunkenness. Free flowing liquor works its greatest havoc on the weaker man and the weaker race. The lemon rum loves the black victim. The Negro reversely is the chief beneficiary of prohibition."

Prof. Miller links the nullification of the prohibition amendment with the nullification of the human rights amendment by asserting, "If the country ever becomes accustomed to the nullification of the prohibition amendment, then there is little hope that it will ever return to the human rights amendments. Nullification is catching."

Support Hoover

Declaring that Mr. Smith and Mr. Hoover are two good men, Prof. Miller assures the Negro that whichever of them is elected, he may stand assured that major national problems, like flood and farm relief and foreign debt and international relations will be looked after. But he says, "Let the Negro stand with Hoover and the Republican Party because he stands for prohibition."

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican

Dr. Moton To Support Hoover's Candidacy

In a letter to Albon L. Holsey, secretary of the Colored Voters Division of the Republican National Committee, Dr. Robert R. Moton principal of Tuskegee Institute, announces that he will support Herbert Hoover, Republican candidate for President, declaring that in his acceptance speech Mr. Hoover disclosed himself as "the spokesman of the finest and best in American life, as one familiar with the problems discussed, whether sectional, national or international."

Supreme Chancellor S. W. Green of New Orleans, of the Knights of Pythias N. A., S. A., E., A., A. and A., representing more than 300,000 Pythians, telegraphed Mr. Holsey that Hoover's "policy of equal opportunity for every man and woman and child, regardless of race or religion, is the expression of a heart as broad as humanity."

FT DEVELOPS N THE G. O. P. EADERSHIP

d. Church, Tennessee, ader Declines Post Under Hawkins

8-24/28

T FOLL'W VOTELESS HE TELLS WORK

Aid Hoover And Stay The Ranks He Deres

ASHINGTON, D. C.— ert R. Church, political er, of Memphis, Tenn., declined to serve on executive committee of e Republican colored ers division.

reason for refusing the ap- ment is that he cannot bring elf "to endorse the personnel of committee or the method by it was chosen."

. Church has just returned from ornia. He attended the Hoover ication ceremonies. He had erences with Mr. Hoover and party leaders. Returning east opped at Topeka, Kan., for the notification ceremonies. There nferred with Senator Curtis and party leaders also.

Letter Sent Work

declination of his appointment mbership on the executive com- of the Republican colored vot- livision was sent directly to man Work of the Republican al committee from San Fran- Mr. Church wrote as follows: nouncement of my selection as nber of the executive commit- the colored voters division has made. I am not insensible of onor.

nce, however, I cannot bring f to endorse either the person- f this committee or the meth- which it was chosen, I am to decline the appointment withdraw from membership pon.

on't Follow Voteless Leaders

timate knowledge of conditions g colored Americans, of their ent state of mind, of their grow- self-respect, of the feelings of ed Republicans who create our orities in the free states togeth- ith my own experiences in lab- g for our party lead to the con- on that neither important col- leaders nor the rank file will w men who have no votes of r own whether because they hail n states in which colored citizens denied the ballot or from neu- territory where disfranchisement universal.

Developments indicate that neith- Illinois nor Ohio will follow Ala- ama, North Carolina or the District of Columbia. Moreover, the policy is an unwise and unnecessary one that drags a religious sect into politics and involves our important universities in political quarrels.

Republican Once In 4 Years

"In no circumstance must I become party to such a situation as is created for us in ignoring men and women who meet issues daily and create votes and elevating above them those who dodge issues, cannot influence a single vote, have no voice to raise when we are assailed, and are Republicans only once in four years, and then only by appointment and not by choice of the people.

Devoted To Hoover

"To the fortunes of Mr. Hoover am devoted. Politically I am his follower and supporter. Personally am his ardent admirer. Nothing hat my hands can find to do to assist him will remain undone. Nothing I can do in aid of you and your party will remain unperformed.

"Since this is so, I send you this letter as the first duty I owe the colored Republicans, Mr. Hoover as our candidate, to our party and to you as our party leader."

The Rev. William P. Hayes Will Not Enter The September Primary For The Congressional Nomination

Writes Letter of Declination To Leaders of 19th and 21st A. D.'s, Saying Church Duties Are More Important Than Politics

The designation of a candidate for nomination to the United States Congress from the 21st Congressional District, New York City, remains still a matter to be consummated, as the Rev. Dr. William P. Hayes, who was named after Alderman John Clifford Hawkins had declined the original designation, has also declined, setting forth as a primary reason that his duties as pastor of Mt. Olivet Baptist Church are of paramount importance and can not be set aside even for the signal honor of a seat in the Halls of Congress.

Dr. Hayes' letter, under date of August 13, was addressed to Abraham Grenthal and Robert S. Conklin, Republican leaders of the 19th and 21st Assembly Districts, respectively, who, with the leaders of the 13th, 22nd and 23rd Districts, constiuted the original commitee which nominated Alderman Hawkins.

The committee to fill the vacancy occasioned by Mr. Hawkins' declination is composed of William McGruder as chairman, Mrs. Margaret Sealy and Mortimer Kraus, and this committee will again have to function.

The text of Dr. Hayes' letter is as follows:

(Copy of Letter Sent to Hon. Abraham Grenthal and Hon. Robert S. Conklin.

August 13th, 1928.

Dear Sirs:

"After due deliberation, I regret that I am forced to decline the very high honor you and your associates tender me in selecting me as the candidate of the Republican party for Congress in the Twenty-first Congressional District.

"It has not been easy for me to reach this decision. The manner in which the designation came as well as the alluring prospect of serving a wider constituency, made it extremely difficult for me to decline this honor.

"I have one compelling reason for my action in this matter, namely, the welfare of the church of which I have the honor to be pastor. At the present time, and for some time to come, the Mount Olivet Baptist Church needs the undivided attention and care of its pastor. This could not be given, I am sure, if I should decide to enter the race for Congress.

"Since either proposition demands all, if not even more, than any one man can give in the matter of energy and time, not to say money, I have been faced with the stern alternative of choosing between the two; and I have decided that I cannot in good conscience do otherwise than stick to the job that is already mine. The obligations of Mount Olivet are immediate and insistent. In order to be met the constant services of its minister is demanded.

Touched By Assurances.

"I have been deeply touched by the many assurances of support which have come from friends of all political shades, and sincerely regret the necessity which forces me to disappoint those who have expressed such unbounded faith in my ability to win a seat in Congress at the coming election.

"I trust that the vacancy will be filled by a candidate to whom all may be able to give their most loyal and enthusiastic support. I pledge my unqualified support to a candidate of this type.

With deep appreciation of the high honor you have conferred upon me, and with the hope that you will see the situation in the light in which I have presented it,

"I beg to remain,

"Sincerely yours,

"WILLIAM P. HAYES."

NEGROES PREPARE FOR PART IN NOVEMBER ELECTIONS

Newport News, Va., Aug. 29.—Definite plans for the organization of the Negro vote in Virginia to either support Governor Al Smith or Herbert Hoover in the November election will be made at a meeting of political leaders of the race from every congressional district in the state.

No comment as to which candidate the Negro vote in the state will be given is to be made until after the acceptance speech of the Democratic candidate, it was announced.

The meeting will be held at Bay Shore, a seashore resort near Newport News.

OUST HOWARD WHITES' AIM

Eliminate Negro Leaders is Cry at Miss. G. O. P. Campaign Meeting

GREENVILLE, Miss., Aug. 29.—Perry W. Howard and all Race political leaders in Miss., were bitterly assailed here Tuesday at a huge state Republican meeting inaugurating the Republican Campaign. The presidential electors representing the "white wing" of the party were endorsed.

Elimination of Negro leadership in Republican politics in the state was strongly advocated by the "lily whites."

Charles U. Gordon, president of the Southern States Republican League in one of the keynote addresses of the evening, declared that the "Mississippi people have been watching the movement for the re-establishment of the Republican party in this state, that contemplates complete elimination from control of Negro leadership.

Illinois Governor Appoints Jackson To Commerce Po

(Special to the New York Time

CHICAGO, Aug. 27.—Govern Small today appointed Dan Jac son, colored Republican leader the Third Ward and known "King of Gamblers" in the distri to be a member of the Illin Commerce Commission. Mr. Jac son's political ally in the color section, Oscar de Priest, is at pr ent an assistant commissioner.

Mr. Jackson succeeds Edwa K. Wright, also colored, whose r ignation was asked for by Gov nor Small on the assumption th Wright is in poor health. The a pointment becomes effective Se 1 for a term until Jan. 1, wh Governor Small goes out of offi

Mr. Jackson's political allegiar is to Mayor Thompson, who al sponsored the de Priest appoi ment. He was elected ward co mitteeman last Spring in the p mary, which has been under vestigation by the Special Gra Jury, which also has taken cogn ance of gambling conditions in t territory where Jackson and Priest are in power.

NEW OPPORTUNITY PREDICTED FOR NEGRO IN POLITICS

Negro Press Says Personnel of Colored Division Means New Chance.

Washington, D. C., Aug. 29.—Heralding a new day in political opportunity and leadership for the Negro, editorials in various racial weeklies have commented widely and favorably upon the personnel selected to direct the Republican campaign among colored voters.

Pointing out that business, professional, educational and religious interests, as well as those purely political, comprise the Colored Voters' Division of the Republican National Campaign Committee this year, the belief is advanced by numerous papers that the campaign will be conducted upon a high plane and give an opportunity for self-expression to every phase of life within the group.

"It is a splendid augury for the political future of our group," says the Norfolk Journal and Guide, "to see men and women of the highest repute and of the most unselfish motives, men and women, personal successes in themselves and not dependent upon the promised loaves and fishes, entering actively into politics.

"In selecting the personnel of the colored division to direct the Hoover-Curtis forces among colored voters, Chairman Hubert Work was well advised. No group of Negro leaders could have been selected that would have more heartily met the approval of the race in general without regard to party affiliations than those announced as constituting the personnel of the division. Conspicuous on the list and placed in key positions are persons who are best known for the genuine service they have rendered their race and nation rather than for their political attachment."

HAWKINS HITS BACK AT R. R. CHURCH, BOLTER

Man Who Can't Be Follower Cannot Be Great Leader, He Says

WORK PUTS OKEY ON HAWKINS' LINE-UP

Imposing Headquarters In Barr Building In Full Blast

WASHINGTON, D. C. (Special) — "A man who can't be a follower can't be a good leader."

This was the reply of John R. Hawkins, chairman of the excutive committee of the Republican Colored Voters' Division, to Robert R. Church, political leader of Memphis, Tenn.

Church declined to serve on the executive committee last week and sent a letter of resignation direct to Secretary Work, Hoover campaign head, announcing that he could not bring himself to endorse either the personnel of the committee or the method by which it was chosen.

Church referred specifically to the fact that Mr. Hawkins was a citizen of the District of Columbia and as such can vote only once in four years.

Hits Finley Too

Mr. Hawkins' statement is inclusive enough to strike J. Finley Wilson, exalted ruler of Elks, too, who likewise in a letter to Chairman Work declined to serve on the G. O. P. Advisory Committee which he said used his name without authority.

Headquarters Open Work Gives Okey

Headquarters for the colored division are on the first floor of the $1,00,000 Barr Building where other Hoover campaign headquarters are located.

A suite of offices with a secretarial force in separte rooms has been provided for Mr. Hawkins, as chairman, Albon Holsey, as secretary, and several other leaders of the committee.

A sign over the door indicates the location of this suite and a courteous messenger directs visitors to the various offices.

Mr. Hawkins, who is an able politician and manager, spends several hours each day with callers who come to transact business at the headquarters.

THE SHOWDOWN CAME

Daily papers had written much and loud about showdown day, August 11, 1928, between G. F. Flanders, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, and Roscoe Pickett, ex-chairman. Showdown day came along last Saturday.

Messrs. Flanders and Pickett called meetings of the full committee the same day. Flanders in Atlanta and Pickett in Macon. Pickett had been ousted by the Executive Committee of the full committee July 23, 1928, which decision he refused to accept. Hence, he issued a call for the full committee to meet in Macon Saturday, August 11, 1928, to test out his strength and popularity with the people. Mr. Flanders accepted the challenge and issued his call. And showdown day was Saturday, with the following results: Fifty-three members in person and by proxy greeted Chairman Flanders in Atlanta, and only five members met Mr. Pickett in Macon. The following-named persons met the ex-chairman: C. P. Goree, T. A. Chastain, A. B. Hines, Mrs. A. V. Goff, Dr. R. H. Cobb. Of course there were others there, but they were ex-members and expelled members and had no standing as committeemen.

An overwhelming majority of the committee met Mr. Flanders and approved and ratified every act of the Executive Committee in expelling Pickett et al. There can be no longer any question of the legality of the removal of the bolters who betrayed their party.

A political party has the perfect right to make rules and regulations to control and discipline its members, and it exercised that right on July 23, 1928, when it ousted Pickett, Crawford, Hendricks, et al.

The full committee settled the question of the personnel of the Executive Committee by recognizing the Executive Committee elected by the Sovereign State Convention March 3, 1928.

Mr. Pickett claims to have had thirty members present and eight proxies. What are the facts, the committee is composed of seventy-one people; fifty-three were in Atlanta and made affidavits to the fact; five were at Macon—Goree, Chastain, Goff, Hendricks and Cobb; thirteen were absent from both meetings, C. E. Smith, O. M. Dukes, J. H. Surber, A. N. Tumlin, Clifford Dyar, William Reese, W. H. Cagle, L. H. Ridgway, H. H. Holder, E. J. Mathews, Fred Durand, Mrs. Sarah Watson King and Mrs. Callie Crittendon.

With fifty-three members in Atlanta and five in Macon, and thirteen absent, how could Pickett have had thirty-eight. But we guess he counted everybody in the house, including ex-members and expelled members. He said he had eight proxies, then there were ten members not represented in person or by proxy in either meeting. Even Crawford and Hendricks were ashamed to be present and were absent.

The full committee passed a rule authorizing Chairman Flanders to declare vacant the membership of all members who attended the rump meeting at Macon just as the Democrats are declaring the Democrat bolters disqualified to run in the Democratic primary, September 12.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

HERALD

Durham — NC

AUG 2 1928

NEGRO DEMOCRATS OF FORSYTH ORGANIZING

Winston-Salem, Aug. 1.—(AP)—Winston-Salem Negroes were organizing today for the announced intention of taking an active part in the approaching general election.

First steps were taken in the organization of the Forsyth county colored Democratic club and the election of E. H. Copeland, well known Negro of the city as chairman. Headquarters have already been established.

Copeland announced that the new club would seek the aid and cooperation of the white Democrats here, but J. K. Norfleet, chairman of the Forsyth county Democratic executive committee, said no action had been taken on the request and no conference had been called to consider such a move.

Even if the new club fails to get the support of the white Democrats it will continue to function, Copeland said.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Star

AUG 3 1928

COLORED LEADER URGES SUPPORT OF GOV. SMITH

Prioleau Calls for Conference of Voters to Organize in Aid of Democratic Nominee.

Call for a national conference here of colored voters on September 6 and 7 was authorized at a meeting of the National Colored Voters' Union, 902 Third street, last night, which is to be signed by Aaron P. Prioleau, who headed the unsuccessful Republican delegation seeking to be seated at the convention in Kansas City.

The purpose of the national conference is to effect union of action in support of the Smith-Robinson ticket. The call states that for 50 years the colored voters have made enemies of Southern Democracy by supporting the Republican ticket and had made no genuine political friendships.

"And now," the call states, "under actions of the Hoover lily-whites at the Republican national convention against elected colored delegates in barring them from the convention, we deem it the duty of all self-respecting colored people to resent this unjust action by supporting the honest and square-dealing Democrats of the Nation for the best interest and welfare of all people."

CHRONICLE
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

JUL 26 1928

Keeping Negro Under Is South's Big Issue

THAT it is harder for a Democrat in a State of the old black South to vote for a Republican than for a camel to pass through a needle's eye, as The Chronicle pointed out in an editorial last Monday, is strikingly presented in an editorial in the Atlanta Constitution, part of which is reprinted elsewhere on this page.

Addressing himself to the anti-Smith Democrats of his region, the Georgia editor emphasizes the doctrine that keeping the Southern negro down politically is more important to the Southern Democracy than whether or not Southerners happen to like Governor Smith as a presidential candidate.

"White supremacy," says the Atlanta Constitution, "is the paramount question."

This is a viewpoint outside our present province to argue. It is, however, very real to a Southern Democrat. In a State like Georgia he sees a vote for a Republican candidate as a vote for the negro Republican organization in the state. So the Georgia editor advises his anti-Smith Democrats to swallow their dissatisfaction with the candidate, vote for him, and keep the negro down.

Republican.

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.

AUG 1 1928

WITH BROWN DERBIES ON!

We notice one of the apostles in Columbia who is still professing his love of the Democratic party with his lips, while he is openly striving to slash the juglar vein of the party by tryiing to lead Democrats over to the parade of the Hays-Daugherty-Fall combination, is calling for leaders of the Red Shirt brand.

Fortunately, and we may say much to our satisfaction, some of the veterans who belonged to that division of white men, who mustered for no other purpose than to kick government by ignorant negroes and their white associates have already donned the Red Shirt, figuratively speaking, but they are not rallying to the bolter colors.

The Red Shirt Division demobilized about 1877, after it had wrested South Carolina from carpetbag misgovernment and the most scandalous exploitation white citizens of the South ever suffered, but they demobilized, subject to call, so long as they were able to fire a gun or unsheath a sword, and they trained their descendants in the same road, as we shall see.

The Red Shirts do not belong in the fanatical column. They were never men of the hysteria type. They were men who faced danger of the black and white mob without the batting of an eye or the quivver of a muscle and defied it to the death, and those still remaining are that sort today. Generally speaking, we believe their children and their grand children are the same sort of citizens.

The men who followed Wade Hampton in 1876-1877 had no objection we may say to the negro, so long as the negro kept in his place and they realized that his place was not in governing white men for the very reason that an inferior race never yet successfully governed a superior race. For these reasons we indignantly deny the right of any man who balks on what the Red Shirts faced death for, to even ask one of them to lead the successors of the crowd they kicked out.

While we have expressed our views on the South Carolina men who now threaten to knife the Democratic ticket, or a part of it, we shall again rehearse that viewpoint. We would not, if we could force any voter to cast a ballot for any man whom he opposes. But when any man, regardless of his label, opposes what we think is for the public welfare, we are going to fight him just as harshly as the Red Shirts of 1876 fought the carpetbaggers and scalawags then.

It is, and we are repeating this, too, our opinion that the crowd who are now fighting or proposing to fight Governor Smith, the nominee for the presidency, are not fighting him because he does not approve of the Volstead Act, or the Eighteenth Amendment. We think this because they voted for Woodrow Wilson, a man who disliked both the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act fully as much as Governor Smith dislikes them.

And while we are about it, we may say the roorback, of the Republican Whites of Kansas, the Bishop Cannons, of Virginia, and Ohio, the Bartons of the Anti-Saloon League, et al., will from all appearances serve the same purpose as its historic predecessor served. Roorback originated from the "Travels of Roorback" a fictitious libel published in the campaign of 1844, in which the character of James K. Polk was viciously assailed.

That sort of campaigning was given credit by the managers of Polk's campaign that year for introducing him to the country in the early part of the contest, so that he was elected President on a rising tide of resentment by the fairminded American people. Governor Smith was attacked fully as viciously as Governor Polk was attacked in 1844, throughout the primary contest. We think the attack accounted largely for his overwhelming victory on the first ballot at Houston.

The Smith supporters in South Carolina are the heirs and successors of the Red Shirt veterans, and they not only are figuratively mustering in Red Shirts, but they are not forgetting the Brown Derby.

Columbian Replies to Colored Democratic President's Statement

Editor, The Palmetto Leader,
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Sir:

Having been in your office a few days ago, I saw a newspaper clipping which was published in The Cleveland Press by a Mr. James A. Ross, who is styled as the President of the Democrat's Association of Buffalo. Mr. Ross, as you have noticed, said that prohibition has brought financial disaster to many of our group who are employed in dining cars, restaurants, and hotels, who depend in a large degree on the tips given them. Mr. Ross further said that his organization's campaign will be concentrated in the Northern states and that the Negroes in the South will vote a straight Democratic ticket as usual.

I wish to say right here that Mr. Ross knows as much about Southern Negroes and the way we cast our votes as a hog knows about wearing and using hip pockets, for I am sure that there are but few Negroes in the South who vote the Democratic ticket. You will find the Negroes here in the South to have less privileges than the Northern Negroes, but we are striving to uphold the law and to show discredit to any and all Negro bootleggers along with the opposite race, and the quicker financial disaster comes to the Negroes or white people who sell whiskey, the better it will prove for him, for he will then resort to something honorable for a livelihood. Mr. Ross should know that if the Republican party has done but little for the Southern Negroes, it certainly has not done anything against us, and the laws that have harmed us are handed down by the Democrats and not by the Republicans.

I only wish that my colored Democratic brethren of the North who enjoy untold privileges, and who are considered equals regardless as to who will win the presidency of the United States of America, would cast their eyes Southward and to remember that though we are far from you we are still suffering brothers and sisters and we feel that every Negro should vote the Republican ticket, thereby proving himself to be his Southern brother's keeper.

The Negroes in the South have always voted the Republican ticket, and more of us will vote this year in the South than ever before. We want America for Americans, and not for political Rome. We are opposed to the wet crowd, opposed to reformed Tammany, opposed to alienism, and opposed to Al Smith or any other wet Democrat even though disaster will or may come to dining car bootleggers helpers, hotel bootleg helpers and the restaurant bootleg helpers. I am taking a part in driving the Pope and Rome out of the United States in the casting of my vote and the using of my influence against Al Smith in being the president of the great government of ours.

JOEL H. JACKSON,
2221 Richland St., Columbia, S. C.

The Palmetto Leader
July 6, 1928

Opposes Segregation Says Negro Politician

Washington, July 5.—Perry Howard, negro Republican National committeeman from Mississippi, sounds the clarion call to the negroes of the nation to rally to the support of Herbert Hoover, the Republican nominee for President. His call is sounded through the Washington Tribune, a negro newspaper published in the capital, and is given editorial approval.

"Mr. Hoover has taken a more forward step than any Cabnet officer in abolishing segregation," says Howard in regard to Hoover's famous segregation order, that was issued at the instance of an Ohio negro candidate for delegate to the Republican National convention.

"Colored Republican delegates played as conspicuous a part as they have in years," continued Howard in giving an account of the doing at Kansas City.

"There has been much said," he adds, "that there was a Hoover machine and it was lily white. This I emphatically deny. I do not think one would contend that the Mississippi delegation, one-half white and one-half colored, was lily white."

He points out that the South Carolina delegation was half colored, that there were negro delegates from Florida and Louisiana and that Walter Cohen, New Orleans negro political leader, wat seated at the instance of the big man himself. There were no negroes in the North Carolina delegation.

"I shall take the stump and defend Hoover," Howard explains. "There has never been a stronger ticket than the Hoover-Curtis ticket. I know of no member of my race who cannot afford to support it."

Howard was one of the National committeemen in the South who was given two thousand dollars by Rush Holland, a Hoover worker, accordng to the latter's testimony before the Senate committee investigating campaign expenditures. Holland said that he stopped over in North Carolina "to write a few letters."

JOURNAL
KANSAS CITY, MO.

AUG 2 1928

NEGRO REPUBLICAN CLUB ORGANIZED IN 11TH WARD

At a Negro Republican organization meeting of the fourth precinct of the Eleventh ward at 1914 Montgall avenue last night the following officers were elected:

Mrs. Luverta Dorsey, president.
Kenneth Muson, first vice president.
Mrs. Rachael Rushing, second vice president.
Mrs. Ona B. Russell, secretary.
Mrs. Gladys Hudspeth, assistant secretary.

M. H. Duemmer, precinct captain, spoke urging all Negro voters to cast their ballots in the primary election.

INDIANAPOLIS
INDIANA

AUG 2 1928

G. O. P. TO PAY HUGE SUM FOR NEGRO BACKING

Liberal Part of $4,000,000 to Be Spent in Wooing Colored Population.

By KENNETH CRAWFORD
United Press Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2.—A liberal part of the $4,000,000 the Republicans expect to spend in their efforts to elect Herbert Hoover will probably be devoted to win Negro votes.

This became evident today with announcement that a Negro voters' division of the Republican National Committee had been formed.

The announcement, made by National Chairman Work, did not specify whether an intensive drive was to be made among southern Negroes. It was believed, however, that main efforts would be centered on the large Negro voting population in New York, certain Middle West states and the border territory.

Organization Announced

John R. Hawkins of this city, who seconded Hoover's nomination at Kansas City, was appointed chairman of the executive committee directing Negro activity. Robert L. Vann of Pittsburgh heads the publicity committee.

Organization committees and speakers' bureaus will be established in Chicago and possibly in New York, with main headquarters here.

An advisory committee of 200, headed by Charles W. Anderson of New York City, includes men and women from all sections of the country.

"A spirited campaign in which business, professional and religious leaders will have a prominent and active part will be launched immediately," Chairman Hawkins said.

How the remainder of the $4,000,000 Republican war chest will be used is a matter of speculation. Perhaps one-third of it will be devoted to publicity and speakers. Other expenditures will be made for special bureaus for labor, women, service men, foreign born voters, farmers, commercial travelers, clerical help and office maintenance.

"Plenty to Spend"

The Republican national committee spent $4,022,902 to elect President Hardnig in 1920, and was left at the end of the campaign with a $1,800,000 deficit.

In 1924, with President Coolidge as its candidate, the party spent slightly more than $3,000,000 and had a surplus left from contributions.

Work's decision to set $4,000,000 as this year's goal may be frowned upon by some party leaders, but others probably will agree that sum is needed.

"Smith will have plenty to spend," is often repeated political gossip, especially since the appointment of several big business men to the Democratic campaign organization, and Republican leaders are apparently determined that they too will have "plenty".

Political — Republican.

Party Affiliation

PRESS
ASBURY PARK, N. J.
MAY 29 1928

WEST SIDE GROUP FLAY "CONTROL," ASK RECOGNITION

Vice Conditions and Leadership By White Politicians Deplored at Negro Mass Meeting.

ATTACK SEGREGATION ON CITY'S BEACHFRONT

Demanding that the negro voters of the third, fourth and fifth districts of the first ward, together with other negro citizens of the city, be given recognition, negroes at a mass meeting last night in Roseland Hall, Springwood avenue, attacked city officials and declared that conditions on Springwood avenue were being protected by white people.

The meeting was called by Reese Du Pree, negro singer, and G. Wallace Edwards, one of the few negroes in the employ of the city. Edwards works for the health department. The meeting was hailed as a Republican good will and "get-together." It ended with the leaders pleading for the negroes to unite and control their own votes.

"A certain white man has made the statement that he had all the negro votes under his thumb," declared Du Pree. "The conditions that now exist are that unless you conduct a place of vice on Springwood avenue and are in with certain white men who are prominent in this city, you can't afford to conduct a place of business.

"The leaders are Republicans and in the past two years the negroes who resent this leadership have voted Democratic. I have joined this organization for the purpose of seeing that this condition which has existed for some time, is corrected.

Resent Dictation

"How would the white people cross-town like it if a negro was to enter their section and dictate to them and tell them what to do? That is pretty strong but it is the truth.

"We have about 2,300 votes and the way west Asbury Park is growing we expect that in the next five years we will have 3,500. We have two negroes in the employ of the city.

"We want things in the order they are in Atlantic City. There they have negro sergeants in the police department and a wonderful bathing beach. It would be very sad to know that if a woman or a man of color should go to the boardwalk and happen to stroll up the walk and become thirsty, she or he would have to wait until they returned to the beach south of the Casino.

"Asbury Park has grown and we have some very respectable people over here. Why should they be crowded out?"

The crowd in the hall increased as the program continued and the meeting reached its height when Rev. George A. Crawley, following an address by Du Pree, declared that the white leaders have offered the negro propaganda. He pleaded for them not to "swallow it hook, line and sinker."

After recalling the school segregation question at Toms River last year, during which time he said he had been approached by a lawyer at the Ocean county seat and asked to have his people pass the matter up for the time being, Crawley began his attack on the city officials.

Officials "Not Qualified"

"Everyone that went in there (meaning city offices) were not qualified at the time and some of them are not qualified now." He then recommended that at the next city election they sponsor and support their own candidate for a city office, and told them that until they supplanted their thoughts with actions they would not accomplish much.

"You have liquor shops, gambling and immoral houses, you have every conceivable thing over here," Crawley continued. "Surely somebody is getting money out of it. If a white man is getting some of that money then let a black man get some of it. I'm not in favor of this but if they are running these places then I say let someone but a white man get some of it."

"We don't want any leader that will go to the back door of a white man's house," the speaker said in conclusion, adding that a negro candidate should be named for the next commission contest.

George W. Edwards when introduced by the chairman, Thomas A. A. Parrotte, was said by the chair to be a speaker who was going to tell the meeting how he secured his city position.

Defies City Employers

"You know that I'm employed by the city," he began. "I have fought for my race for anything and I'm in accord with this movement. I have as much right to have my voice when my race is at stake as anyone.

"There hasn't been a letter said here tonight that I haven't agreed to," Edwards continued in assuring the negroes that he was their supporter.

Turning to the question of more negro policemen in the city department as well as a negro plainclothes man, Edwards declared, "There isn't an officer in Asbury Park who supports him," pointing at Omcer Tucker, negro policeman, who was sitting but a few rows from the platform.

"Why can't he be a plainclothes man? Just because he's black. I have no mortgages on me. If you don't think so go crosstown."

"Hetrick, White And Pratt" Told

He then declared that some had already carried the information to city officials that the meeting was going on.

"Some of you are going out there now," he continued. "Hetrick, White and Pratt know this meting is going on because someone has gone hooting around. The position that I got did not come from any black man. I got it thru hard work. This is a race fight.

"We are not rebelling. We are just doing what the white people have done and a white man has never gone to the ballot box and voted for a negro," Edwards concluded.

Du Pree taking the platform said he was going to speak the truth. After being assured that the audience would support him, he declared that he was going "to go down into the woodpile and clean it out."

"Money cannot buy me," Du Free shouted. "If I ever do anything wrong don't have anything more to do with me. When we elect a leader I'm going to see that he walks straight."

He then declared that he had been humiliated on the boardwalk when friends visited him, stating that the concessionaires had refused to serve them with drinks. Crawley had previously declared that his people had the right to recognition as much as the whites on the boardwalk in view of the fact that it was a public place and that the negroes as taxpayers were helping to pay the beachfront expenses "and to help build the Casino."

Du Press continued by saying that because he had not promised the negroes recognition on the boardwalk, a candidate for reelection at the last city election had been defeated.

"Last year, just before election, I was called to a house. There were two commissioners there. Both seeking reelection. They whipped around and then I asked one if he would grant us our privileges on the boardwalk. He waited and then he said he would not. That man didn't go back to office!" the negro singer yelled.

Du Pree offered to finance the organization which the negroes will form in their fight. He said that regardless of city officials, or others, one of whom had come to him with a threat, he would sponsor the organization. He charged that one had told him if he continued his fight to secure the recognition of the negro he would be cutting his own throat because he owns the Roseland.

"We are only asking this. We want to be treated square in a public place," Du Pree said.

Intimations were made that white men of the city were "working" the west side by getting "paid off" by owners of the gambling houses and liquor stores.

The leaders of the meeting last night announced that another would be held shortly and that the meetings would continue until their number had increased. They then plan to form a permanent organization and elect officers.

Woman Takes Part

Mrs. Montgonery Jones arose during the course of the meeting to warn the negroes in the selection of a leader.

"Don't let them rush you into anything and select a leader who is not qualified to lead you," she said. "We do not want to find that he had been led into the claws and clutches of the other group."

She said that the negroes had failed to organize because the women were timid and the men were not fearless enough. Pleading for a representative of her race in city government and declaring that the negroes had the same privileges and rights as others in this city, the woman apparently changed the course of the meeting from a political gathering to one of a group seeking the recognition of others. She was given a vote of thanks and the speakers that followed centered their addresses on local conditions instead of the November election.

TIMES DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.
MAY 19 1928

STUDENT DENIES ONLY "IGNORANT" NEGROES FOR AL

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—I would like to question Mr. Leake, of Hopewell, Va., whose letter appeared in The Times-Dispatch of May 13th instant. He presupposes that the "ignorant" Negroes only will vote for "Al" Smith if he is the choice of the Democrats when they convene in Houston. I, myself, and several of my schoolmates are thinking strongly of voting for "Al" Smith—but, maybe, we belong to that group of "ignorant" Negroes who would have "Al" Smith as their Chief Executive.

Ignorant or not, if I vote for above-named Democrat, it will be on account of the qualifications of the man. He is diplomatic, and a President should be a diplomat; his successful administration as Governor of New York has proven his executive ability, and a President is an executive—rather—the Chief Executive; he is a "wet," and I favor modification of the prohibition law, which I believe the "drys" will not favor; being a Catholic, he automatically is an opposer of the Ku-Klux Klan, that organization which, according to Imperial Wizard Evans, is "the Negro's best friend," but which, according to my judgment, is the Negro's friend if he admits of "white supremacy" in America.

Do these reasons not justify me in voting for such a candidate? There are, I believe, many Republicans who will desert the G. O. P. this fall if "Al" Smith runs on the Democratic ticket, many Negroes included, and they are not "ignorant" in any sense of the word.

The following may be reasons for the stand Mr. Leake has taken:

If he says the Negroes are ignorant because they desert their party, then is it not logical to say that the Democrats who, he says, will desert their party, that they, too, are ignorant?

Or, if he bases his statement on the belief that "Al" Smith is not suited for the office, then would he not be justified in saying that everybody who votes for "Al" Smith is ignorant?

If neither of the above is Mr. Leake's reason for his stand, I would like to know what is his reason or reasons.

H. CARTER SPURLOCK.
Richmond, Va.

HERALD
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Harlem Vote Held as Vital In Campaign for President

Tammany Has Made Great Effort With Success in Turning Colored Citizens Into Democratic Political Column

By JUDSON C. WELLIVER

The possibility that the presidential campaign will be won and lost in Harlem has caused the colored brother distinctly to chirk up lately. The Harlem district of Upper Manhattan Island now contains the most politically potential community of colored people in the United States.

"As goes Harlem, so goes the nation," observed a wise old New York politician today. Then he expounded:

"It isn't merely that Harlem has such an enormous colored population, but the colored people of Harlem have achieved an independence of the old political affiliations.

TAMMANY INTERESTED

The truth is that Tammany, since it realized that Harlem's colorder population was important in New York, has been taking a distinct interest in it. Tammany always adapts itself to circumstances. In its early years it took in the Irish immigrants who were then coming in great numbers, and a little later those same Irish took in Tammany.

Later, the other European elements were assimilated by it, to a larger extent than anywhere else, the Germans; then the Italians, and along with these so large a proportion of Jews, Russians, and all the rest, that New York practically has been ruled by a polyglot Tammany with this genius for gathering in all the elements.

DEMOCRAT MAJORITY

"The rise of Harlem to be a new sort of colored community in the United States has been a striking phenomenon of the last few years. It has been substantially coincident with the leadership of Al Smith in New York, and as a result there is probably a larger proportion of Democrats among the colored voters of Harlem than any other colored community in the country.

"Add to this, that New York is always a dangerous State for the Republicans when Al Smith runs, and a pivotal State in presidential years, and you will understand what I mean by saying that 'As Harlem goes, so goes the nation.'"

It is not merely the weight of Harlem's vote in New York that has given concern to the politicians. There is an uneasy feeling among the Republicans that if Harlem gets really independent, it is liable to prove a powerful leader among colored voters elsewhere.

MIGRATE NORTH

The northward migration of colored people during and since the war has made them more important in the North than in the South, because in the North they can get their votes cast and counted.

Tammany has made more progress in Harlem toward weaning the colored brother from his traditional devotion to the Republican party than has been made by any other Democratic organization.

Republican managers are discovering the significance of all this. They find that magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, books, intended primarily for colored people, have been dealing for several years with Harlem in a fashion to break down the ancient tradition of race loyalty to Republicanism.

LARGE COLORED VOTE

There is a very large colored vote in several close Northern States: New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Ohio, and Indiana especially.

In the North, colored people are mostly city dwellers. They come in contact chiefly with Dmeocratic, rather than Republican political machines. Following the lead of Tammany, other Democratic organizations have been cultivating their good will; and now the colored man of the North has suddenly become recognized. He might decide an election. If Smith is nominated, this colored vote in the North will be given an attention never before dreamed of in a presidential year.

UNION
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

MAY 17 1928

HOOVER WORKER REVEALS PAYING NEGRO LEADERS

Secretary Said to Have Had No Knowledge of Move, but Blow to Campaign Is Seen.

BOTH OPENLY NAMED ON GRAFT CHARGES

G. O. P. Organizers Accused of Selling Postal Jobs; Lowden Lost in 1920 for Similar Cause.

SPRINGFIELD UNION BUREAU.
WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 16.

Trouble seems to be in the wind for the Hoover campaign with the revelation today by Rush Holland, a former assistant attorney general, that he had paid two Negro national committeemen, who are also delegates to the Republican convention, $2000 each out of the Hoover campaign funds to organize their States.

Back in 1920 Gov. Frank O. Lowden lost the nomination because it developed that one of his earnest workers had paid two Missouri delegates to organize their State and a Senate investigating committee found that instead the money went the the personal accounts of the delegates. In the present campaign Gov. Lowden is the strongest open opposition to Herbert Hoover for the mantle of Calvin Coolidge.

Careful Not to Repeat.

The managers of the Lowden campaign are being careful not to have repeated the 1920 payoff, and they are jubilant with the disclosures of Rush Holland. It is safe to say that the most will be made by all opponents, Democratic and Republican, of this situation. No one believes that Mr. Hoover himself had anything to do with the payments to Perry Howard, Negro committeeman from Mississippi, or Ben W. Davis, the Negro Republican boss of Georgia. Howard, in addition, is a lawyer and connected with the Department of Justice. He maintains a committee here in the interest of the Hoover candidacy toward which Rush Holland stated he was contributing $200 a week of the Hoover funds but did not from his own knowledge know what Howard was actually doing for the Hoover campaign.

Named in Postal Case.

Ben W. Davis, the Negro national committeeman and delegate from Georgia, has been under fire for some time as has Howard for alleged sale of patronage in postmaster appointments. Both are said to absolutely control Federal patronage in their respective States. Southern senators have made charges to both the Justice and Postoffice Departments in the alleged patronage sales practises, but investigations are said to have cleared them as far as they were personally concerned. More than a score of complaints have been registered against them with accompanying affidavits in this matter.

As usual there are two sets of delegates in both Georgia and Mississippi, both claiming the right to sit at the convention. This situation occurs every four years and the leaders have to make a decision before the convention opens as to which will be seated.

Effect in South.

These disclosures are bound to have their effect in the border and Southern States where there is strong race feeling and will be a blow to the prestige of Hoover in that section even though every politician in the South knows that the notorious borough system is used to pick delegates and that it takes money to control them. It is improbable that Hoover's opposition will let such a chance slip but will use this evidence of Rush Holland to the very limit. The Hoover managers have already foreseen that there would be trouble over this control of Southern delegates, and have countered by stating that both Howard and Davis came out long ago for Mr. Hoover. The money given them, they say, represents funds for campaigns to send Hoover delegates to Kansas City and that they head local Hoover campaign organizations. The Hoover men assert that the Secretary of Commerce would never for a moment approve the time-honored system of using money to influence Southern delegates, even though that system is traditional. The amount involved is small and they will use that point in fighting any allusion to it.

They state that Mr. Hoover is too big a man to stoop to such practises and that his personal popularity and reputation for honesty will offset any insinuations that his workers had bought the Negro delegates.

H. L. Mencken Finds Two Intelligent Negroes Here a Relief From White Morons

The following is a part of the dispatch written by H. L. Mencken, editor of The American Mercury, who is covering the Republican convention for the Baltimore Sun.

"After hours spent in listening to the burbling of such vacuums I took ship for the Druid Hill avenue of Kansas City, having heard that the colored delegates quartered out there had formed an Aframerican bloc and were planning some sensational deviltries. The ride was a long one, and I found no such bloc. On the contrary, I found that the dark brethren were divided exactly like their white colleagues, and that they suffered from the same lack of assured and hearty leadership. But at all events I found some intelligent men among them, and especially two. One of these was A. F. Holsey, secretary of Tuskegee Institute, and the other was Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press.

"Neither, it appeared, was a delegate, though both were agitating in favor of Dr. Hoover. Their reasons were sound, and they stated them clearly and forcefully. At the time of the late floods along the Mississippi, it appeared, Dr. Hoover had come nobly to the rescue of their oppressed people. Left to the mercies of the native Ku Kluxers, many of the colored refugees would have fared badly, but Dr. Hoover insisted that they be succored, and to make sure of it appointed eminent Aframericans to look after them. So Messrs. Holsey and Barnett had come to town to agitate for him.

"It did not appear that they had made any appreciable progress for colored delegates to a Republican national convention are mainly susceptible to persuasions of a somewhat different sort. In such matters, indeed, they are broad-minded and do not cherish grudges. Wherever the money is they will be found. But though Messrs. Holsey and Barnett were thus not too hopeful of getting anywhere with their propaganda they at least showed good humor, good manners and sound sense. It was a pleasure to meet them after suffering for hours among the white morons. They remained the most intelligent men I have encountered among persons officially attached to the convention, one United States senator and five bootleggers excepted."

Political - 1928.

Party Affiliation.

COLORED REPUBLICANS SHOCKED AT ACTION OF COMMISSIONERS

DR. SOLOMON'S PROTEST IS SENTIMENT OF NEGROES, JEWS AND CATHOLICS

Colored Republicans were given the shock of their lives last week when it was announced the Republican Board of County Commissioners had granted the Armory to the Ku Klux Klan for a big celebration Labor Day, September 1st. The Armory belongs to the citizens of Jefferson County and it would seem that an organization having the reputation for deviltry in the spreading of racial and religious prejudice that the Klan would not be granted the use of public property for which the victims of the Klan's prejudice are taxed to maintain. Under previous administration—Republican and Democratic—the Klan was not allowed to parade or gather in public places, but the newly elected Republican County Commissioners quickly, and it might be said gladly, granted the Armory to them.

Many "big" Colored Republicans called The News, Friday night and Saturday and asked, "What do you think of that?" The reply was, "The News told you last fall the Republican party was permeated with the spirit of the Ku Klux Klan, if not actually controlled by it."

Thousands of gullible Negroes would not believe The News, but perhaps they will see it now.

Before September 1st there will be many protests made by Colored and white organizations against the use of the Armory by the Ku Klux Klan.

7-14-28

The Paul Laurence Dunbar Club boasts a membership of 1000 Colored Republicans. Surely they will protest against this action of Republican County Commissioners. The N. A. A. C. P., with a membership of 3000 will protest and other organizations may protest. If they are unheeded the proper thing to do would be to speak with the ballot when these gentlemen run again for office. If any trusting Negro does not think the Ku Klux Klan is anti-Negro let him read this from Collier's Weekly of July 14, in an article, "How I Put Over the Klan," by "Col." Simmons, founder of the Ku Klux Klan. The article says the "Klan was primarily intended to control Negroes. It was an Anti-Negro prejudice he sold to his fellows."

Louisville, Ky.

The Anti-Catholic, Anti-Jewish, Anti-foreign features grew up later on, he says.

So Colored people so crazy about Republicans as to fight each other over them can figue this out: The

Republican.

K. K. K. was born Anti-Negro, and Republican officials put in power by Negro voters allow that organization to hold a jollification on public property Negroes are taxed to suport.

Read this from last week's Herald-Post, and think

The Ku Klux Klan was granted use of the Jefferson County Armory by county commissioneers Friday for a Labor Day mass meeting September 1, which will be sponsored by all Klan chapters in the county.

A free show, public speaking, lunch and refreshments will be served to the public. There will be no admission charge, it was said.

Costs of lights and other minor expenses will be the only charge that the county will make, it was said.

The request for use of the Armory was conveyed in a letter signed by two klan committees. Immediately after the letter was read. Frank J. Humbert, commissioner, made a motion that the request be granted. This was seconded by Ben F. Vogt and when put to a vote Judge Fox and Ben L. Brunner favored it.

Klan's Letter

The letter from the klan follows:

"To the County Commissioners of Jefferson County—Gentlemen: We the undersigned, acting upon authority and in behalf of the Ku Klux Klan, do hereby respectfully apply to you for permission to use the Jefferson County Armory on Saturday, September 1, 1928, from 8 a. m. until 12 midnight, as headquarters for a joint meeting of the Louisville klans.

"The meeting planned will be open to the public, free of any admission charge.

"A free show, public speaking and lunch and refreshments served within the Armory will be the principal features of the meeting.

"If you will grant us permission to use the Armory on the above named date we would ask that you would please sign this letter and return one copy of the same to bearer.

KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN.

Committee of Klan No. 127,
E. F. Gilliam, G. T. Tabler and J. Bruce Clark.

Committee of Klan No. 133,
C. B. Aubry, George M. Phillips and W. W. Castle.

As the letter was delivered on June 12, the duplicate copy was not handed to the bearer as the usual request called for.

In the following letter the noted Dr. Leon Solomon voices the sentiments of Negroes, Jews, Catholics and thousands of patriotic and just Americans:

Opposed to Klan Using Armory

To the Editor of The Times: I observe in the July 6 issue of The Times privilege has been granted by the eJefferson County Commissioners for the use on Saturday, September 1, of the Armory building by the Ku Klux Klan for a meeting scheduled to take place between the hours of 2 o'clock in the morning and 12 o'clock midnight.

According to published letter signed Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, bearing names of certain gentlemen, representing committeess of Klans Nos. 127 and 133, it is proposed that the Armory shall be used as headquarters for a joint meeting of Louisville Klans. The letter reads in part:

"The meeting planned will be open to the public free of any admission charge.

THE NEGRO DOES NOT WANT POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

The more we study our economic and political problems the more convinced we become that the Negro does not want political representation. The race is further today from economic and political solidarity than it was 30 years ago. We are more divided among ourselves, one against the other, each pulling for himself and against everybody else, than we were in the days of Bruce, Lynch, Lyons, Cheatham, Hill, Cuney and White.

Independent

There is no organized effort among us to build a leadership with a view of securing representation in Congress, legislatures, city councils and local governments. We do not want a place in the economy of party council; we would far rather see a white man filling every place in the party council than to see one another fill these places. We do not want such positions in the party organizations as chairman, secretary or central committeeman. We fret and foam at the mouth about representation on the national committee, when in truth, our activities are empty camouflage. Our game is purely one of "If I can't get it, you shan't have it, and I'd rather see a white man with it."

7-12-28

Atlanta

All of the racket about race representation is bunk. What the average Negro leader wants is a place for himself. It is to hell with the race if I can get what I want, and I'm not particular about the methods or means used to reach the coveted end."

At Kansas City there was a great campaign about race representation and there was not a single organized effort among the Negro men and women present to secure representation for the race or to increase its economic and political influence in party councils. There was a bunch of self-constituted leaders propagating race representation every day and there was no organization among these propagandists. What they were trying to put over was to make themselves important and create a market in which they might sell an influence which they never had.

Perry Howard was trying to preserve the integrity of his own organization on one hand and to fight lily-whites on the other, and he never received any help outside of Mississippi. Every other Negro leader was either fighting to preserve his own hide or was trying to impress the white man with his own importance with a view to selling himself to the highest bidder. Bob Church, of Tennessee, was too busy trying to retain his seat in the convention to help Ben Davis, of Georgia, or Perry Howward, of Mississippi. Walter Cohen had all he could do to retain his seat and received no assistance from his race outside of Louisiana. There were a lot of Negro leaders talking about Davis and Howard voting against Cohen, but these propagandists made no effort to render Cohen any assistance. Ben Davis was overloaded trying to maintain regularity in Georgia and was kept so busy fighting the traitors in and out of the state

who were trying to defeat him and elect a lily-white for a lousy dollar to help his neighbors. McGill, in Florida, and McDonald, in Texas, were so busy fighting the lily-whites that they had no time to look after the race.

The Negro press was so busy propagating yellow journalism and misrepresenting the Negro delegates that it never thought of promoting race representation. And those of the race not strictly engaged in politics were so busy socializing, dancing and having a good time that they never thought of the welfare of their kith and kin. They were out for a red-letter night and never had time to think of little things like economic opportunity and political freedom.

Taking our observations at Kansas City in consideration together with the drift of the Negro towards a good time and the strife, envy, dissension and jealousy among us we can hardly escape the conclusion that the present educated Negro leadership doesn't want any place in the councils of the party, doesn't want any economic progress, doesn't want to be members of the national committee, state central committee or county committee or to hold places of political preferment or economic advantage.

A race of people divided into selfish groups and individuals makes no progress and in like manner the individual who loses himself in selfishness may earn money and prestige but success will be short-lived. Kansas City tells the story of race consciousness, race pride, and individual selfishness among the present-day Negro leadership. There was absolutely no effort at Kansas City by the Negroes who were not in trouble to help those out who were in trouble in order to give them race prestige and to promote the common good of all. Neither were there any efforts among those that were in trouble to make common cause among ourselves to win for all. Each tried to win for self, and, in a way, each lost for all. Yes, we lost prestige at Kansas City, but it was not because of any prejudice without the race, but because of our down-right selfishness, nonsense and short-sightedness within the race. No, Negroes do not want real political representation, they would rather see the white folk with it.

WHAT WAS IN THE COMMITTEE'S MIND

Senate probe committee investigating sale of patronage issued following statement at opening session Wednesday morning:

"The impression has gone out that this investigation will cause the removal of postmasters who have contributed money to secure their appointments or reappointments. The committee wants it distinctly understood that such is not its purpose. We want to get the exact truth of the situation and the committee will certainly do all in its power to protect those who tell the whole truth. If the hearings prove that tribute is being unlawfully levied upon the postmasters it is the view of the committee that those who collect and enforce this tribute are the ones to blame, and it is the purpose of the committee to make an end of this system."

What the distinguished Senators meant by issuing the above statement, and their purpose for doing so, is one largely of conjecture and will admit of many interpretations. The statement may be construed to influence postmasters who have made contributions to the Republican organization to give testimony that they would not have given for fear they would lose their jobs. So, in other words, it may be understood to mean an offer of immunity for evidence. Some may think that the statement is unfortunate and that postmasters would go further than the facts would warrant, if they were certain they would not lose their jobs, or be punished, especially in instances where the race question is involved.

We do not know what was in the committee's mind when it wrote or uttered the statement, and we will not attempt to say; but we do know that under the law a purchaser of a post office is just as guilty in the sight of the law as the seller; and that the postmaster who is guilty of giving anything of value as a consideration for appointment need not expect immunity from punishment, or retain his job. It has been the policy of the Post Office Department to fire every postmaster who gave a consideration for his appointment, and those who bought their office, if any, and expect to keep them, had better keep their mouths shut.

The present organization has never sold a post office in Georgia or offered to sell one, and never will so long as it is in its right mind and senses. We think the statement was unfortunate, but United States Senators are far wiser than we are, and we take it for granted that they issued the statement for the purpose of freeing the witnesses to tell the truth and not in any sense of immunity for incriminating evidence.

The law is plain on this point and admits of no equivocation. Read it:

"An Act to Prevent Purchase and Sale of Public Office.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that it shall be unlawful to pay or offer or promise to pay any sum of money, or any other thing of value, to any person, firm, or corporation in consideration of the use or promise to use any influence, whatsoever, to procure any appointive office under the Government of the United States for any person whatsoever.

"Section 2. It shall be unlawful to solicit or receive from anyone whatsoever, either as a political contribution, or for personal emolument, any sum of money or thing of value, whatsoever, in consideration of the promise of support, or use of influence, or for the support or influence of the payee, in behalf of the person paying the money, or any other person, in obtaining any appointive office under the Government of the United States.

"Section 3. Anyone convicted of violating this Act shall be punished by imprisonment of not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than $1,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
Wednesday, July 11, 1928

Republican Crows

Particularly for the benefit of those who have decided that they will bolt the Democratic party this fall because of the "moral issues" involved, it is well to consider the testimony adduc ' before the Senate committee investigating patronage sales in Georgia, in the first day of its session. That testimony justifies every charge that has been made in connection with the hi-jacking methods employed by the Republican organization in this state to bleed both Democrat and Republican holders of federal office.

It was developed during the first day that:

1. The Republican committee in Georgia has a monthly payroll and expense account of $1,200.

2. It pays salaries to six persons that total more than $1,000 a month. Ben Davis gets $250 a month, the treasurer, John Martin, gets $250 a month; the chairman and the vice chairman of the state committee get $250 a month each.

3. Contributions are made monthly by practically all postmasters in the state.

4. Contributions are made monthly by practically all federal employes, including postal clerks and rural free delivery route carriers.

5. A card index system is used, under which a new employe's name is dropped into the card file and each monthly "contribution" is recorded on his card.

6. When a federal employe drops behind in his payments, he receives a letter from the treasurer asking him if it is his intention to make any further contributions.

7. Postmasters have been forced to pay money to retain their places.

8. Applicants have been forced to make large contributions to the Republican party, although they may be Democrats, to secure places. In the first day, it was brought out that such "contributions" had been made by the postmaster at Sardis, at Stockbridge and at Nahunta.

9. The postoffice department, presided over by a Republican cabinet member, knew about this hi-jacking and in the Nahunta instance told Ben Davis it could not receive any more recommendations from the patronage referee of that county. It did not appear that the Republican cabinet officer had made any investigation to see whether that was the general situation.

10. Ben Davis, the Negro Republican national committeeman, had received these complaints, but had done nothing about it.

Several conclusions are inevitable. In the first place, political parties do not pay the men who run their affairs. They pay the stenographers and the clerks who do the work, but the state chairman and the national committeemen and the other officers work for their party because they are patriotic, or because they are interested in politics, or because they hope for personal advancement thereby. In Georgia, the Republican leaders have introduced the high-financing method of sustaining themselves. Like overlords, they demand tribute from even the humblest federal employe in the state. They say these "contributions" are voluntarily, but the card-index record belies their claim. That record shows that postmasters in the same class, drawing the same salary, contribute the same monthly amount. It is not humanly possible for 50 people, in widely separated parts of the state, to make a "free will" offering in the same amount each month. Plainly, the postmasters are assessed. Plainly, they are told what they are expected to give.

Plainly, also, the money is extorted from them. If it was not extorted, if their jobs did not depend upon the contributions, Democrats would not be found contributing to the support of the well-fed Ben Davis in the sum of $250 a month. These men who "contribute" are not even making a "contribution" to the Republican party. Not a cent of what they give goes into the coffers of the national Republican party; not a cent of it is spent to perpetuate in office the party that gives them jobs. All of it goes to sustain the carrion crows who feed upon their vitals as soon as they are put upon the payroll of the federal government.

Not only is the monthly contributions made —totalling in a year more than $14,000—but the applicant for a postmastership must pay his toll. Mrs. Wilson, at Stockbridge, paid $75 to the organization so that her husband might have the postmastership, but he got it only after he had paid another $50. Instance after instance of that has occurred in the state.

Those who are interested in "moral issues" may find the reports of the patronage probe to be interesting reading.

who were trying to defeat him and elect a lily-white for a lousy dollar to help his neighbors. McGill, in Florida, and McDonald, in Texas, were so busy fighting the lily-whites that they had no time to look after the race.

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9. The postoffice department, presided over by a Republican cabinet member, knew about this hi-jacking and in the Nahunta instance told Ben Davis it could not receive any more recommendations from the patronage referee of that county. It did not appear that the Republican cabinet officer had made any investigation to see whether that was the general situation.

10. Ben Davis, the Negro Republican national committeeman, had received these complaints, but had done nothing about it.

Several conclusions are inevitable. In the first place, political parties do not pay the men who run their affairs. They pay the stenographers and the clerks who do the work, but the state chairman and the national committeemen and the other officers work for their party because they are patriotic, or because they are interested in politics, or because they hope for personal advancement thereby. In Georgia, the Republican leaders have introduced the high-financing method of sustaining themselves. Like overlords, they demand tribute from even the humblest federal employe in the state. They say these "contributions" are voluntarily, but the card-index record belies their claim. That record shows that postmasters in the same class, drawing the same salary, contribute the same monthly amount. It is not humanly possible for 50 people, in widely separated parts of the state, to make a "free will" offering in the same amount each month. Plainly, the postmasters are assessed. Plainly, they are told what they are expected to give.

Plainly, also, the money is extorted from them. If it was not extorted, if their jobs did not depend upon the contributions, Democrats would not be found contributing to the support of the well-fed Ben Davis in the sum of $250 a month. These men who "contribute" are not even making a "contribution" to the Republican party. Not a cent of what they give goes into the coffers of the national Republican party; not a cent of it is spent to perpetuate in office the party that gives them jobs. All of it goes to sustain the carrion crows who feed upon their vitals as soon as they are put upon the payroll of the federal government.

Not only is the monthly contributions made —totalling in a year more than $14,000—but the applicant for a postmastership must pay his toll. Mrs. Wilson, at Stockbridge, paid $75 to the organization so that her husband might have the postmastership, but he got it only after he had paid another $50. Instance after instance of that has occurred in the state.

Those who are interested in "moral issues" may find the reports of the patronage probe to be interesting reading.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation,

Republican,

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3-3-28

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Furthermore, who can tell what course the present Republican regime will take, in the event their "slate" is elected as delegates to the National Republican Convention at Kansas City, Mo., June 12, 1928, if we are to judge future partisan actions by past political performances?

A political party which supports a prohibitionist for office one time and an anti-prohibitionist at the next election; which trots out an anti-klux candidate in 1922 for senate and then supports and backs a klux kandidate for governor in 1924; which urges the election of a Republican congressman from a congressional district in 1920, 1922, 1924 and then stubbornlly opposes and bitterly fights that same congressman's re-election in 1926; a party "machine" which changes almost as regularly as the moon, and always endeavors to play both ends against the middle; which tries to blow hot and cold at the same time; which makes an effort to run with the hound and the hare—any such partisan organization can hardly be trusted to remain steadfast and loyal in the face of a deadlock in balloting for party presidential nominee, not even in a National Republican Convention!

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We have always heard that a half-friend is worse than a whole enemy, and this is just as true in political affairs as in other lines; and it is up to the genuine Hoover supporters in Texas—without regard to color or past affiliations—to see that delegates are elected at the Republican state convention in Dallas, Tuesday, May 22, 1928, who will neither double-cross nor "ditch" the Hoover cause at the least flurry or under the guise of political exigency and partisan expediency.

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If the Republicans of Texas are wise, whether they be pro-Hoover or anti-Hoover, they will bestir themselves and organize their forces to participate in the precinct conventions called under the authority of the Creager-Nolte administration, which are due to be held in the various voting precincts of the state, Saturday, May 5, 1928.

At these precinct conventions the voters of their respective precincts will elect delegates to the county conventions, which will be held Tuesday, May 8, 1928, at some place designated in advance by the county chairmen of the party organization. At the county conventions delegates will be elected to the state convention which will convene at Dallas, Tuesday, May 22, 1928.

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Our delay in announcing our pre-convention choice for president has been occasioned by our "watchful waiting" policy, to see if any other aspirant would enter the presidential field who would prove a better man than Mr. Hoover or any of the other avowed candidates and "favorite sons."

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The "favorite son" idea has never had any particular appeal to The Informer, for it only affords the said "favorite" a chance to so manipulate and maneuver affairs as to get some concessions in the final showdown.

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Every citizen is quite familiar with the public record of Mr. Hoover; his activities during the World War as national food administrator, and how capably he managed and conducted this mammoth program; his recent interest and activity in the Mississippi River flooded area; his grasp on public questions and issues, particularly as they affect our domestic prosperity and resultant harmony and happiness, as well as our international relationships; how he advocates and stands for efficiency and proficiency in governmental affairs; his utter lack of party orthodoxy.

Another thing, Mr. Hoover has not solicited and is not yet seeking the office of president, but the office seems to be seeking him, which is one of the best recommendations as to his character, ability and qualifications for the highest elective office within the gift of the American electorate.

In discussing and considering the fitness and qualifications of aspirants, prospects and candidates for various public offices, it is customary for groups or blocs to discuss and consider such official possibilities in the light of their attitude and sympathy towards said group or bloc.

In this respect, if Mr. Hoover maintains the same sympathetic attitude towards the Negro race as he has in former years, and as he did recently when he virtually issued an edict in the Mississippi River flood area, practically emancipating thousands of Negro peons and serfs from the damnable and diabolical slave-system almost universally in vogue in the delta section; if Mr. Hoover remains the man with a free mind, and if he stays loyal and steadfast to his religious creed and training; if he does not permit designing politicians and political demagogues to sway and sweep him from the path of his holden duty, The Informer considers him the best man in the field for Republican nomination as standard-bearer in the 1928 general election.

As far as the Negro citizens of Texas are concerned, the fact that the anti-Negro Republican regime has already announced for Mr. Hoover should have no ill or depressing effect upon our group; for we are free, untrammeled electors of the state and national governments, and have the constitutional and inalienable right to support any man, for any office in the gift of said electorate.

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The voting strength, in Texas, and most Dixie states, both pre-convention and general election, lies in the Negroes of said state, and thus our racial group is in a position to wield a powerful influence in the cause of any particular presidential prospect or aspirant; if we will only organize our forces, concentrate our efforts in one given direction and labor unselfishly towards the consummation of our program.

The Informer has made the repeated suggestion that the Negro voters of Texas should hold a statewide conference and take some definite political action before it is too late; but if no such parley is called, then we suggest that Negroes in their several communities assemble, discuss the merits of the various presidential prospects, and then line up behind and support the man they think will best serve theirs and the country's interests.

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Again we reiterate that "he who would be free, himself must strike the first blow;" and the hour has arrived in Texas when the Negroes must arise in the strength of their manhood and womanhood, contend with all their energy for their constitutional rights, both as Republican electors and plain citizens of the commonwealth.

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SENATOR MOSES EXPOSES G. O. P. HOLD CARD

EDITORIAL

READ IT AND WEEP

In a speech before the Woman's National Republican Club of New York City a few days ago, the New York World quotes Senator George H. Moses, the eastern manager of the Republican campaign, as follows:

W-12-28

After his speech, in which Senator Moses criticized the Democratic stand on tariff, and Gov. Smith's attitude on Prohibition and his affiliation with Tammany, he opened the floor to questions.

Washington D.C.

One of the women in his audience asked about reports that Herbert Hoover had placed Negroes over white men doing work on the Mississippi flood relief, and about another report that the Republican nominee had made promises to Virginia Negroes for their support.

"I don't know that any such condition exists," replied Senator Moses, "but if any promises have been made, they will be kept."

SENATOR RAISES RACIAL ISSUE

"I do know this, however," continued the Senator, "that in Washington there is no colored Civil Service Commissioner who dictates to a white stenographer of the female sex, such as I understand is done right here in New York."

Some of the audience applauded, but about half of the women received it in silence.

Many Republican leaders frankly disliked the Senator's remark. They took the stand that it was unnecessary and could serve only to create bitterness and misunderstanding.

It was pointed out by these same men, however, that the Republicans as a party should not be placed in such a position, since Negro recognition is given by the party in New York City as elsewhere.

Anyone reading the remarks of Senator Mosis must realize now, if never before, that the policy of the present day Republican party is the complete elimination of the Negro from holding any office under the control of that party. When we say any office we mean an office such as we have held in years gone by under both the Democratic and the Republican parties.

It is surprising that a man of Senator Moses' New England heritage and training should subscribe to the dictation of the members of the Ku Klux Klan now dominating the Republican party. But we should not be surprised at Moses' attitude. Has not Calvin Coolidge, with the same heritage and environment, consistently lived up to the preachments of this same sentiment now openly expressed by Mr. Moses? Was it not Calvin Coolidge who persistently refused to issue an executive order to abolish segregation in the Federal government under his administration? Was it not this same President Coolidge, who has the dubious credit of being the first President of the United States, to place the stamp of Federal approval on segregation? This he did when he signed the jim-crow bathing beach for the District of Columiba.

The Ku Klux Klan with its insidious race and religious prejudice, is in control of the Republican party. Its spirit dominates the actions of its leaders. The Willebrandts, the Works and the Ogden Milles, filled with race prejudice, religious intolerance and proscription, are the ones who, like Moses, feel the urge to join with the bigots who are today running wild throughout the country tearing down the traditions dear to the heart of every true American.

The speech of George Moses should cause the thinking Negroes everywhere to at last realize that there is no hope for them in the Republican party. Moses says that the Republican party, according to the New York World, "That in Washington there is no colored Civil Service Commissioner who dictates to a white stenographer of the female sex." This is a direct plea to the rabid prejudice of the South which Hoover and his outfit expect to capture. The remarks of Senator Moses, of New Hampshire, was not so much for New York consumption as it was for the consumption of the bigots and race haters in the South. Senator Moses is franker than his fellows in the Republican party. Most of them have the same sentiment in their hearts but do not have the nerve, the brazen effrontery of Moses to make it vocal.

The speech of Senator Moses, the New England cracker, the man from the bleak hills of New Hampshire, the man who will, in the event of the unfortunate control of the next Senate by the Republicans, be the Speaker protem, should cause the Negro voter of the country to awake from his political lethargy. This speech together with the policy of the Republican party of the past eight years to eliminate the Negro from the party councils and places of preferment, or as William H. Lewis said four years ago, the "pie counter," should cause the Negro to make political reprisals. What self respecting Negro, after the latest insult by one of the leaders of the G. O. P. can even hold his nose and vote for Hoover? Where are the Negroes who will still insist that the Republican party is the ship and all else the sea? If there be any such still using that moth eaten slogan of the late Frederick Douglass we would invite them to a realization of the fact that the ship is scuttled by the pirate crew who are its present commanders and that they are ready to sink the old ship in the black waters of race prejudice and religious bigotry and intolerance.

KILL THE NIGGER

Every town in the South has heard the fiendish shout "Kill the nigger!" upon some occasion when it was alleged that some man of color had committed some offense. No proof was necessary; no trial was thought; no feeling of the possibility of doubt or of provocation entered the breasts of those bent upon destroying one more of the hated brood.

Man became a wolf, and a black skin became the red flag of incitation to riot and mob violence. All the pent-up antagonism of years broke forth under the spell of an excuse for destruction, and neither age or sex, neither past record nor future usefulness caused hesitation.

From time to time, as when Jack Johnson fought Jim Jeffries, the slaughter cry was heard even in cities of the North, but the busy marts of trade were slow in responding to the savage cry of the white pack.

Today, in the turmoil of political strife, that cry has been whispered in secret places and the word has gone forth the length and breadth of the land.

In the house of his friends, in the ranks of the Republican party, the cry is "Kill the Nigger," and it is being obeyed. Not satisfied with the sacrifice of Perry W. Howard upon a pretext that carried to its conclusion would disrupt the post office system of the country, according to the published statements of Senator Brookhart, that cry has led to the civic and political lairs of Oscar dePriest and Dan Jackson of Chicago.

Their reward for services to the Republican party is to be what was the reward of those loyal Negroes who kept that party in power after the Civil War and enabled it to make rich and powerful those directing minds who had battened upon the nation's internal dissension.

At last the bands are off the Negroes' eyes and he sees the promise-breakers and political sophists for what they are. As the Republican party used the Southern whites, "scalwags" to corral the newly freed blacks to keep it in power then, so today, it flirts with the "lily whites" and crucifies the blacks who have the manhood and the intelligence to understand the power of the ballot.

Illiterate and unthinking white are fed upon bigotry and religious bugaboo which the party disclaims while it distributes it, and blacks of spineless disposition are loaded with empty honors and shorn of power and resources to make their work effective.

Self defense is an elemental attitude even for animals; today in meeting the Republican cry of "Kill the nigger", that American citizen is going to vote to protect himself against his subtle enemies and false friends.

HOOVER EASTERN MANAGER HURLS BOMBSHELL AT NEW YORKERS

Senator Moses Astounds Harlemites By Boldly Endorsing The Republican Policy Of Segregation

(Amsterdam News Service)

New York, Oct. 10—The color issue was boldly raised here Monday, this time by one high in the ranks of the Hoover campaign forces, when Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire, Eastern manager of the Republican National Committee, slammed a broadside at the Democrats for permitting a Negro civil service commissioner to dictate to a "white stenographer of the female sex." He hurled his scathing criticism out before 500 members of the Women's National Republican Club.

Senator Moses, a New Englander, who is not conversant with the political intricacies of New York, was following the lead of the Ku Klux Klan organ, the Fellowship Forum, which published a picture of Ferdinand Q. Morton, Democrat, civil service commissioner, dictating to a white stenographer. His reference was made of the same man.

Leaders Disagree

Applauded by half of his audience, a sector of equal size received his tirade in silence. Leaders of the Republicans openly disagreed with the remarks, which they contend can only serve to arouse bitterness and possibly create a breach between white and colored Republicans.

It was pointed out, also, that the senator was unwise in choosing his subject, for recognition is given colored Republicans in New York as elsewhere. There as Assistant District Attorneys Hubert Delaney and Richard Baltimore in the United States Attorney's office; Charles W. Anderson, Collector of Internal Revenue, postoffice superintendents and other officials holding appointive offices without engendering the least friction and no discrimination is made in assigning white workers to assist them.

The bombshell of Moses came after a speech in which he ridiculed the Democrats for their tardy espousal of the tariff. Concluding, he submitted to questioning.

One woman asked if it were true that Herbert Hoover had placed Negro officials over white men during the Mississippi flood relief. Another wanted to know whether the Presidential candidate had made promises to colored Virginians for their support.

Moses Didn't Know

"I don't know that any such condition exists," he replied, "but if any promises have been made, they will be kept."

Continuing, he declared: 'I do know, however, that in Washington there is no colored civil service commissioner who dictates to a white stenographer of the female sex, such as I understand is done right here in New York."

Party Regrets Rashness

Regret that the color issue should be raised by one of the highest campaign officers flowed freely through Republican circles. The Senator only meant, it was insisted, to draw a comparison showing that Democrats and Republicans alike acknowledge the place of the Negro to serve in public office. Meanwhile, the campaign forces await the wave of protest expected to come from the Negro constituency.

SAYS REPUBLICANS FRIENDS OF NEGRO

Discusses Southern White Men Who Support Hoover In Vituperative Vein

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Ben Davis, for many years Republican National committeeman of Georgia and editor of the "Atlanta Independent" negro publication, points out in an editorial in a recent issue of his paper that the Democratic party is the "anti-negro party" while 'The Republican party has always been the friends of the negro."

The negro editor in a vituperative vein discusses the white men of the South who are supporting Hoover, and Curtis but who believe in white supremacy. Of these men the negro editor and Republican leader says "The Independent is 100 per cent Republican because it cannot be bought by Democratic money or be bulldozed out of the party by Lily White Republican and commercialized negro grafters who would sell their wives and daughters into political slavery and economical ruin for pelf and plunder.

"The Democratic party," says the negro Republican boss of Georgia, "is anti-negro and has been from its incipiency. It was and is the party of slavery and opposed the adoption of the thirteenth amendment which abolishes slavery. It opposed the adoption of the fourteenth amendment which made us citizens and clothes us with the right to vote and hold property instead of being sold like cattle. It opposed the fifteenth amendment which promised us protection at the ballot box."

And continuing his tirade against the Democratic party the negro Republican boss in Georgia says: "It has disfranchised us in every state by ingeniously designed unconstitutional amendments to state constitutions and nullified every decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring these amendments null and void."

Doesn't Like Jim Crow.

The negro Republican boss of Georgia does not like Jim Crow and segregation laws and in his editorial he lays these laws at the door of the Democratic party in the following language: "In every Democratic state in the Union the negro has been Jim Crowed on the train, segregated where he lives, discriminated against in business, disfranchised and denied equal protection of the law. In every Democratic state the negro is shut out of the Democratic primary by force of court injunctions.

"The negro is told everywhere in Democratic states that the Democratic party is the white man's party and negroes are not wanted."

The negro Republican boss and editor says the Republican party has ever been the friend and protector of the negro. "In no state in the Union," says the negro editor, "where the Republican party controls is there a Jim Crow, disfranchisement, or segregation law. In no Republican state is there any separation of the races on public carriers or shutting the door of political opportunity in the negroes' faces."

"The Republican party enfranchised the negro. It voted for and passed the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the federal constitution which prohibited slavery, made the negro a free man, gave him the right to hold property instead of being a chattel and placed the ballot in his hands to protect himself in the enjoyment of life. liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

"We are 100 per cent Republican," further declares the negro editor and Georgia Republican party boss "because there is not one line of discriminating legislation on the books of any state in the Union placed there by the Republican party but on the contrary there is special legislation on the books of every Democratic state in the Union outlawing the black man's rights and put there by the Democratic party over the protest and vote of the Republicans."

Copies of the Atlanta Independent edited by the negro Ben Davis, reached Montgomery Thursday. Democratic head quarters had no comment to make when shown a copy of the paper carrying the editorial. But the editorial became a subject of comment in political circles in the Capital City Thursday and amazement was expressed that such an article was published in the heat of a poltical campaign in the South where many former Democrats have gone into Republican ranks.

Political - 1928.

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MEANING OF ROBERT R. CHURCH'S VICTORY

MEMPHIS MAN SCORES AT REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

MASTERLY PRESENTATION BY WEST TENNESSEAN IN KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

"Robert Church was seated in the last Republican National Convention held in Kansas City, Mo., as was his alternate from his congressional district." While this was the text of a news item that appeared in most of the newspapers during the hearing of cases and the passing on credentials on the contesting of seating of delegates from many states, people in Nashville, Middle Tennessee, East Tennessee and West Tennessee, caught the full significance for the paragraph in the papers. They were confident of the fact that Bob Church had won a stubbornly contested case and re-achieved a glorious victory; he had out-generalled his opponent, out-manoeuvered his political enemies, and had placed himself in a position to again head the Republican Organization from Shelby County and from West Tennessee.

Some of those who attended the Kansas City Convention and who were fortunate in watching the fight of the credential committee before the national committee on the floor of the National Republican Convention, were not slow to announce their admiration for the manner in which Church handled his case. They said he made a picturesque figure, presented cold facts and convincing arguments on the case which was finally won by Mr. Church himself. Some of the old political war horses and leaders referred to the time when Norris Wright Cuney, a former Texan, when for twenty-four or twenty-five years this leader of the Party for his state, fought his case out before the committee. They referred to Bill McDonald from Texas, as another stalwart leader in the Republican Ranks, who was able to present his case. They referred to the contest that Col. Link Johnson, the stalwart Georgian won before his opponents some years ago in Chicago, and then they go back to Memphis and were able to show and are showing that this Tennessean, this man from Memphis, this born political leader, this splendid organizer, well and familiarly known throughout the volunteer state as "Bob" Church, but who is christened as Robert R. Church, from year to year had to fight the same group, overcome the same obstacles and contend with the same forces from his town, whether it be in the Tennessee Republican State Convention or the National Republican Convention They say he is like Calvin Coolidge, that he has never lost, he has never been defeated; that his quiet manner, his gentlemanly bearing, but his unwielding and uncompromising position have kept him afloat, have made him one of the men to be reckoned with in the affairs of the nation.

There are those who are already predicting that Mr. "Bob" Church will be in the councils of the nation and will be one of the advisors in the great campaign that is already well under way, especially since the Democrats and Republicans have both named their standard-bearers, selected their candidates and are off to see who is to win the goal, who is to triumph.

Mr. Church has made few statements for publication, but one of his friends is said to have heard him make a remark that Tennessee would in all possibility, be listed in the Republican Party, that she would go for Hoover in November, and that Bob Church's victory over his enemies, his political opposers rather than his personal enemies, would go a long way toward placing Tennessee in the Republican column again, and that his thirteen or fourteen thousand votes in Shelby County would more than off-set the Democratic vote in West Tennessee; that he would deliver these to the Hoover ticket.

Republican.

LET'S HEAR FROM THE CANDIDATES!

—o—

Party chieftans may beat their tom toms, the orators may make the welkin ring, but Negroes know there is nothing for them in either party platform, or in the deliberations of either party convention. The thirty-six words of the republican platform entitled "The Negro" were really "law enforcement," and bore more upon the lawlessness of thousands of white lynchers, than upon the few Negroes who are the mob's victims. The democratic platform said as much and as little as the republican when it said nothing.

The conventions were alike in lacking advantage for us, and both were marked by deliberate affront. The republicans gave their official endorsement to lily-whiteism. The democrats seated their Negro visitors, not only in a segregated section, but behind screens.

Choice of party this year for Negroes will depend upon the candidates, because there is no other reason. The old arguments, for and against, are claptrap, and whoever makes them, is fooling nobody but himself. The real issue is Hoover or Al Smith. Happily for the country, both men as shown by their records, are better than Harding or even Coolidge at the time he made his first race for president.

The difference between the two nominees is one of kind. Hoover, as befits an engineer, has been getting things done. He has worked acceptably as a private citizen, and as a public official. He has done it at home and abroad. He has done it over many years.

Al Smith has spent most of his days in public life, and in it has earned his advancement. New York is not the nation, but as far as a state can show the man, he has proven himself a thinker who has definite ideas about government, which have been approved by his constituency.

As the campaign develops, and the fight gets hot, the Negro vote will count. Much as the party man tries to see a walk away for his candidate, the campaign of 1928 is going to be close! The small vote which Negroes in northern states will cast can easily be the deciding factor. We shall be worse than fools if we do not make our support the fair exchange for a man's chance, and a citizen's right. We will be wise to pledge ourselves after, rather than before the candidates speak out on the Negro. Let the campaign, rather than the conventions tell us where we stand. Let Hoover and Smith do what their parties failed at.

JOURNAL
KANSAS CITY, MO.
JUN 30 1928

NEGRO G. O. P. WORKERS FORM THIRD WARD CLUB

Negro members of the third ward organized a Republican club at a meeting in the Cornerstone Baptist church last night. These officers were elected:

H. B. Thomas, president; William White, vice president; M. Allen, treasurer; W. H. Thomas, secretary; John Curray, sergeant-at-arms.

The organization will hold a business meeting July 5 at its temporary headquarters in the church, 2030 Summit street.

TUSKEGEE HEAD MAY DIRECT THE G. O. P. CAMPAIGN

WASHINGTIN, D. C., July 3. — It is possible that Dr. Robert Russa Moton, Tuskegee institute principal, may become manager of the Republican presidential campaign among colored voters. He arrived here Tuesday night for conferences with party leaders. His aid, Albon Hosley, has been here since last Saturday.

Dr. Moton became associated with Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, the republican nominee for President, in connection with the Mississippi flood relief work. He served as chairman of the colored advisory committee which assisted Secretary Hoover.

Picture 1. Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Perry Howard and Dr. R. R. Moton are all three candidates for the Hoover campaign for the presidency.

Says Dr. Moton And Tuskegee Institute Should Not Enter Politics.

To The Editor:

I note with much concern and interest an article appearing in the AFRO in its issue of June 30th, under the caption, "Three leaders battle for Sen. O. P. Pale. Dr. Emmett Scott, Perry Howard and Dr. R. R. Moton would direct campaign. Hoover to select political leader." Being of southern birth and antecedent, I am necessarily proud of Tuskegee Institute, Booker T. Washington, Dr. R. R. Moton and all who are connected with Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes.

Hence, I protest the action of any man who is willing to drag either of the two great institutions into politics.

When I read accounts of the activity of Mr. A. H. Holsey, secretary of Tuskegee Institute, at the Republican Convention, in the interest of Secretary Hoover, I wondered what that great gladiator and noble character, the late Booker T. Washington, would have said, had he been living, relative to Mr. Holsey's activity in politics. I sincerely hope that Dr. Moton will not allow himself and Tuskegee to be dragged into politics, as Tuskegee has quite a large number of influential Democratic friends.

In the event that he does, I wish to call his attention to this fact: When the Ku Klux Klan had him in exile as the result of colored nurses and doctors being placed in the veterans hospital at Tuskegee, and the Republican administration sat in a complacent attitude, the writer went to Senator William Cabel Bruce, Democrat, and placed the matter before him.

The distinguished senator instructed me to have you, Mr. Editor, get in touch with him that he might give you an interview to be published in the AFRO-AMERICAN, condemning the activity of the Klan. The article appeared and was copied from the AFRO-AMERICAN by forty of the leading white dailies in America, including the New York Times and Denver Post. Senator Bruce was so scathing in his denunciation of the Klan, until the Republican administration got busy and drove the Klan away from Tuskegee, hence the distinguished Dr. Moton was permitted to come out of exile.

One thing which I would like to impress upon Dr. Moton is that I am not asking him and his Tuskegee staff to support the Democratic party. Why I protest is that I do not feel that Tuskegee should be drawn into politics.

HENRY F. ARNOLD

-:- The Two Conventions -:-

By KELLY MILLER

KANSAS CITY and Houston have passed into history. The Repubican and Democratic conventions have met and adjourned. I attended both assemblies by radio. The "listener-in" at a distance of 1,500 miles gains a fuller and more intimate view of proceedings than the onlooker at closer range. The objectives of the two conventions were identical, namely, to declare the platform of principles for the approaching campaign, and to select the standard bearers. The methods of procedure were also identical.

The Republican Party was split two ways; the Democratic Party, three. The lines of cleavage ran parallel. The industrial and agricultural interests, the wets and the drys met at Kansas City. The wets and drys, the North and South, the Protestants and Catholics met at Houston. Compromise was the watchword at both camps.

Houston proved to be by far the more skillful manipulator. The knowing ones say the master mind and cunning hand in the case might be located in Albany, N. Y., dancing to the radio in gleeful nonchalance at the foreplanned procedure as it unfolded itself. A shrewd newspaper observer remarked that the Democrats can only win by a miracle; but he shrewdly added that Al Smith is a worker of miracles. If, indeed, it was his political cunning that composed the wide and deep differences in the Democratic Party, he certainly deserves to be called the wonder-

— Kelly Miller —

worker. What manner of man is this Al Smith that even the discordant factions of the Democratic Party obey him?

The keenest interest centered about the prohibition plank in both conventions. Strange to say, the two parties used all but identical words in evasion of this great moral issue. They both fall back on that age-old device of reaffirming their basic belief in the enforcement of the Constitution in general and the prohibition provision in particular.

Honest and courageous Al Smith, on being advised of his nomination upon the platform, flashed back immediately to the convention that he accepted the prohibition plank without reservation, but with the distinct understanding that his duty to enforce the law as written does not commit him to silence as to what he considers desirable alterations, according to his oft-expressed and widely known views.

The two conventions were similar in the choice of candidates whose experience has been limited mainly to administrative affairs, without declared views on broad national and international questions. It is also remarkable that both parties selected as Vice-Presidential candidates respective floor leaders on the Republican and Democratic sides of the United States Senate.

I discovered no real difference between the two conventions on the race question, except the mere corporal presence of Negro delegates at the one and their absence at the other. The deliberations proceeded as if the Negro did not exist. They seemed both to be utterly oblivious of moral inconsistency of avowing intention of upholding the whole Constitution, without the slightest intention of including that part of the Constitution which safeguards the rights of the Negro race.

The alignment of the race during the campaign must depend mainly upon the appraisement of the purpose and intention of the two chosen leaders — Herbert Hoover and Alfred E. Smith. Hoover's attitude seems to be constructive; Smith's attitude destructive. The Republican Party seems to be a better instrument through which to effect temperance reform than its Democratic adversary.

Throughout the Kansas City deliberations one did not hear a single word about moral issues, but merely material values. But to my utter surprise it was reserved to Judge Crisp of Georgia, in nominating Senator George of that State, to declare that there have been two great moral issues before the American nation since its foundation; the one was slavery and the other prohibition. He declared that the Democratic Party was defeated on the slavery question because it espoused the wrong side of a moral issue.

But to redeem the Republican Party from crass materialism, Mr. Hoover, in his response to the telegram advising him of his nomination, called the party's and the nation's attention to the importance of stressing moral and spiritual values.

After all has been said and done, we must look to Hoover to redeem the Grand Old Party and restore it to its pristine moral grandeur, just as the Democrats are looking to Al Smith to galvanize the Democratic corpse into life and power.

Political - 1928.

Party Affiliation.

STAR
TERRE HAUTE, IND.
JUL 10 1928

The Daily Mirror of Washington

BY CLINT W. GILBERT

TEXAS CITIES WHICH MAY BE CARRIED FOR HOOVER.

Texas is a state in which the old solid Democratic party is breaking up, not so fast that the state is likely to go Republican in the near future, but still there will be many more Republican votes in Texas next November than ever before. Texans tell me that Dallas, Houston and Fort Worth are likely to go for Hoover in November. Perhaps this expectation may not be realized, for there is a tendency in all Southern states for the anti-Smith elements to become reconciled to the New York Governor.

In the Texas cities there is a growing disposition to get away from the old habit of voting the Democratic ticket blindly. In the rural districts the tendency still is to vote as the solid South votes. The coming of Eastern and Northern business men into the cities is one thing that has built up the Republican party in them. It is now respectable to be a Republican in urban parts of Texas, especially respectable this year. The Ku Klux Klan probably also was a factor in breaking party lines in the Texas cities in which it was strong. It never spread widely to the rural parts of the state.

Then, too, the Negro element is not so large a fraction of the population in Texas as it is in most Southern states, so that factor in keeping the South solidly Democratic is not so important in Texas as it is elsewhere in the South. Moreover, Texas, situated where it is, is as much a Western state as it is a Southern state.

Another political incident like the nomination of Bryan would shake the Democratic party of Texas to its foundations, for Texas is conservative. But the nomination of Governor Al Smith is not such an incident. The New York Governor will lose some Democratic support, probably less than it now looks as if he would. The evangelical preachers are attacking him, but it is a question whether in the end some of them will not hurt their own cause by their extravagance. Senator Heflin, it is said in Texas, has helped Al Smith.

Republican.

BULLETIN

Brunswick Pilot

JUN 5 1928

NEGROES IN THE PRIMARIES

THE QUESTION of barring negroes from the Democratic primaries is to come before the State Democratic Executive Committee when it meets next Monday, and it is expected that the Committee will issue instructions to county chairmen to see that a white man's primary is held throughout the state.

The law now gives the executive committee of the party authority to define the qualifications of those taking part in party activities. Until a short time ago, the law itself undertook to bar negro voters from Democratic primaries, which was contrary to the federal Constitution and was so declared by the Supreme Court a year or two ago. Whether the Court would give its approval to the present law vesting in the party the authority to enforce the color line is a question that is yet to be answered.

In Brown county there has never been any difficulty over the matter, since colored citizens of this county have always refrained from insisting upon a right to enter party primaries and not many of them vote in general elections. The colored citizenship in this county is limited, and is of such character that there probably would be little or no protest if they should undertake to vote in the primaries. If the State Democratic Committee issues instructions, however, to close the polls to negroes, the edict will be obeyed here as elsewhere, and it is probable that regardless of the action of the State Committee the white man's primary rule will be enforced in several counties having large negro population.

In all likelihood, a Court ruling will be handed down, sooner or later, invalidating the act of the Fortieth Legislature which empowers the party executive committee to enforce the color line. Obviously, it seems to us, the Legislature can not delegate to the executive committee of the party authority to do something that it can not do itself; that is, if the Legislature can not enact laws closing the primaries to negro voters, it can not give authority to the party organization to exclude negro voters from participation in such elections.

Florence, S. C., News Review
Tuesday, June 26, 1928

PERTINENT QUESTIONS

Anent the talk of bolting which has been going the rounds for some time, The Greenvile Piedmont makes these pertinent remarks:

Not a few esrtwhile Democrats insist they will vote for Hoover in the event, now conceded, of Smith's nomination. Will they vote in November as they talk in June?

If the names of some of the colored delegates to Kansas City are put upon the Republican ticket of electors in this state, would that help to get out the vote?

As much of an advocate of prohibition as this newspaper is, and as well as it thinks of Hoover, now is the time to give emphasis to a statement that we have made from the beginning. There are some things more important to South Carolinians than prohibition. Is it necessary to go into details to remind South Carolinians of them?

The only way out for the voter who conscientiously holds that he cannot vote for Governor Smith is to refrain from voting at all this year, in the primaries, or at the general election, for it seems inevitable now that Smith will be in the running. It does not seem the part of patriotism to treat thus lightly the right of suffrage.

Pittsburgh Courier

Named Candidate For Presidential Elector

Pittsburgh, Pa.

7/14/28

COLUMBUS, O., July 12.—Negro adherents of the Republican Party in Ohio are rejoicing this week over having had for the first time in the history of Ohio politics one of their number selected to run as a candidate for Presidential Elector on the Republican ticket in November. This high honor was bestowed on Councilman Thomas W. Fleming of Cleveland, by the Republican State Convention meeting here this week.

Another important thing done for the benefit of Negro citizens of Ohio by the Republican State Convention was the insertion of the following plank in the State Platform adopted by the convention:

"Anti-lynching: Favors enactment of adequate laws, state and federal, inhibiting lynching, and pledges to the Negro the civil, religious, and political liberties guaranteed by the commonwealth."

REPUBS WILL NAME FULL STATE TICKET

Committee Meets In Birmingham To Make Nominations And Plan Campaign

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., June 12.—Special to The Advertiser.—A complete state ticket and electoral ticket will be nominated by the Republican state executive committee of 42 members, when it meets in Birmingham Wednesday, July 18, according to Republican leaders here. The committee was authorized to make all nominations for state offices and for the electors at the Republican state convention which met in Birmingham May 16, it is explained.

J. C. Swann, of Mobile, state chairman, will preside. C. B. Kennamer, of Birmingham, is secretary of the committee. Members from the Ninth Congressional District are T. J. Kennamer, J. G. Bass, J. L. Abercrombie and J. T. McEnnairy.

Advertiser

Leaders Thursday refused to predict nominations and only said they would draft the best men available for the offices to be filled in the November elections.

7-13-28

A vigorous campaign is contemplated by the Republicans in the state, not only for state offices, but for the national ticket, and Republicans here will play a prominent part in the Hoover campaign, it is thought. Opinion was expressed Thursday that Republicans are facing the best year in Alabama they have had and considerable interest is manifested in the ranks concerning the approaching nominations for state offices.

The campaign committee and campaign manager will be chosen at Wednesday's meeting.

POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY

Anyone of interest who attended the National Republican Convention at Kansas City, Mo., June 12, 1928, would observe with keen interest the wisdom of the statesmen in the selection of nominees, and the drafting of the platform, that would insure the masses of the American republic a continuation of the policies of progress and prosperity of the administration. One with only passing interest could observe the scrutiny used so as not to embarras or have the least inclination to repudiate the Coolidge administration.

In the selection of Secretary Hoover it is generally understood that we have a strict humanitarian, one whose sympathies for the suffering and whose deep interest in the fortunes of the underdog are unbounded; who is the product of the modern business world; who believes that human progress comes best through highly-developed industrial progress.

In the selection of Senator Curtis we have a regular of regulars who stands four-square on all administration issues, who is a medium through which the farmer's interest will have a square deal.

If it was expedient for the great statesmen of America to go to the voters in November with the strongest ticket in sight and a solid front without confusion in their ranks, how much more expedient is it for the Negro politician to present to the leaders of the Republican party solidarity.

There is a sentiment in nearly all meetings where colored and white assemble, to "get rid of the Negro." Can't you see "the handwriting on the wall" Why? It is because of the confusion in his own ranks; it is because of his selfish ambitions for power, popularity and greed for money.

These are some of the obstacles that stand in the way of our group, and obstruct our path of progress.

Our last state convention was the most harmonious I have attended in years. In many of the district conventions where we have had confusion for the last sixteen years, going up to every National Convention with a contest, at the last district conventions B. J. Davis, made it a point to be present at these meetings and all confusion was eliminated and the delegations went to Kansas City uncontested.

Our people are too intelligent now to forget and overlook the services rendered the Republican party and the Negro by B. J. Davis.

The Atlanta Independent is in a class to itself when it comes to fighting the battles of the Republican party of the State of Georgia and the Negro in general.

The debauchery practiced by some of the members of the Georgia delegation, unquestionably will be a stigma on those delegations that they will not live long enough to erase from their record.

Judging from the actions and practices of B. J. Davis before and during the state and district conventions, it was his fondest hope to go to Kansas City, Mo., without friction or confusion among the delegates of Georgia, thereby presenting to the National Convention once, a delegation united, fighting for those principles which the Republican party stands for, and to carry out the instructions given by their constituents, who sent them as representatives. The reason this was not done was because a Negro acted as an instrument for white men.

If the Negro loses his identification with the Republican party through this dissension, losing the National Committeeman, we need not blame the executive committee of the National Committee, nor the lily-whites, because the Negro will be the cause.

We are our greatest enemy.

J. A. Lee.

Cuthbert, Ga.

HOMER PHILLIPS MAY HEAD COLOERED G. O. P. WORK

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 11—The news has gone out that the Republican campaign, as regards the Colored vote, will be waged differently than in other years. It is said that the work for the Negro vote will be conducted from the Capitol under the direction of one man.

Much speculation has been going the rounds as to the man. The strongest tip is Homer Phillips of St. Louis, president of the National Negro Bar Association, who has had much experience in national campaign work.

Mr. Phillips, it is said, has the backing of Dr. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee, and "Bob" Church, national leader of Memphis.

FALSEHOOD AND MISREPRESENTATION

We quote below an excerpt from a country newspaper, in which it seeks to stir up racial strife, intolerance and religious bigotry in order to keep decent white people from voting for Secretary Hoover for President. This little dirty sheet charges that Secretary Hoover was in Atlanta not long since, and breakfasted with B. J. Davis, colored, secretary of the Republican State Central Committee. Mr. Hoover was neither in the city nor breakfasted with Mr. Davis. Mr. Hoover has not been in Atlanta, as far as our information goes, in a couple of years, and when he was here he was the guest of the Chamber of Commerce, or some other reputable white institution.

Is it possible that the Democrats must resort to lies, falsehood and misrepresentation to carry this state for Governor Smith? We do not believe that Governor Smith will stand for any such libel, slander and slime. But it only shows to what extent the sinners of race hatred, bigotry and intolerance will go to carry their point. Read the excerpt!

"Hoover recently visited Atlanta and Ben Davis, the big nigger boss, entertained for breakfast. His next visit was to Savannah, where he was met by the fat nigger committeewoman to whom he bowed and scraped. Yet many Georgia Democrats are threatening to vote for Hoover."

Georgia Demos Paid Sums Into G.O.P. Coffers

Postal Employes Under Investigation Of Republican Patronage

Negro Won't Talk

Davis 'Knows Nothing' Of Alleged Deals

ATLANTA, GA., July 9.—(AP)—Records that many Democratic postal employees have paid regular monthly sums into the treasury of the Georgia Republican central committee and testimony by two officials denying that money had been levied or assessed was presented today before the Senate sub committee and investigating Republican patronage in this state.

A card index, offered by John W. Martin, treasurer of the Central Committee, showed that postal employes, among others, have paid sums varying from $8.50 to $12.50 monthly. Martin declared that so far as he knew all the payments were made voluntarily. He said he had solicited none and knew of no others who collected the funds paid into his hands.

Negro "Knows Nothing."

Ben J. Davis, negro former national committeeman, preceded Martin on the stand, and assured that he also knew nothing of alleged levying on postal employes. Davis said, however, that he had heard complaints that funds had been collected. He declared that the only money he had received was that donated by regular party members at the time of the state convention.

Martin said all contributions received by him were disbursed to meet expenses of the committee and on orders of the committee. He estimated monthly expenses of the organization, including salaries and office rent, to average about $1,200.

Both Davis and Martin related to the committee the salary disbursements of the treasury. Martin said salaries once totalled $1,050 monthly but had been reduced somewhat. Davis, as secretary of the central committee was paid $250 monthly; Martin himself $250 and the same sum to Roscoe Pickett, chairman of the committee. Other salaries of $75 and $30 were paid to assistants, Martin said, saying that at one time the vice-chairman also received a salary of $250 monthly.

Senators Cyrus Locher, Democrat, of Ohio, member of the sub committee and Senator Walter F. George, Georgia, who is assisting the inquiry assailed the record of payments shown on the card index presented by Martin.

Money Is "Voluntary."

"Do you mean to tell this committee that all this money is voluntary? It just all comes in?" inquired Locher.

"Yes, as far as I know," Martin answered.

"Don't you know that these payments are not voluntary and that most of the postmasters who contributed to the Republican party are themselves Democrats," George inquired.

"I presume that most of them are democrats, said Martin insisting that he himself had not solicited any funds." Asked if he had written any letters to contributors when they were delinquent, asking them to pay up, the treasurer said he had not.

Admits Letters.

Later, Martin, said he had written a few letters, not to solicit money, but to inquire if the contributors intended to continue their contributions.

Senator George, who conducted most of the examinations, sought to gain from Davis detailed accounts of what he had heard in regard to the complaints about solicited funds.

Under the steady questioning, Davis said he had been told that a republican county official accepted $200 from an applicant for a position as rural mail carrier at Nahunta, Ga. He also declared he had been told by a Mr. Davis, applicant for the postmastership at Stockbridge, Ga., that he had paid $50 to the county chairman.

Davis related he knew nothing about charges of assessments at Sardis and Waynesboro, but that at the latter place he had heard that the acting postmaster paid some money to somebody.

Never Heard of That Either.

George asked the negro whether it was true that Mr. Bargeron at Waynesboro paid a Mr. Quarles $250 and refused to pay any more. Davis said he never heard of it.

Both Davis and Martin asserted they knew nothing about a letter signed Ed Springer and purported to be advising persons that they could write to him at Marietta, Ga., for advice as to contributions.

Davis said it seemed to him he had heard something about "a Mr. Springer two years or so ago collecting some money for the state central committee" but that he did not know by whose authority it had been done.

The letter which some persons mailed to Senator George, after deleting the addressee, stated that the writer had been active in collection Republican funds in this state.

Martin declared he knew nothing of it, or of any Mr. Springer collecting funds. He said the committee had hired a Mr. Curtis as an organizer at one time but had not, so far as he knew, employed any one to solicit anybody.

Political - 1928.

Party Affiliation -

Republican.

THAT "BOGUS" COUNTY CONVENTION!

The Informer's attention has been called to a list of persons (all colored voters of Houston), who are alleged to have participated in a "rump" Harris County Republican convention on May 8, 1928; and this paper would not accord the meeting editorial consideration, were it not for the fact that the ring-leaders and instigators of this "bogus" convention were elected as delegates to and recognized by the regular Republican organization of Harris County, of which R. B. Morris is county chairman.

Informer

At the regular Republican convention, held at the City Hall council chamber, Tuesday, May 8, these double-crossing "insurgents" were literally scared stiff in their tracks when it appeared that the action of one "smart Alex" in their group had ruined the chances of the delegation from said precinct being seated, due to some irregularities; but the credentials committee recommended that the delegation be seated, and these ring-leaders in this "bogus" county convention participated and voted as delegates in the said county meet.

5-19-28

When the committee of delegates to the Republican State Convention, which meets Tuesday, May 22, at Dallas, made its report and did not include any of these pseudo-leaders of color, it is currently rumored that two or three of these disappointed colored brethren "staged" another county convention that night, enrolling the names of several persons without authority (the majority of the enrolled persons having made affidavits that they were not present, that their names were used without their permission and that they are not in harmony with this "bogus" meeting) and proceeded to elect themselves delegates to the state convention.

Houston, Texas

The Informer styles that nocturnal parley of these "insurgents" as "bogus," because it was neither legal, valid nor regular; a "bogus" convention being different from a "rump" or "bolt" convention.

Whenever the delegates present protest or challenge certain rulings or actions, either of the executive committee, the presiding officer or the convention, and then withdraw when their contention is overridden and ignored, that is a "bolt;" but when persons, not even elected delegates from any precinct convention, in league with two or three who had already participated in a regular convention, conspire to hold a subsequent meeting and allege that it is a real county convention, it is really a reflection on the intelligence of the said leaders and sanity of said followers and dupes.

It is rather funny how so many Negroes can reach the conclusion, over night, that they are so influential, important and indispensable that no movement can succeed without them; that even though they hardly control their own vote, they consider themselves political leaders and would have certain powers-that-be think that they control blocs, yea, blocks of votes.

If these ambitious black politicians, who staged their now celebrated "bogus" convention, had a grievance and cause for a split or bolt, why did they not make that known and take such action while the regular county convention was in session, as was done in 1920?

In 1920, when this paper and editor were the prime movers in a local revolt movement, the present county chairman was not in charge of partisan affairs here, and the party head in this county at that time put forth all efforts to keep colored Republicans, even in the heavy colored precincts of the Third, Fourth and Fifth wards, out of the county convention held at the extinct Main Street auditorium.

When these precinct delegates, duly elected by the voters in their respective precincts, showed up at the 1920 county convention here, their credentials having already been filed in keeping with the law, practically all of them were denied seats by the executive committee; and then these regularly and duly elected delegates—who had been chosen in conformity with the law and were Republican electors—simply retired to another section of the convention hall and then and there organized their county convention before being driven from the building by police officers, the parley later convening at Trinity M. E. Church.

No such situation prevailed or obtained here at the Republican county convention of May 8, 1928, when colored delegates, elected from all precincts where Negroes predominate and even from precincts where white Republicans constitute the majority, were given seats in the convention, and where not a solitary contest was brought from any precinct in Harris County.

The Informer can not vouch for the regularity of Republican precinct and county conventions called in other counties of Texas, May 5 and 8, respectively, but this paper does know that party heads in Harris County conducted said conventions in keeping and accord with Republican principles, procedure and policy; and, if this policy had not obtained here, The Informer would have opposed any partisan action to the contrary, despite this paper's advocacy of Hoover's candidacy.

In 1920 our local fight was for participation and representation in partisan affairs, and when the local party chieftains denied the black voters the right to hold conventions and elect their own delegates to the county meet, and then refused to recognize delegates duly and legally elected by the electors of these precincts, we had sufficient reasons and reasonable grounds for holding another county convention—the will of the people, as expressed in conventions, had been ignored and trampled under the unholy feet of partisan manipulators!

Every effort was made to get out a large colored vote at the Republican conventions held in Harris County, Saturday, May 5, and we know of two instances where white precinct chairmen were replaced with colored chairmen, when said white chairmen insisted upon calling and holding said precinct conventions in their residences, and excluding colored Republicans.

Several colored men were appointed precinct chairmen, whereas in 1920 we had only one or two, and they did not function as party heads in their respective voting precincts.

County Chairman R. B. Morris not only insisted upon Negro participation and representation, but he had himself placed upon the committee on delegates to the state convention, in order that he might be in a position to see to it that some colored Republicans were selected as delegates to said parley; resulting in three colored delegates and three colored alternates, the largest black delegation carried to the state convention by the regular Republican organization of Harris County in the last 12 years; while there were more colored delegates in the county convention than this editor has witnessed in this county in the last 12 years.

These are facts that are undeniable and can not be gainsaid by any person who has respect for verity!

Furthermore, the instigators of the "bogus" convention, through their subsidized publication, were anti-Hoover men, had made it known that they were against Hoover until, it appaers, no more money could be filched from the anti-Hoover faction in Texas, and then some of these anti-Hooverites of color vainly attempted to make connections with the Hoover exchequer in Harris County; and they finally attended the precinct conventions and there made representations that they were with the Hoover forces in the county and would line up and support the pro-Hoover program.

These ebony-hued politicians thought the leaders of the Hoover forces in this county would prove easy prey, and that they would be permitted to feast at the partisan festal boards when the election of colored delegates engrossed the attention of the convention; and the report of the committee on delegates to the state convention passed without a dissenting vote, though some of the "insurgents" present registered keen disappointment when their names were not even listed as alternates.

In their desperation to deceive and delude the Hoover leaders here, these anti-Hooverites of color pressed into service one of their imported black emissaries (a man who has an alias or two, and who is not anxious to return to some of the communities where he formerly "worked"), and attempted to poison the minds of certain local white Republican leaders against certain colored Republicans who appeared to be in line for recognition and consideration in the county convention.

Futile attempts were made to prejudice these white leaders against certain local Negroes who had been very active in the Hoover cause, and some of the remarks made about these race men and some of the propositions conjured up in the minds of some of these black anti-Hooverites of Houston, would hardly become ward heelers of the most vicious and contemptible sort.

They even charged that the colored men so active in the camp and cause of Mr. Hoover, were going to double-cross the Hoover cause, and endeavor to play both ends against the middle; that they were "radicals," "agitators," etc., and that the colored people of this city and county would not pay any attention to the black Republicans so active for the nomination of the commerce secretary.

To make it appear that some double-crossing was being done, leaders in this "bogus" convention used, without permission, the names of two or three delegates who attended the regular Republican county convention; and selected as secretary an employe of the publishing corporation which owns and prints The Houston Informer.

This stroke or move was made in another infernal and insidious attempt to prove to the white Republican leaders of Harris County and Texas, that neither The Informer nor its editor is sincere in advocating Hoover's cause; that if either the paper or editor is on the square, it seems rather strange and peculiar that one of the corporation's employes would line up on the side of the anti-Hooverites.

But when it is taken into consideration that this same employe has certain constitutional rights and political prerogatives, and is often the ready and willing tool in the hands of one of these ebony-hued "insurgents;" that this employe has a burning zeal for political preferment, it is not surprising to this editor to be informed that this employe—who owns no stock in the corporation and has absolutely nothing to do with shaping the editorial policy of The Informer—has gone off after "strange gods."

The Informer is not in accord or harmony with this "bogus" convention, for there was neither cause nor need for it, and the whole fiasco was staged just for a few would-be leaders to elect themselves as delegates to the state convention, with as much chance of them being seated and recognized as regular as a snow ball has of remaining intact in hades for a fortnight!

If the colored Republicans of Houston and Harris County had been denied participation and representation in the recent county convention, even though The Informer is advocating the cause of Mr. Hoover, this paper would have taken the initiative in a revolt movement; but since, by a pre-convention agreement (to which even the ring leaders in the "bogus" convention agreed before the county meet), Negroes were not excluded from the said convention and six of their number were elected on the county delegation to the state convention, without protest or contest, The Informer can not see how any sane, sensible and rationally minded person could pull off such a silly and foolish stunt—just to get in the limelight and pose as a political leader.

This "bogus" convention is nothing but an abortive partisan effort on the part of two or three disgruntled and discredited local Negroes to endeavor to carry a contest from Harris County to the state convention; but they waited too long, slept too late and are now burning the wrong end of the stick.

The Informer wonders if these "insurgents" had been elected by the Harris County Republican convention as delegates and alternates to the state convention, would they have held a fictitious convention, and made it appear as if certain local colored Republicans are disloyal to the regular party organization in this county; that these supposed pro-Hoover delegates would participate in the regular county convention in the forenoon and vote to endorse the candidacy of Herbert C. Hoover for presidential nomination by the Republican National Convention; and then under the shades of night, when "evil is afoot," attend a spurious meeting styled as a "Republican county convention," and then and there repudiate the vote and action taken that forenoon, and line up with and endorse the forces inimicable and openly hostile to Mr. Hoover's candidacy?

Consistency, thou art a rare and precious jewel!

Many of our racial enemies and critics assert that the Negro race is not only deficient in gratitude and self-respect, but that the race, in reality, lacks common sense; that, without any cause or reason, Negroes can pull off some of the most strange, queer and odd pranks and capers; that it is not a safe nor good policy to place too much confidence in black people; that many so-called race leaders will flop and turn a complete somersault just for empty honors, seeming preferment and a little "filthy lucre;" and then ever and anon some black men come along and, by their silly and double-crossing actions, add weight to the argument advanced against the colored race by some of these Nordic critics and defamers.

The Informer has no fuss to raise with the promoters of the "bogus" convention, nor any of the participants; for every American citizen has the constitutional right to function politically as he so desires and to otherwise deport himself along other lines, even to acting in the role of a knave; but decent people have very little respect for and confidnce in persons who are given to double-crossing and acting the fool!

Any political fight, which is not predicated on principle, is doomed to defeat and failure sooner or later, and the self-styled crusaders in such a cause are certainly reckoning without their hosts, and are totally unmindful of that scriptural doctrine which proclaims, "Be ye not deceived; God is not mocked, for whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."

Political Party — Republican

Party Affiliation

Jackson Assured G. O. P. Support In Legislature Race

Cleveland, Ohio.—(ANP)—Perry B. Jackson, one of our leading lawyers, will have the support of the regular county Republican organization for state representative at the primaries, Tuesday, August 14, according to authoritative information received by a representative of the Associated Negro Press this week.

When questioned by the Associated Negro Press representative Jackson said: "In submitting my candidacy to the people of this county, I am doing so with the firm resolve that if honored by receiving the nomination and later the election, the confidence thereby reposed in me will never be betrayed. I will be ever interested in, and on the alert for mattrs for the benefit of our group and the people of the county and state. My motto will be 'service'."

Jackson is a graduate of Adelbert College, having received the degree of A. B., magna cum laude, in 1919, at which time he was elected a member of the Phi Beta Kappa, honorary scholastic society. During his college career he was a member of the track team, debating team, and chapel choir. In 1922 he received the degree of LL. D., from Wstern Reserve Law School. Jackson, who came from a large family, worked his way through college and law school.

During the nearly six years in which he was engaged in the practice of law in this city, Jackson has been active in practically every civic enterprise among our group. For one year he was editor of the Cleveland Call, which experience gave him an insight into the needs and ideals of our group.

Attorney Jackson is the newly-elected exalted ruler of King Tut Lodge No. 389 of Elks; chief mentor of Nicaule Temple No. 1, Knights and Daughters of Tabor; past master of Eureka Lodge No. 52, F. and A. M.; general counsel for the United Brothers and Sisters of Love, and the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity; assistant superintendent of St. John A. M. E. Church; vice president of the St. James Literary Forum: secretary of the Frederick Douglass Republican Clubs; and a member of the City Club, Bar Association, Phyllis Wheatley Association, National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peopel, and numerous other organizations.

Picture 4. With Cal Coolidge out fishing, the G. O. P. has made a clean sweep of all colored politicians connected with the National party.

MEET IN CHICAGO

7/28/28

CHICAGO, Ill., July 26.—The National Negro Voters' League will meet in Chicago, August 24. The new organization is the result of a meeting in Kansas City, June 14, in the Elks' Rest.

Race men from many sections of the country were present to consider the general and political welfare of the Negroes of the United States. The reason for this meeting was that the following resolutions which were presented to the platform committee of the Republican national convention, with the request that these resolutions or the substance thereof be made a part of the platform of the Republican party. This request was refused.

The resolutions were:

Whereas, the provisions of the constitution of the United States, viz., the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, are being openly and flagrantly violated in this, to-wit: That the colored citizens of the United States are being deprived of life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness: and

Whereas, an anti-lynching bill has been repeatedly defeated: and

Whereas, there appears to be a disposition and concerted effort on the part of the lily white element of the Republican party to eliminate the colored citizen by discrimination, intimidation and chicanery; and

Whereas, there has been discrimination on account of race and color in the classified service under the rules and regulations of the Civil Service laws in respect to appointments when positions have been won by competitive examination; and

Whereas, segregation and discrimination in governmental departments in Washington, D. C., are still being practiced; now therefore it is

Resolved, That we, the undersigned committee, appointed at an open meeting of delegates to the Republican national convention and citizens of the United States representing the colored voters and citizens of the United States, do hereby petition the Republican national convention at Kansas City, Mo., to encouch the following plank in its platform:

First, to protect the colored citizens in all their rights, civil and political.

Second, for a strict enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the constitution, in letter and in spirit; be it further

Resolved, That the Republican party go on record as protecting all citizens alike in the strict enforcement of the Civil Service laws of the United States.

The committee:

Earnest G. Tidrington, Indiana; George W. Lee, Tennessee; Olando J. Smith, Minnesota; Charles P. Howard, Iowa; Mr. Lewis, Illinois; G. A. Gilmore, Texas; Bishop A. J. Carey, Illinois; Oscar De Priest, Illinois; C. H. Calloway, Missouri; Mrs. Grace Wilson Evans, Indiana; Dr. Redmon, Mississippi; James M. Burr, Texas; P. R. Crutchfield, Louisiana; J. Finley Wilson, District of Columbia; Fred Dabney, Missouri; W. C. Hueston, Indiana.

The second cause of the meeting was the precedent established by the Republican party at this convention in what was known as "The Texas case." This case presented in brief the question of whether party managers had the right to call conventions to select delegates to the Republican national convention in state conventions as a whole, or to follow the previously established rule of selecting some by district and some at large. It being made clear that to establish the rule of selecting all in state conventions bars the Negroes in the Southern states from participation in these party matters and certainly prevents them from becoming delegates to party national conventions.

In the establishing of this race-destroying precedent, many of the Negro delegates following factional leadership voted in the affirmative, to the dismay of those who stand for race equality, by party and before the law. After due consideration it was decided at the above meeting to form an organization, to be known as the National Negro Voters' League.

That said league should justify its existence as follows:

To have for its purpose the full enfranchisement of the American Negro.

To ascertain where the Negro stands in the Republican party.

To play with pitiless publicity upon those of our race who vote in political conventions and elsewhere against the race interests and then seek prominence and priority as the price therefor.

The meeting organized and elected temporary officers and instructed said officers to issue a call for a meeting to be held in the city of Chicago, Ill., for permanent organization and to agree upon and announce ways and means to carry out the purpose of the league.

Pursuant to this order a meeting of National Negro Voters' League is called to meet in the city of Chicago, Ill., on the 24th day of August, 1928, at 10 a. m., at Wendell Phillips High School. Said meeting to be composed of all those who were members of the temporary organization and those who come with a certificate of election from any church, political or social club, lodge, subordinate or grand, or who may be placed upon the temporary roll by the temporary officers.

Elected delegates are to send a copy of credentials to W. C. Hueston, chairman of executive committee, 1901 Broadway, Gary, Ind.

The officers are J. Finley Wilson, president; Charles P. Howard, secretary, Des Moines, Ia.; W. C. Hueston, Gary, Ind., chairman of executive committee.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

A Survey Of The Political Outlook By Our Editor

Our editor has just returned from Ohio and Illinois, where the campaign is really on for party supremacy. He spoke to thousands of people in the state of Ohio, covering six counties at strategic points. The editor reports that the drift in the West is to Hoover. For some time it looked like Governor Smith would have a fighting chance, but the consensus of opinion is, the more the Governor talks, the further he gets from victory; that his talks are more helpful to Mr. Hoover than any talks Mr. Hoover can make for himself; that the Governor's speeches have the tendency to unfit him for the high office of President. The people generally believe that the campaign for President should be lifted from ward politics, and from abuse and personalities. They believe that the campaign should be conducted upon a lofty plane, and that principles and measures of government should be discussed and not abuse and vituperation as has been the policy of the Governor's campaign.

Independent

The people think that the abuse and denunciation hurled at the Republican candidate and his party by the Democratic candidate and his party is rather a smoke screen to hide their lack of a cause. On the other hand Mr. Hoover's dignified way of handling his campaign, and his refusal to be drawn into any personal discussion or abusive tirades in reply to the Governor, and other Democrats of lesser note, are making for him many friends, and assure victory for him on the sixth of November. He has not stooped to dignify any of the assaults, charges, falsehoods, and misrepresentations that have been inveighled against him by the Tammany chief, or any of his lieutenants. He has addressed himself to discussing the record of the Republican Party, and its policies and principles of good government, without discussing the Democratic Party's shortcomings. On the other hand Governor Smith, instead of discussing the merits of his own party, and proposing remedial legislation and policies for the betterment of the people, he is engaged in trying to prove to the American people that the Republican Party is made up of thieves, grand rascals, and incompetents.

10-13-28

Atlanta, Ga.

But, the phase of the campaign which struck us most was the unanimity and sincerity with which the 150,000 Negro voters in the state of Ohio were supporting the Republican tickets, state, national, and county. It had been heralded about, before we went West, that 100,000 Negroes in Ohio and Indiana were just rearing to vote for Governor Smith, and were anxiously awaiting November the sixth that they might give relief to their desires; that they were anxious to repudiate the Republican Party, that had done so much for them, and endorse the Democratic Party, that had done so much to destroy not only their political rights, but to deny them the economic opportunity to make meat and bread. When we got to Ohio and opened up the campaign for the Party at Urbana, in the heart of the agricultural valley, Negro Democrats were as scarce as hen teeth. In an audience of 900 Negroes and 500 white people, not one Democratic Negro could be found, and all over Ohio, in the six counties we covered, we were reminded very much of Capt. Jackson McHenry's frog story. In this story, a farmer, judging from the noise of the frogs in a pond near his home, thought that there were carloads of frogs in the pond. He went to town, told an enterprising butcher of his find, and the butcher contracted with him for ten barrels of frogs to be delivered once a week, for four weeks. The butcher thought the find was so great that he had better bind the trade by advancing fifty dollars, which he promptly did. The farmer returned home, called his neighbors in, and fixed a day to seine the pond, and spent a whole day in seining it, and at the close of his day's work, he had three frogs. He returned to the city, and told the butcher that judging from the noise he thought he had carloads of frogs, but upon examination he found that he had only three frogs, and that this had been verified by the fact that after catching the three frogs, the noise had ceased. So, the honest farmer told the butcher that he would return the check and he could adjust it by paying him for the three frogs. This was done.

So, when we got to Ohio, we looked for the democratic colored brethren according to the noise that was being made and the releases released from the Negro press, but Democratic Negroes were as scarce in Ohio as the farmer's frogs were in the pond. We spoke to capacity houses in Cincinnati, Columbus, Springfield, Urbana, Youngstown, and Dayton, and nowhere could we find a dozen Democratic colored brethren who were willing to stand up and be counted among Democrats.

The state is safe for the national ticket, the state ticket, and the county ticket. Both senators will be elected, and the Republicans will make a clean sweep in the state. The Negro is loyal and still supporting the party of Abraham Lincoln, and will contribute their quota to the Republican victory in November. There was once some talk of the Democratic party among Negroes, but the rank and file is now accusing the few leaders who have gotten Democratic money of hogging it all, and they are jumping on the Republican band wagon with break-neck speed. It is a mistaken idea, and the Democrats are being badly fooled by the few Negro mercenaries and henchmen they have bought, that the Negroes are largely Democratic in this county. Mr. Kent, of the Baltimore Sun, and all other political writers had just as well put it in their pipes and smoke it, that ninety-five per cent of the Negroes in this country will cast their votes for Herbert Hoover. While they may not have gotten all they deserved out of the Republican Party, they cannot forget the truth, that the Democratic Party has done nothing for them, and has done everything it could to prevent them from enjoying their political rights, and that it has been the policy of the Democratic Party to crucify the Race on a cross of race prejudice, and there is more hope in remaining inside the Republican Party, and fighting for their rights, than jumping off the Republican ship in mid-ocean, and undertaking to swim back to shore where the Democratic ship is anchored with Cole Blease, Tammany Hall, Carter Glass, Tom Heflin, and Josephus Daniels standing on board cannonading at them with rapid fire guns of race prejudice, before they can make the ship.

West Point, Ga., News
September 27, 1928

MRS. FELTON REPLIES BUT SAYS NOTHING DEFINITE

"Cartersville, Ga., Sept. 22, 1928.
To Messrs. Coffee,
Editors of The West Point News.

Some one has sent to my address a late issue of your paper in which you have taken the liberty of disparaging the memory of my dead husband and of defaming me personally to amuse the readers of your paper.

You accuse me falsely of misstating his term of service in the national congress. The Atlanta Journal published in full the words I uttered when I introduced former Governor Hardwick in my own town and by request of the Bartow county Democratic Executive Committee. I said my husband served eight years as a state legislator and six years in the national congress.

I was glad to introduce Governor Hardwick. It was a very small return for his compliment to an aged Georgia woman—which gave me a seat in the most distinguished legislative body in the world. I was a Senator fifty-one days, from Oct. 3 to Nov. 22, 1922. I have no apology to offer to you or anybody—prelate or politician—for the introduction. He was one of the best governors the state has had since I can recollect, and was defeated by the Klan by their peculiar methods. He was opposed to President Wilson's League of Nations and thus invoked the implacable enmity of the man, with his influence against the Georgian as Chief Executive. This League was defeated by Congress, as we all know. God in His wisdom saved this country from that alliance.

"Your editorial makes an open charge against my dead husband and my aged self—a personal assault. This is a personal attack that calls for reproof if not for re-dress by the courts, for there was no provocation.

"You relate your personal appearance where my husband addressed negro gatherings and asked their aid to defeat the Democrats. Following these speeches you declare you saw Dr. Felton and myself pass through these negro gatherings and both shook hands with them in carpet-bag style. As this comes from you, I hold you responsible to your readers, if not to myself, to locate these negro political gatherings—the negro assemblages where he did the speaking and I helped with the handshaking in "carpet-bag style." I wish you to tell the public where these gatherings were held, in what counties, or towns or barns, or in the woods.

"And you propose now at this late day to drag down the good name of a dead man. More than half a century has elapsed since he was last counted for for congress and by men who are still well remembered in the 7th District. Fortunately, I have preserved in prints the testimony of many great Georgians that will substantiate his good character and the usefulness of his life's work as a gentleman of the South. With me it is a matter of perfect indifference. But when I am called on to defend the dead I shall possibly go into details—and present the proofs, of course.

"I am seeking no office to thus arouse your bitter enmity. I have no recollection of ever seeing or hearing of you thirty or forty odd years ago. Certainly I have given you no reason for such malignant animosity—in a newspaper tirade.

"My husband had a number of slaves. I know he tried to be a good master. Those who are still alive write me once in a while. They say they "thought lots of me," as a kind mistress.

"I make it a business to advise good negroes—when they ask me for advice, and it is a pity they are a constant football in national politics. Until the antipathy centered on the Catholics—four years ago—the negro has been the scare crow of our malcontents since Bullock's time.

"MRS. REBECA EELTON."

We are glad to publish the above, as it gives his aged lady an opportunity to say something.

We have no quarrel with her nor with her dead husband, our statements made in a recent issue being purely historical.

Several local citizens have come to this office and commended the editor upon the truthfulness of this account which dealt with a period well remembered by these older ones.

Mrs. Felton calls on us to "locate these negro political gatherings."

We heard these speeches, just as we are quoted, at Calhoun in Gordon county; Resaca in Gordon County; Rome and Floyd Springs in Floyd County and at various other places. At Calhoun Dr. Felton spoke in the Courthouse where large numbers of negroes were present, and negroes were urged to come forward and shake hands.

Since it is a fact that many thousands of older citizens of that section are still living and can recall these occurrences, the subject is not a matter of controversy—it is simply a matter of history. We regret that it is true, for that section was our home, and we saw an era torn with political strife that was not good.

The subject of the negro was injected into this campaign—as is customary in every national election in Georgia or Alabama—by those who now claim to be the Democratic Party, and, while we have no objection to any politician shaking hands with colored people, treating them kindly, it seemed right and proper to bring out this bit of past history for the benefit of those who have always used the negro to becloud more important issues.

If Mrs. Felton and her husband have records that are clean and satisfactory, she should be proud of those records. And whether they are such as to be proud of or not, she, as a person who still is before the public, must continue to live by that record. It is not the fault of this newspaper that she happens to be an aged lady, nor it is necessary for a man to drop out of history simply because he has passed on.

As to the number of terms in Congress of Dr. Felton, we suspected that this was an error on the part of the newspaper and based our statement on that. We shall not question Mrs. Felton's claim as to her statement, but, since it was due to misstatement of the figures in the newspaper report that we took note of the matter, and we would never have taken the trouble to compare these figures with our own personal knowledge if the newspaper report had not misstated the facts, we hold our position.

We regret that Mrs. Felton is, due to her position before the public, in line of fire just now. She is an aged lady whose life has been spent more or less before the public, and this is far from the first time she and the late Dr. Felton have felt the sting of "disparagement." As a politician, Mrs. Felton must accept such criticism or definitely refute it. In this case she cannot refute the facts recently published in this newspaper.

The historical facts published concerning Dr. and Mrs. Felton were brought out by reason of Mrs. Felton's statement that she and her husband had always been Democrats. What we desired was to see if one of the Atlanta papers which fought Dr. Felton so bitterly in the Eighties could be smoked out now. As we see it, there is nothing of truth that certain of these Atlanta "lamps of liberty" cannot conveniently forget or overlook nor do they hesitate to set down deliberate misstatements of fact when political expediency seems to require such a course. This is a matter of which we are not proud, but for the sake of our own readers we make an effort to warn them of unsound leadership wherever we find it, and in the above instance it was necessary to bring out a few facts concerning Seventh district history in order to give our readers a better idea of what present-day self-styled Democratic leaders are doing in Georgia.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

TRIBUNE SAYS HOOVER OWES NEGRO NOTHING

BIG REPUBLICAN DAILY SAYS BLACK VOTER WILL BE THROWN OVERBOARD

PITTSBURG COURIER SAYS 'TWLL BE BEST FOR THE RACE

It has been less than two weeks since the sweeping election of Mr. Hoover as President of the United States, and already the word is out that as far as the Negro is concerned it is, "Bye, Bye, Blackbird." Negro newspapers and politicians who supported Mr. Hoover do not display that gladness, joy, and happiness that would naturally be expected to be shown by winners of a cause.

There is a sad note in whatever they have to say about the victory. It has finally dawned on them that Mr. Hoover's victory, with the forces behind him that put him over, means the Negro no great good.

When Mr. Hoover broke the solid South he also broke the Negro's head if not his heart. "I wanted Hoover to win but by just a small majority" is the chorus of the song being sung by Colored politicians. And well they may sing those blues, for that overwhelming majority coming from the source it did, convinces the leaders of the G. O. P. that the Negro is the "White Man's (Republican) Burden," politically.

The Chicago Tribune, on November 9, carried an article last week from one of its special writers which shows which way the wind is blowing.

The Pittsburgh Courier, great Negro weekly, that supported Hoover admits in an editorial of the current issue that Hoover's sweeping victory with the breaking up of the Solid South means the elimination of Negroes from a few jobs and as National Committeeman." But it says, **"That Is Good For The Race."**

How can the elimination of the Negro from anything worthwhile Be For The Good of The Race?

Be that as it may, this is what the Chicago Tribune's special political writer says:

"Figuring in the speculation are the names of a number of southern Republicans, including that of Claudius Huston of Tennessee, who served at one time assistant secretary of commerce under Mr. Hoover. He was active in the Hoover campaign, particularly in connection with its financing.

There also is to be a bid under the Hoover administration for continued support of the Reupblican party in the south by the Democrats who voted for the Republican candidate in this election.

The Republican party in the south is to be recognized as a white man's party. The Negroes are to be eliminated from domination. The elimination already has taken place in some of the southern states, notably Georgia and Mississippi. The Hoover canvass was taken out of the hands of the Negro national committeemen in those states and delivered into the charge of white Republicans.

Mr. Hoover will be embarrassed by obligations to the Negroes in carrying out this policy, for the Negro vote went to Smith to a conspicuous degree."

And this from another G. O. P. paper:

Several questions of party organization confront Hoover. The most important arises from his breaking into the Solid South. Already Hoover has made a start toward eliminating the Negro element which has dominated the Republican organization of several Southern states. Whether the Republicans can hope to hold the gains they made due to hostility to Smith in the South is a question, but at any rate they will attempt to do it by ousting Negro party leaders. This already has been done in Georgia and Mississippi. Hoover will make his Southern political appointments chiefly from white citizens instead of from Negroes, and in this way will seek to found a real Republican Party in the South."

Richmond, Va., News-Leader
Tuesday, November 6, 1928

TWO NEGRO G. O. P. ELECTION JUDGES

Brunswick Clerk Says Law Requires One Republican, So Gains Named.

LAWRENCEVILLE, Va., Nov. 6.—(Special to The News Leader.)—Two Negro Republicans are serving as election judges in Brunswick county.

Bob Gains, Negro, Republican, is serving today as an election judge in Phipps precinct, Powelton township, along with J. H. Phillips and F. W. Carpenter, whites, who represent the Democratic party as judges.

W. E. Elmore, clerk of the court of Brunswick county, today stated that Gains was appointed by A. F. Rollins, a Democrat, chairman of the election board of Brunswick county, for the reason that there are no white Republicans available for the appointment in Phipps precinct. The law requires two Democrats and one Republican precinct judge. Gains has been serving as an election judge for several years, and another Negro Republican is an election judge in Tillman precinct.

At 11 A. M. today, there had been about 200 votes cast at Lawrenceville, the county seat of Brunswick county, and of this number Governor Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic standard-bearer, is reported to have polled 190 votes. There are between 500 and 600 registered voters at Lawrenceville, and Mr. Elmore estimates that Herbert Hoover, the Republican nominee, will poll about 25 votes.

Broken? Or Only Cracked?

"THE SOLID SOUTH IS BROKEN!"

THIS CRY burst from many lips the day after the election. At first glance it was justified. Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, Texas and Florida [illegible] the South, had gone Republican. Tennessee had done it once before, in 1920, and North Carolina had shown suspicious symptoms. But Virginia, Texas and Florida throughout their history had been Democratic strongholds, the solidest of the solid, and with their defection it looked as if the Solid South had been split wide open.

IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN, however, whether the Solid South is broken or merely cracked. This campaign was no criterion, for the Democrats had a candidate who stood for almost everything the South was opposed to. In the next campaign, with a different kind of candidate, the deserting states may return to their Southern solidity. If the Democrats nominate a man who is a Protestant, a Dry, and a foe of Tammany, and Virginia, Florida and Texas still go Republican, then we shall know that the break in the South is permanent.

IT IS FAIRLY CERTAIN that the Republicans did not break the Solid South with their "Lily White" policy. They made a bid for Mississippi by hounding Perry Howard, for Georgia by attacking Ben Davis, and for Louisiana by humiliating Walter Cohen. They might save saved themselves the trouble, for all three of these states went Democratic as usual. The Republicans had better throw their "Lily Whiteism" overboard. It has never carried a Southern state for them; if continued it may cost them thousands of Negro votes in the North and possibly an election.

WHITE VOTERS GAVE KNOX VOTE FOR VOTE

Study of Figures Shows White Precincts "Went Down Line"

An analysis of the vote follows:

White voters to the number of 9,139 thought it good for the fourth legislative district of Missouri to be represented by L. Amsa Knox, the Negro candidate. There were 10,123 Negroes who voted in the same district but of them only 5,897 were for Knox.

Against Mr. Knox ran a white candidate by the name of Morris. He received more white votes than Knox, his white vote being 9,747, 608 more, and at the same time he received 4,226 Negro votes, 1,671 less. The vote is a revelation of the attitude of voters, which admits of no misunderstanding. It punctures the claim made by Negroes that they have race loyalty. Only 58 per cent of them voted for one of the best known Negroes, and 42 per cent voted for a white candidate utterly unknown to them. Had it not been for the equally sensational surprise, namely the strong support given by whites to a Negro, because he was their party's candidate, Knox would have been defeated.

Even the whites living south of Linwood boulevard, along Troost avenue as far as 36th street, gave Knox vote for vote with Morris That was better than the Negroes did who voted at 935 Lydia and 1510 E. 11th street in the second ward, at 1405 E. 17th street, 1912 E. 18th St., and 2330 Harrison in the fourth ward and at 2201 E. 12th street in the ninth ward. These six precincts, with an all or at least with a large Negro vote actually gave the white candidate more votes than the Negro.

Majority in 20 White Precincts

A similar scorn of race was shown by white voters who gave Knox, the Negro candidate, a majority in twenty all-white precincts. In the past the argument has been raised against Negroes as nominees on a party ticket, that they would not be supported by their own people as they should, and that they would get little if any votes from whites.

The race identity of Mr. Knox was well known throughout the district. One of the campaign maneuvers put on against him, was a badly done likness of him. Yet he received majorities in the very sections where his race was supposed to cut him down.

On the other hand, 58 per cent of Negro support is not encouragement enough for parties to nominate Negroes on their elective tickets. An unknown white man getting 42 per cent of the Negro vote in a district which has schools, churches, bathtubs and in many cases steam heat, means Negroes are not giving thought to their voting and therefore there is no need for parties to consider what they want.

No Encouragement to Parties

It hurts the race with republicans who note how little Negro voters are held by considerations of support in return for representation, and it hurts it with democrats who find themselves given support which they have not even sought. The result of the Knox candidacy is a tremendous advance. It is our first elective office in many years. It has much over which to rejoice. But the future must find us far more intelligent in our voting than this election, or politicians and parties will pass us by saying "What's the use?"

Negro Republican Leader In Georgia Not Seeking Reelection To Committee

ATLANTA, GA., Nov. 17.—(AP)—Ben Davis, negro Republican leader of Georgia announced today that under no circumstances was he a candidate for reelection as national Republican committeeman and that thereafter Republican affairs in this state would be conducted by white leaders.

He made his announcement following an executive session of the so-called Davis faction of the Republican state central committee at which a resolution was adopted recommending to the national Republican committee that G. F. Flanders, of Swainsboro, be named national committeeman and Mrs. Chas. A. Vernoy, of Atlanta, national committeewoman.

Davis said he was "through" with future party activities in an official capacity and that he "would have nothing to do with the distribution of patronage in the state." He would retain his position as secretary of the Republican state central committee for the time being, however, he said. He was "tired of the cussing of George and Harris" (Democratic senators) he said, and was unable to stand the "financial drain" of participation in party activities.

"I am not moved to take this position because I do not believe that the committee would unanimously give me the nomination today, or because of any fear of those who oppose my group in politics," he said in a formal statement presented before the committee. "I have no fear of reorganization as is being agitated by 'lily whites' and some few federal office holders, for the reason we are regular. We have had our experience with bolters and disorganizers. If any abortive action is taken to the contrary we will be able to lick the bolters, lily whites or meddlesome office holders as we did in 1924 in Cleveland.

"I am firmly of the belief that if any colored man accepts the nomination for national committeeman for Georgia and he is recognized, as he would be by the national committee, he would be framed, discredited and sent to the penitentiary, just as Perry Howard has been framed in Mississippi and Cohen in Louisiana; of course Cohen was acquitted and Perry Howard has not been to trial."

O. M. Duke, of Flovilla, presided over the executive session wherein 65 of the 71 members of the committee were present in person or by proxy. The resolution nominating Flanders and Mrs. Vernoy was introduced by A. T. Atwater.

BEN DAVIS GROUP FAVORS FLANDERS

Propose Swainsboro Man for G. O. P. Committeeman; Mrs. Vernoy Declines Woman's Place.

G. F. Flanders, of Swainsboro, sheriff of Emanuel county, Saturday was nominated for republican national committeeman, and Mrs. Charles A. Vernoy, of Atlanta, for national committeewoman, by the state central committee, following announcement by Ben J. Davis, negro, that he had decided to withdraw his application for the committeemanship.

Informed of her nomination Saturday night, Mrs. Vernoy stated that she would decline to accept the place. She said that she took the position because she was an independent in politics, and believed in voting for measures rather than men or party regularity. "I cannot neglect the work required of me in the child welfare and public health programs for political purposes," she said.

This meeting of the state central committee was held at the Fulton courthouse, with 65 members of the state committee present in person or by proxy of a total membership of 71, it was announced by Davis.

The heavy financial strain attendant upon the position, as well as a desire to retire before "I am ruined and my usefulness destroyed" actuated Davis in his decision to no longer serve as committeeman, according to his statement to the press. Davis said he will retain the post of secretary of the state central committee.

Flanders Elected Chairman.

Sheriff Flanders was elected chairman of the state central committee at a meeting some months before the election, when the Davis faction claimed to have ousted from the committee Roscoe Pickett, then chairman, and other members who voted for Joe Watson, Albany negro, as national committeeman at the Kansas City convention. Pickett and his friends refused to recognize the alleged ouster, with the result that there have been two men claiming the state committee chairmanship.

Flanders was postmaster of Swainsboro under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson. Mrs. Vernoy was a candidate for republican elector from the eighth district in the recent national election.

Davis had been national committeeman since 1925, when he succeeded Henry Lincoln Johnson, negro, now dead, up to the time of the Kansas City convention, when he was opposed by Watson. The national convention referred the Georgia dispute to the national committee. In his statement issued Saturday, Davis said that since the convention he has twice refused the unanimous nomination of the full committee for national committeeman to succeed himself, "because I felt, for the time being, it was for the best interests of the party, and requested that the matter go over for a setlement until after the election. The election having been held, I think it is time for a settlement, and I am no longer an applicant, and return to my constitutents, unsullied, the banners they placed in my hands in 1925."

Negress Former Committeeman.

The republican national committeewoman from Georgia up to the time of the state convention, when she was defeated by a vote of 229 to 2, was Mamie Williams, negress, of Savannah.

The names of Sheriff Flanders and Mrs. Vernoy are to be presented to the national committee for confirmation, under the rules of the party, it was said.

In his statement, Davis pointed out that the national committeemanship is a position paying no salary, and that the incumbent is required to meet his own expenses, not being allowed to solicit funds or accept funds from any person as a consideration for appointment, or contribution for his personal services. "Hence," Davis said, "only those who are wealthy and can afford to spend $5,000 or $6,000 per annum for the honor of serving their party can afford to accept the place."

No Remuneration Possible.

Davis said that "there is no way, then, for a national committeeman, or woman, to receive remuneration for services, unless they graft, and if they graft in violation of the plain statutes, which prohibit them from soliciting, or receiving by gift, or otherwise, any money or thing of value for services, they may expect to take the consequences. I have no desire to violate any law of my country, and being unable to finance myself, in accordance with the dignity of the position, I do not ask the committee for the nomination."

Davis said that the national committeemanship has cost him more than $10,000 in money, time and neglect of his business, and "as a matter of justice to myself and my family, I must give politics less of time, and my business more." The ex-committeeman declared that he is not moved to take this position because he does not believe the committee would unanimously give him the nomination or because of any fear of those who oppose his group in politics, for "I have no fear of reorganization, as is being agitated by lily whites and some few federal office-holders, for the reason we are regular. We have had our experience with bolters and disorganizers.

"Yes, we were reorganized in the interest of the white man's party in 1921, and we put the irregulars out of business, and have been regular since. We have an abiding faith in the integrity and regularity of the president-elect, and believe that the organization will control the patronage. If any abortive action is taken to the contrary, we will be able to lick the bolters, lily-whites, or meddlesome federal office-holders, as we did in 1924 at Cleveland."

Davis expressed the firm belief that if any colored man accepted the nomination for committeeman from Georgia, and he should be recognized, he would be "framed, discredited, and sent to the penitentiary, just as Perry Howard has been framed in Mississippi, and Cohen in Louisiana. Of course, Cohen was acquitted, and Perry Howard has not been to trial."

"Have Lived Upright."

In his political "swan-song," Davis said "So far, I have lived upright. I have sold no offices, and have a clean conscience, and am willing to retire and turn the leadership over to those who can best serve, and will be fair to all the people in the party, before I am ruined and my usefulness destroyed.

"I have many political enemies in the state, some in each group, and it would not be wisdom in me to give them the opportunity to frame me through perjury, or otherwise," Davis said. "I am a republican and will ever remain so, so long as it stands for the principles and policies that have characterized its existence since 1856. The lily whites, and nobody else can put me out. I will take my place humbly among the ranks, and do whatever I can to defend the rights of my people, who are sinned, proscribed and discriminated against."

Political-1928
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

CALVIN FINDS SENTIMENT FAVORS HOOVER

10/14/28

Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

NEW YORK, Oct. 4.—Floyd J. Calvin, special feature editor of The Pittsburgh Courier, with offices at 2297 Seventh avenue, on his return to the city Saturday after a two-week trip through Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio, where he was writing special feature articles, issued a statement in which he said on all sides he heard prominent Negroes, as well as the rank and file, loud in their praise and support of Herbert Hoover for President. Mr. Calvin, who lives in the Dunbar apartments in Harlem, erected by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is one of the thousand voters in the co-operative community created by Mr. Rockefeller for Negroes. During the past five months he has traveled over 12,000 miles through 28 states writing special feature articles. He is also noted for his hour at a prominent radio station on Broadway which is conducted weekly in his name. In his statement he said:

"It happened that my work as a feature writer called me to Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio during the past two weeks and while in these states, which are sometimes referred to as doubtful from a political point of view, as a newspaper man I could not help noticing the enthusiasm Negroes in general had for Herbert Hoover and the national Republican ticket. Senator Curtis, the vice presidential candidate, made his speech at Lexington while I was in Louisville, and many Negroes left Louisville by automobile to hear him. I was told later Negroes were given seats on the platform during the meeting.

"The enthusiasm for Hoover permeates all the different stratas of Negro life. Not only the professional and business men, but the rank and file, the day laborers and odd-jobs men are for him. Equally are the women in his favor. It is not Mr. Hoover's personal magnetism that seems to have won this Negro support, but it seems to be the conviction that he can be depended upon to do the right and square thing by all the citizens of our country that is what makes him popular. Of course, the business men are anxious for a continuation of the 'Coolidge prosperity.' They believe Mr. Hoover will keep this intact. And our business men are of considerable importance. Some of them have corporations with payrolls running into the hundreds of thousands yearly. The rank and file of our people want the Coolidge prosperity continued because they know when Big Business is prosperous they are prosperous. The industrial workers are for the Republican party every time because they know the Republican party is the party of good business and plenty of work for those who want to work.

My personal preference for Herbert Hoover as the next President is based on several reasons. First, I naturally believe in party regularity, and since I am a Republican of a few years' standing I would vote the ticket straight and fight my grievances out within the party ranks. Second, Mr. Hoover is a man whom every Republican can be proud of. His record as a business man of international experience, his broad, sympathetic understanding of human problems which he acquired doing relief work in the World War, and his definite declarations in favor of a square deal to all the citizens commend him to the favorable consideration of every voter in America. Aside from all this, his very definite stroke in the Negro's favor in abolishing segregation in his department, the Department of Commerce, at Washington, is the clinching argument in his favor for Negroes. In addition, before he resigned from the Department of Commerce the Negro race got its first Negro business specialist in this branch of the government, in the person of James A. Jackson, whom we all know. Mr. Jackson has traveled more than 20,000 miles this year as the official representative of the Department of Commerce, to carry the gospel of the new day in business methods to small Negro businesses. This, indeed, is recognition. Contrast this with the statement issued from the Democratic headquarters a few days ago, and carried in the New York Times and other white newspapers, which said it was the policy of Governor Smith not to employ Negroes in his administration except as janitors and charwomen. Any Negro with an ounce of self-respect would turn his back once and for all on a candidate for President that permitted such a statement to be sent out from his headquarters. But that is true to Governor Smith's type. I have lived in New York for eight years and I have never known the Governor to do one thing commendable that was degnitely in favor of the Negro. It might be argued that New York City has been kind to Negroes under the Democrats. It has. But Governor Smith was at Albany and had absolutely nothing to do with it. It is a matter of record that the Democratic mayor of New York, John F. Hylan, under whose administration the Negro came nearer to political heaven in New York than ever before, was actually kicked out of office by Governor Smith, and the man who succeeded Mayor, little Jimmie Walker, is the one who created the international stir when he objected to Negroes being present at a cafe in Rome when he was there on vacation. Of course, Jimmie Walker has denied this a hundred times, but the New York World carried the story, the paper that is heart and soul for Governor Smith for President.

"I am not unmindful of the probable benefits that may accrue by Negroes voting the Democratic ticket at certain times in some Northern cities. Indeed, it has been proven that such votes have, in particular instances, aided the race. But I view it as little short of political insanity for Negroes, because of some local benefits derived from the Democratic party in some parts of the North, to even consider voting the national Democratic ticket. Any man with common sense knows that to turn the national Democratic party loose in Washington is to turn the worse element of the South loose in Washington, and that would be a calamity for the Negro. My travels about the country have caused me to know and appreciate that there are many good white people in the South who are genuine friends of get in power. If voting the Democrats, but unfortunately when the Democratic party is successful it is not these friends of the Negro who get in power. If voting the Democratic ticket by Negroes would put only the white friends of the Negro in power, then I could forgive some of the national Democratic agitation that is at present going on among Negroes. But I know only too well this is not the case. If Governor Smith were elected President any practical politician will tell you the white South would control Washington, and the worst element of the white South. The best white people in the South are not in politics. They are in business. They cannot stoop to the petty race baiting that the average white Southern politician stoops to to get votes. For this reason the Northern Negro should view with alarm even the suggestion of sending a Democrat, even a New York Democrat, to the White House.

"I recently heard a discussion among prominent Negroes of the inside of the Wilson administration. The men were not talking for publication, so I cannot give names. But the men who were talking were those who were actually in conference with the President and members of his cabinet, and they said that while Wilson was kindly disposed toward Negroes personally and really wanted to appoint a few to good jobs, he was warned by some of the Southern senators that if he made just one dignified Negro appointment they would kill every piece of legislation of any kind that he tried to put through the Senate. At that time the Federal Reserve act was pending, so Wilson dumped the Negro overboard. That only goes to show what does and will happen when the Democrats are in control.

"Of course, the Republicans are by no means angels. But the fact remains that all the Negro has he got from the Republican party. He got his freedom from the Republican party. He got his citizenship from the Republican party. He got his right to vote from the Republican party. What more can a party give? We have the right and privilege of using our political strength in our own favor. Let us keep the Republican party in power, then use our political strength to get what we want insofar as we are politically strong enough to get it."

MOSES' ATTACK RILES RACE

Pittsburgh Courier

10/20/28

Republican's Speech Causes Spirited Comment; Said To Be Biggest Blunder Of Campaign.

NEW YORK, Oct. 18. — Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire, Eastern manager of the Republican National Committee, has become the storm center within the party for having raised the race issue in a speech he made here before the campaign school of the Women's National Republican Club, in which he spoke disparagingly of a Negro official in New York "dictating to a white stenographer of the female sex."

The official to whom Senator Moses made reference was Ferdinand Q. Morton, Negro civil service commissioner, and a Democratic appointee under Tammany Hall. This sort of talk, intended to intensify racial animosities, is in line with statements being put out by the Ku Klux Klan.

Directly after Senator Moses' attack on Tammany Hall and the Negro, leading politicians of the race immediately protested and likened the New Hampshire senator's intolerant attitude to that of a Heflin. They did not hestitate to express fear that the incident would lose the Republican party thousands of votes.

The Amsterdam News, which is supporting Mr. Hoover, proclaimed on the first page of its current issue in large type that "The Republican Eastern Manager Has Ku Klux Ideas," and in an editorial demands removal of Moses.

Says the Amsterdam News, "Thus in these few words all sentiment created for the Republican National ticket is wiped away and cannot be restored until definite action is taken to restore it."

Senator Moses committed what is regarded by Negro Republicans as the biggest blunder of the campaign toward the end of his talk to white women when asked if it were true that Mr. Hoover had made certain contracts with colored leaders in Virginia and other Southern states. He replied: "I do not know, but if any promises have been made by Mr. Hoover, he will fulfill, not repudiate them. I do know this—that in Washington there is no colored Tammany civil service commissioner who dictates to a white stenographer of the female sex, which, as I understand, is done right here in New York City."

Aside from being Eastern manager of the Republican National Committee, Senator Moses was permanent chairman of the Republican National Convention at Kansas City. He plays a prominent part in the shaping of Mr. Hoover's campaign policies.

Hoover Danced With Negro Woman, Bragged About It, Says Gov. Bilbo

MEMPHIS, TENN., Oct. 18.—"I, as a missionary Baptist, licensed to preach, would rather swallow the pope and the whole vatican, than vote for Herbert Hoover and his party," Gov. Theo G. Bilbo, of Mississippi, said in an address at a Memphis theater Wednesday night. The governor was here for Governors' Day at the Tri-State Fair and his talk was in interest of the Democratic ticket.

"Herbert Hoover, nom his party, have any patience with segregation of the races," Bilbo said. "On one of his flood relief trips through the Mississippi Delta the Republican nominee, to gain favor with Republicans in control in Mississippi, caused his special train to be stopped at Mound Bayou, where all inhabitants are negroes, and went to call on Mary Booze, black as the ace of spades and Republican national committeewoman from Mississippi.

"He even bragged of having danced with Mary's daughter in Washington and wrote her a letter later thanking her for her hospitality while he was in the negro village.

"And now you would elect a man and an administration who has no sympathy for white supremacy in the South. The national Republican party is the negro party of the South and would try to put the black heel on the white necks of Southern men and women. On the other hand, the Northern Democratic party has always respected the white man's rule and always will. So I would rather swallow the pope and the whole vatican than vote for Hoover and his party, and if you Hoover 'Democrats can swallow them, I hope you do and I hope the dose kills every one of you."

REPUBLICANS' 'MOUTHPIECE' INSULTS RACE

Indicates That Party Will Jim Crow

Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire, eastern manager of the Republican national committee, has become the storm center within his party for having raised the Race issue in a speech before the Woman's National Republican club, in which he spoke disparagingly of a Race man in an official capacity "dictating to a white stenographer of the female sex."

Aside from being eastern manager of the Republican committee, Senator Moses was permanent chairman of the Republican national convention at Kansas City, where the "lily-white" program was formulated. He plays a prominent part in the shaping of Herbert Hoover's campaign policies.

Even some papers supporting the candidacy of Mr. Hoover proclaimed that "the Republican eastern manager had Ku Klux ideas," and in editorials demanded his removal. Senator Moses, as yet, has not been reprimanded by Republican party leaders, and those in the inner circle say he will not be. They asserted that he voiced the sentiments of Mr. Hoover in his New York address, which follows:

(From New York World

New York, Oct. 9.—Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire, eastern manager of the Republican national committee, closed a speech yesterday at the campaign school of the Women's National Republican club, 8 E. 37th St., with a reference to a Negro official in New York dictating "to a white stenographer of the female sex."

Senator Moses referred to Ferdinand Q. Morton, Negro civil service commissioner of New York, a Democrat, appointed from Harlem.

About two weeks ago the same matter was brought to public attention in a photograph of Commissioner Morton dictating to a white stenopragher published on the first page of the Fellowship Forum, anti-Catholic publication.

After his speech, in which Senator Moses criticized the Democratic stand on tariff and Gov. Smith's attitude on prohibition and his affiliation with Tammany, he opened the floor to questions.

One of the women in his audience asked about reports that Herbert Hoover had placed Negroes over white men doing work on the Mississippi flood relief, and about another report that the Republican nominee had made promises to Virginia Negroes for their support

"I don't know that any such condition exists," replied Senator Moses, "but if any promises have been made they will be kept.

"I do know this, however," continued the senator, "that in Washington there is no Colored civil service commissioner who dictates to a white stenographer of the female sex, such as I understand is done right here in New York."

Some of the audience applauded, but about half of the women received it in silence.

Many Republican leaders frankly disliked the senator's remark. They took the stand that it was unnecessary and could serve only to create bitterness and misunderstanding.

The incident was all the more regretted by prominent Republicans because it came from one of Mr Hoover's highest campaign officers. They insisted that the senator only meant to draw a comparison, in which he wished to show that "Democrats and Republicans alike both acknowledge the place of the Negro to serve in public office."

What the full effect of this remark by Senator Moses will be on those who had been willing to give Mr. Hoover the benefit of the doubt is yet to be determined. It is certain, however, that such sentiments as these, expressed by recognized leaders in the Hoover movement, are not calculated to do the party any good.

HOOVER AID DENIES DANCE WITH NEGRO

Charges Bilbo With Making Most Indecent Statement in Entire Bitter Campaign.

Washington, October 19.—(AP)—An official denial of a declaration attributed to Governor Theodore G. Bilbo, of Mississippi, that Herbert Hoover had visited and danced with a negro woman at Mound Bayou during his Mississippi flood relief work last year was made public tonight at Hoover general headquarters.

The denial, in the form of a telegram to Bilbo from George Akerson, assistant to the republican presidential candidate, criticized the Mississippi executive in sharp terms, declaring that the statement was "unqualifiedly false" and "the most indecent and unworthy statement in the whole of a bitter campaign."

Akerson called the attention of the governor to a memorial passed by the legislature of his state praising the work of the republican nominee during the flood, and added that the only time Mr. Hoover was ever in Mound Bayou was when his train made a three-minute stop there.

"You are quoted by the press in the south as having stated in a public address that Herbert Hoover, while on one of his flood relief trips, got off the train at Mound Bayou, Miss., and paid a call on a colored woman there and later danced with her," said the message.

"That statement is unqualifiedly false. There is not the slightest foundation for it. It is the most indecent and unworthy statement in the whole of a bitter campaign."

Hoover had a busy day at his headquarters, receiving several delegations and individuals. His first visitors were Dr. Hugo Eckener, commander of the Graf Zeppelin, and several members of the party that made the trans-Atlantic voyage with him.

BILBO DISCLAIMS ALL RESPONSIBILITY.

Jackson, Miss., October 19.—(AP)—Governor Theo G. Bilbo said tonight that he had not yet received a telegram from George Akerson, assistant to Herbert Hoover, which branded as "unqualifiedly false" a statement said to have been made by the governor that Hoover had danced with a negro woman.

"I did not say that as a direct statement coming from me," Governor Bilbo said. "What I did say was that statement was made at a public rally held in Jackson some time ago."

LILY WHITES BAR ILL. SENATOR

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.— Republican mass meeting staged by S. D. McGill, the Rev. H. Y. Tookes, A. W. Smith and other regular Republicans went without an advertised speaker Monday night of last week.

Ex-Senator L. Y. Sherman, of Illinois, cancelled his engagement after receiving protests from the lily-whites who are using every effort to keep colored people from registering and voting.

MOSES CAN SAY ANYTHING HE PLEASES

Hoover Headquarters Won't Comment On Senators Raising Race Issue

AFRO REPORTER TOLD HOOVER ISN'T QUOTED

Moses Won't Talk Either, Says He'll Have To Be The Goat

WASHINGTON, D. C.—No one at the personal headquarters of Herbert Hoover, Republican presidential candidate, would make a statement relative to the injection of the racial issue in the campaign in New York City by Senator George H. Moses, eastern manager of the Republican national committee. Mr. Hoover himself is never quoted.

It was said at the Hoover headquarters that Senator Moses is a free agent and may say anything he pleases. Any statement explaining or clarifying his remarks concerning Ferdinand Q. Morton, New York civil service commissioner, and his dictating to a white stenographer, would have to be made by the Senator, it was stated.

It was also added that comment could not be made upon every incident of that kind which happens from Maine to Texas.

Republican workers from New York, however, brought the report here that Senator Moses had been misquoted, but had refused to make a statement giving a correct version of what took place at the meeting of the Women's National Republican Club where he made his remarks concerning Mr. Morton's dictating to white stenographers.

Senator Moses is said to have told George W. Harris and Charles E. Mitchell, of the Republican eastern speakers' bureau that two southern women in the audience were heckling him and he simply made a reference to Mr. Morton and his position in New York.

He is said to have refused, however, to make any statement concerning the incident, telling the two Republican workers that he would just have to be the "goat."

Hoover Crowd Bolts Party in Tennessee

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—Hoover's determination to deal with the lily-white Republicans instead of with R. R. Church and Congressman J. Will Taylor, white, regular leaders, has resulted in the formation of an independent voters' league here under the direction of Webster M. Porter, chairman.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

THE ELECTION

There are many points in Tuesday's election which swept Herbert Clark Hoover into the White House, that should interest the American Negro. The election is now over and the various parties, factions, groups, etc., must now look to the future. New ground won must be consolidated losses must be retrieved.

The Catholic group in America now joins the Negro, the Jew and foreigners as the victims of group prejudice. For there was no greater force working against Al Smith than the fact of his religion. Instead of overcoming her prejudices, America is gradually adding to them. First, the Negro; then the Jew; later the foreigners, (so called) and now the Catholics. "Remember, when the judgment is weak, the prejudice is strong."

Through whatever combination, Mr. Hoover has broken the "Solid South." This fact alone is pregnant with many dangers for the Negro, and, it may also contain its blessings in disguise. First, Mr. Hoover went further to encourage the lily-whites of the south than did any of his previous Republican predecessors. Whether they were the cause of the G.O.P. breaking the south of course is more or less a conjecture. Nevertheless, the lily-whites will lose no time in trying to convince Mr. Hoover that 1932 makes it mandatory that he continue to recognize them. The lily-whites and the Negro, like oil and water, just will not mix. The breaking of the solid south will naturally cause the Republicans to revamp their views on questions of interest to the white south. The telegram which James Francis Burke, general counsel for the Republican national committee wired to Mr. Hoover, is very significant of what the future holds. In his congratulatory message, he said: "You have broken the solid south and introduced Dixie to the Republican household, where a warm welcome awaits her."

Will Dixie be welcomed with all her hates, prejudices and proscriptions (?) or will she be cleansed of these vices before being given a seat at the Republican pie counter? Robert R. Church, of Tennessee alone of the southern Negro leaders survived the pre-election campaign. Will he survive the welcoming party Mr. Burke speaks of, or will he too follow the trail of Perry W. Howard, of Mississippi; Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, and Ben Davis, of Georgia, after Mr. Hoover enters the White House? Will Mrs. Georgia Williams, National Committeewoman from Georgia, and Mrs. Mary Booze, National Committeewoman of Mississippi, who figured so prominently in the dance episode of the campaign, retain their post, or will they be forced to relinquish them to white Dixie maidens who feared the Pope's assent in America in case of a Smith victory and thereby joined the calvacade for the protection of protestantism? Since the fiasco at Kansas City last June, and the subsequent indictment of Perry Howard none of these leaders know just where they stand in the party's councils.

The Republican party could have broken the solid south years ago if they had only enforced the Federal constitution. The disfranchisement of the Negro has been the only thing that has prevented this deliverance all these years.

To paraphrase a biblical expression we state, "the party that lives by prejudice, will perish by prejudice." Now after sixty years, the south, which has maintained its stronghold in politics because of its prejudice against the Negro, now finds this position and the very existence of the Democratic party, menaced because of its prejudices.

PITCHED ON LOW PLANE.

It is extremely unfortunate for the citizenship of our United States that certain leaders of both parties who are taking part in the present campaign for president should stoop to such low depths in an effort to win favor among the voters to the candidates of their choice.

The opinion prevails generally, in view of the many unfair and slanderous utterances that have been injected into the campaign, that regardless as to which candidate wins, it will require many years to recover from the effects of the slime and filth that have been spread among the people. In fact, the methods employed have been pitched on the lowest plane within the memory of some of the oldest citizens of our land, all of which are wholly below the dignity of men and women engaged in a contest to select the man for the high and important office of president of a nation.

It is almost inconceivable and unthinkable that men, regardless as to their enthusiasm in behalf of a candidate, would employ backwoods political tactics as was shown in the case of certain Mississippians, who went to the extent of being so unfair as to draw the name of a respectable, Christian lady before the eyes of the public on a charge of participating in a dancing affair with one of the candidates. Nothing could possibly be gained by such unfair methods, and the matter will only serve to embarrass relatives and friends of the colored lady in question when a record of such might be re-opened in future years. Any reasonable man or woman of the present time would not be inclined for one moment to place any credence in the report that Mrs. Booze danced with Mr. Hoover, or any other individual for that matter, but as years pass on, such a report could be revived and, in view of the absence of refutatory facts as accurately outlined as they are today, prove annoying to friends of the lady whose name was drawn into the affair.

The fact that a man occupying a position with any degree of responsibility would aid in the circulation of such an unfounded and unreasonable rumor should serve to disqualify him in the estimation of the public, and brand him as that type of spreaders of venom whose operations throughout our country are serving to create great confusion.

SENATOR WATSON AFRAID TO SPEAK AT NEGRO MEETING

CHICAGO, Oct. 24—Why did U. S. Senator James E. Watson fail to speak at a colored Republican rally in the 8th Regiment Armory after sitting on the platform three hours, is the question being quite generally asked here.

The Indiana Senator had been advertised as the principal speaker, yet the much heralded address failed to materialize. When introduced, he received scattering applause and sat down without uttering a word.

During the three hours Senator Watson sat on the platform listening to long talks by colored spell-binders, whispered conferences took place between him and Senator Adelbert Roberts, Negro chairman of the meeting. The supposition is that the Senator would be heckled regarding his connection with the K. K. K. As one Negro in the audience was heard to remark : "Well, he better not talk here. He knows the time, the place, and the girl. He is a K. K. K.

When asked after the meeting why he remained silent, Senator Watson gave as an explanation, "I, I came here as the guest of Col. Roscoe Simmons. I was sent here by the National committee. I had a bad throat and could not talk here."

"Did you expect to give an address when you arrived at the meeting? he was asked.

"You bet," he answered. "I spoke in Dayton last night and will speak again tomorrow night. One night's rest will be enough for my throat."

NOT BRAINLESS SHEEP, WON'T VOTE HOOVER

Armond Scott In Bitter Letter Declines Post On G. O. P. Committee

"SOMETHING ROTTEN IN DENMARK" HE DECLARES

Ku Klux For Hoover Who Talks Only Of 18th Amendment

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Armond W. Scott, attorney in declining a place on the G. O. P. Advisory Committee, wrote Chairman Hubert Work the bitterest letter yet received.

Others who have declined publicly include: R. R. Church, Tennessee; Finley Wilson, D. C.; Neval Thomas, D. C.; D. W. Alexander, Newark. Many others declined privately.

Mr. Scott's letter reads:

Hon. Hubert Work.
Chairman of the Republican Nat. Committee,
Barr Building, Washington, D. C.

A few weeks ago, I received a formal invitation from you to become a member of the Advisory Committee of the colored end of the Republican Campaign Committee.

I took the matter under advisement for some days, but finally came to the conclusion that it is about time for the red blooded Negroes of this country, to show their righteous resentment against a party which we have served and followed for over 60 years like a herd of brainless sheep, following to slaughter, so called leaders whose only purpose and ambition was to save their own hides and secure positions for their families and themselves, and when I further considered the fact, that either through bad judgment or ill advice, you ignored all of the outstanding political leaders of our race in the different sections of our country, who have constituencies who follow them, and in their stead, selected voteless, political eunuchs of the District of Columbia, to show the experienced and outstanding leaders like Robert R. Church, of Memphis, Tenn · Oscar DePriest, Louis Anderson, and Bob Jackson, of Chicago, and hundreds of others whose names I could mention. I feel it is about time that we help you by letting you know the real attitude of the rank and file of the Negro voters of this country, so that the next time you will not repeat this blunder.

Men, Not Measures

The time is about come when the color of a man's skin should no longer be an index to his politics, and the Negroes have learned the lesson, to vote for men instead of measures, and for men only who believe in every amendment to the Constitution the United States.

Jim Crow At Kansas City

We have not forgotten the treatment by your group at Kansas City of the last few Negro leaders who were there to appear in Court in our behalf. There they were jim-crowed, humiliated, and relegated, and in addition to the same, the stage was set to drive from the councils of the Republican party, the last few political representatives remaining of our group. In furtherance of this nefarious and contemptible scheme, Walter Cohen was dethroned; Ben. Davis has been elimnated, and Perry Howard crucified; but thanks be to God the Negroes of this country have been aroused as never before, and they are now prepared "to do business" with and relegate all political wolves in sheep's clothing. For all these years, the "Uncle Tom Negro" has always been whipped in line when told the Republican Party was the party of Abraham Lincoln, but they failed to remember or do not know that, on the 18th day of September, 1865, Abraham Lincoln delivered a speech and among other things, said:

Abe Lincoln's Bunk

"I am not now nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not, nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with the white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality.

"And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race".

Ku Klux For Hoover

The further reason for causing me to decline this invitation is that, the Ku Klux Klan of this country is solidly supporting Herbert Hoover, and the loyalty, love, and affection of the so-called solid South for your candidate, caused him and also makes me suspicious, me to hesitate about supporting and feel that there is something "rotten in Denmark" so far as the future of our people in this country is concerned, under the presidential leadership of Herbert Hoover. Why even the restaurant of the United States Senate, of which body your Vice-Presidential candidate is a prominent and outstanding member, refuses to serve ladies and gentlemen of our group.

Why Only 18th Amendment

Your National Convention at Kansas City singled out the 18th Amendment and pledged your party to its heartiest support, for the enforcement of which the present administration has been spending a hundred million dollars a year, but you said not a word about the enforcement of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments; which not only protects and safeguard us in our civil and political rights, but are the very fundamental principles upon which this government is founded.

U. S. Jim Crow

In every department of the National Government in the capital of the Nation, over one of which departments you presided and where our people are employed, they are jim-crowed, segregated and humiliated, notwithstanding the fact that we have a Republican Presidetan, a Republican Senate, and a Republican House of Representatives, and those jim crow departments were first inaugurated by a Republican President, and they have continued up until this very hour.

For the foregoing reasons and many others, too numerous to mention, I most respectfully decline your offer to become a member of the so-called Advisory Committee of the jim-crow end of the Republican Campaign Committee.

MR. HOOVER'S DEFECTS

The oponents of Nominee Hoover are hard put to get something on him. First, it was said he drank some liquor with the great lawyer—Clarence Darrow. Mr. Darrow Denied that. Then they try to attack his American citizenship, but that was thoroughly spiked by the State Department. Resort was then made to the lowest form of attack peculiar to America—the racial. He was held up as a man unfit for the presidency because, forsooth, he issued an order abolishing racial segregation in his department while a member of President Coolidge's Cabinet. People, however who are not disturbed by their standing in life, refuse to get excited about that. But to cap the climax a governor of a state not much of a one, it must be said, when progress, intellect and fairness are considered—Mississippi, allows himself to engage in a low form of slander. He asserted that Mr. Hoover danced with a colored lady—of course, Governor Bilbo did not put it that way—when he was in his benighted state. Think of a governor lending himself to the scattering of that which he knew was not true. And then when called to task excused himself by saying that he was only repeaating what he had heard!

Well if that's all they can say against such an eminent character, the United States will be most fortunate in having such a person as its chief magistrate as he will be after March 4 th. 1929.

OUR WOMEN AND THE ISSUES

THAT THE INFLUENCE of women upon the outome of the present National political campaign will be the deciding factor in the final results is evident. Never before in political contests have women played a more active part, been called upon to occupy positions within the inner circles of both the dominant political parties, or been wooed with greater enthusiasm and sincerity than now. Heretofore the exercise of the political privileges by women has been in the nature of an experiment; but with the increasing number of their sex holding appointive and elective offices, it has been found expedient also to give them recognition on an equal basis with men in organized politics and in all of its respective activities and functions. Both the seasoned veterans of yesterday, sound, wise and rational in their judgments and the younger school, progressive, radical, ingratiating, are to be found expounding the basic principles of the respective parties they represent on the issues of the campaign.

It is most heartening to note that especially two women have arrested the attention of the voters in general to a greater extent than any other speakers, advisers or counsellors. Their intelligent interpretation of the issues of the present national political campaign rings true is sound, convincing, and influential because they are fully informed of and on the issues, because they believe in those issues themselves, because they are women of strong personalities and characters, and, because their own achievements in life square with the precepts and fundamentals of their party.

Nannie Burroughs and Mary McLeod Bethune have the ear of the public on the vital issues of such great importance to our women and their future political destinies. They have both endorsed the Republican party its principles and commended its candidates to the voters of their race and sex in good faith and with a background of experience born of contacts with men and the conditions they describe, observation, vision and deliberation. Their reasonings are sound, their utterances sober and their judgments pure and unadulterated. Everywhere colored women are being influenced and guided by their pronouncements of the issues. It will be well that all women heed their entreaties; for greater and more far-reaching to women than men of this nation, and particularly of our group are the issues of nullification, prohibition, representation and the home. If our political fate is to be rescued from the disasters that threaten our leadership from within and without, our women must do it. About every movement and achievement permanent and creditable to the race has either been initiated, carried forward or supported by our women. They are in the majority at political meetings, display a keen interest in the discussions of the issues and will be called upon to stem the tide in favor of the Republican candidates of merit at the November election.

There may be other notable and splendid women also devoting themselves to this splendid cause of saving the country from the baneful influence of the solid South. Together with these two noble women of international fame, of unselfish services to their race and of strong characters, they are blazing the trail that their women might follow through to noble victories today and tomorrow. The political salvation of the American Negroes is vested in the present issues. Let all women inform themselves and enlst to do battle in the forth-

coming election for righteousness in government. Such stalwarts as Nannie Burroughs and Mary McLeod Bethune will not lead them amiss

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation

Greenville, N. C., Reflector
Wednesday, October 31, 1928

BRINGING IN THE NEGRO

The injection of the negro question into the campaign in this state by the anti-Smithites apparently is an acknowledgment of a feeling on their part that in urging the support of Herbert Hoover they are supporting the negro party and must somehow, somewhere find some negroes in the Democratic party in order to alibi their present stand. Rightly declaring that the issue is one th... should have no part in this campaign and that the action of McNinch and his associates is nothing more than an appeal for the moron vote, the News and Observer says:

Nobody will give more severe condemnation of the attempt to McNinch to charge Smith with following the example of Republicans than the quiet, conscientious citizen who declared some time ago he could not vote for Smith because Smith wishes to change the prohibition law.

That would be proper, if Smith had made any order, as Hoover did, to compel white women clerks to work side by side with Negro clerks in the Department of Commerce. It is utterly misleading to say that because ex-Mayor Hylan, driven from office by the Smith forces in New York, appointed one Negro to office and he dictated a letter to a white woman stenographer, Smith is to be opposed. It is no secret that the Republican party has since 1868 given the ballot to illiterate Negroes and subjected the South to the rule of corrupt white and Negro politicians wherever it had the power. As late as 1900 in North Carolina the White Supremacy campaign put an end to the orgies. The ignorant Negroes were far less to blame than Russell and Butler and the political leaders who fattened upon the credulity of their Negro followers. These and other white politicians, who opposed the purified suffrage, were false to the Negroes who served them as soon as they could no longer give them office. And intelligent Negroes know that.

If the Negro issue has any place in this campaign, and this paper thinks it has none, the only possible suggestion is that it behooves Southern white men, having gone through the flames in past years, not to trust the State or National Republican party, seeing that it stands today for the Dyer bill and Tinkham threats to decrease Southern representation and that a Republican victory may again bring the menace of the Force bill.

For McNinch to appeal to voters to support Hoover because a defeated Democrat appointed one Negro to office in New York City, when the Republican party has appointed 100,000 to office and would do so again, is to make no appeal except to the moron vote. And fortunately, there are not enough morons in North Carolina to greatly influence the election.

Declaring that farm relief, the power question, and Republican corruption in office are the real issues of the campaign, the Observer asks McNinch to state his mind on these things and concludes:

These are great questions in the campaign and they cannot be sidetracked by the absurd and ridiculous appeal to the morons.

NEW YORK EVE. POST

OCT 26 1928

The Daily Mirror of Washington

By Clinton W. Gilbert

Both Parties Are Skeptical About the Negro Vote in November

Washington, Oct. 25.

TRAVELING about the country in quest of political information, one wonders a good deal about the negro vote. Before I left Washington I had been told by a leading Republican of West Virginia that his State was doubtful chiefly because of the negro voter's inclination this time to go to the Democratic Party. But, as in the case of all other kinds of votes, nobody seems to know anything definite about the negro vote. The Republicans when asked say, "Yes, we'll lose some negro votes." And the Democrats when asked say, "Yes, a good many negroes say they will vote for Smith." But neither party seems to be interested, although if this election should be close the negroes would hold the balance of power, at least in Maryland, West Virginia, Indiana, Missouri and Oklahoma, and perhaps also in States like New Jersey, Ohio and Illinois—in other words, in States enough to decide the election.

Here are scraps of information about the negroes' voting intentions, picked up along the road. An important Southern negro leader, a Republican, who had made an investigation in several Northern cities, said that most of the negroes north of the Mason and Dixon line would vote for Smith. South of it such negroes as had a vote would stick to the Republican Party. This negro said that if he lived in the North he would vote for Smith. As far west as Omaha, where there are not many negroes, one heard that most of those there were would vote Democratic.

In Kansas City the negroes would mostly vote Democratic. But that was for a special reason. The city is under the control of a powerful Democratic machine. And where such conditions exist the negroes are likely to vote as the machine wishes. In Memphis, Tenn., the same situation exists as in Kansas City, with the same result. In St. Louis, where the Republican machine is the stronger, the negroes have generally been Republicans. But this year it is said that they will mostly vote the Democratic ticket. In Chicago the negroes are excited over the idea that Mr. Hoover aims to establish a lily-white Republican Party in the South. Most of the negroes there are reported to favor Smith.

The reason why there is no excitement over this situation among politicians is that the Republicans refuse to believe that they will lose the negro vote this year. And the Democrats can't bring themselves to believe that they will gain the negro vote.

Republican

THE MARYLAND COLORED VOTE FOR HOOVER

The Smith campaign from the start was one of noise and demonstration. The big parades, the wild shouts and screams that attend every Smith campaign meeting were heralded before the election as unfailing portents of a big Smith victory election day. Herald-Commonwealth

The same methods applied to the efforts to turn the colored vote to Smith. Noise, bluster, bragg everywhere all the time. And now that the election is over and Hoover elected by the greatest electoral majority ever given a President, carries a larger precentage of all the states than any former President the Smith die hards are still claiming, still showing that Hoover really didn't win a big victory and the colored Maryland die hards try to prove that anyhow Baltimore colored voters really and truly rallied to the Smith banner. We humbly beg leave to observe that if the colored Democrats rallied to Smith they didn't do it with votes. 11-17-28

In another column is published the votes by precincts in the 14th Ward; in that ward are eight princincts with heavy majorities of white voters every one of which gave Smith a majority; there are also fourteen precincts with heavy colored majorities in every one of which Hoover received an overwhelming majority. Baltimore, Md.

Examination of the votes in the white majority precincts and the colored majority precincts reveal that in the Fourteenth Ward not more than 800 colored voters voted for Smith. In the 17th Ward the other heavy colored ward Smith received 998 votes; two precincts the 10th and 11th have white majorities registered: in the 10th there are 172 whites and 106 colored registered; Smith received 143 votes, Hoover 95 in that precinct; in the 11th precinct 217 whites and 143 colored registered: Smith received 236 votes, Hoover 85 in that ward. In all other precincts of the 17th Ward a majority of the voters are colored and Hoover received heavy majorities.

The Afro-American makes the claim that Smith received 40 per cent of the colored vote in Baltimore; such a claim is absurd and ridiculous on its face as the figures given show, and that claim is made only to boost the vote getting power of the Negroes who worked for Smith in Baltimore. Not more than 15 per cent of the colored vote of Baltimore went to Smith and less than 15 per cent in the entire State including Baltimore.

JOURNAL
DALLES, TEX.
NOV 12 1928

LEADERS GIVE STORY OF G. O. P. RISE IN TEXAS

MOVEMENT STARTED EIGHT YEARS AGO TO GAIN STRENGTH.

SEEK WHITE RULE

Negroes Are Gradually Being Ousted From Party Councils.

The far-sightedness of Republican leaders in Texas who eight years ago decided to make the Texas party a "white man's party was responsible in a large measure for the Hoover victory in this State this fall, in the opinion of Orville Bullington of Wichita Falls, vice chairman of the Republican State Committee, who was recruited from the Democratic ranks when the Texas Republicans moved to bar negroes from active participation in party affairs.

"If the Texas Republican party had not been a white man's party I doubt if Texas would have voted for Hoover, in spite of the resentment among Democrats against Al Smith's wetness and other attributes unpleasing to most Southerners," Mr. Bullington said.

Interesting facts concerning the beginning of the movement to make the Texas Republican party "white" were disclosed by Mr. Bullington when he visited Dallas after the general election.

A group of prominent Republicans visited Wichita Falls in 1919 or 1920, Mr. Bullington said, and urged a number of Wichita Falls citizens who called themselves Democratic "protectionists" to join the Republican party.

"I told them I would not even consider becoming a Republican as long as negroes took part in the party councils," Mr. Bullington said.

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TELEGRAPH
Morning
OCT 21 1928

The "Moral" Side

Our friends who have gone over to the Republican side in this national campaign continue to insist that they have done so because of the "moral" issues involved, despite the fact that it has been pointed out to them that they are inconsistent in embracing a gang of thieves and perjurers and election corrupters in the name of morality. They do insist, however, and insist with some vehemence—so much vehemence, in fact, that they are led into calling the newspapers that are supporting Smith "the Tammany press" and the "wet press" and the "subsidized press". The men and women who are supporting Smith they gently refer to as "bleary-eyed sots" and "guzzlers" and "Tammany thimble-riggers". In the name of morality, apparently, they are willing to say anything, no matter how unmoral it is.

It is well, therefore, to examine the morals of this campaign closely before the election comes upon us. Those who are condemning Smith most loudly as unmoral and immoral are the members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church, Christian organization, the members of the Ku Klux Klan, which calls itself a Christian organization and various other similar orders. It is significant that all of them profess to be Christian—that is, followers of Christ. Manifestly, when they say a thing is "moral" or "immoral", they mean that it is "moral" or "immoral" according to the teachings of Christ and the Bible. Of course, they have set up their own standards and their own judgments of morality, but they have no bona fide standard and no bona fide judgment of morality save as it is given in the Bible.

Christ accepted the Ten Commandments as the code of morals for His teachings and added one, "I say unto you, that ye love one another as I have loved you." The Ten Commandments, therefore, must form the basis for any judgment of the moral issues involved in this campaign. It is well, therefore, since the bolters have already judged the morality of the Democratic party, and found it immoral, now to judge the morality of the party into which they have gone in their search for the Holy Grail of morality. The Ten Commandments will be used:

1—Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

Now, neither party is a religious party, but the Republican party has worshipped the Mammon of wealth since it first began to pursue a policy that would create large fortunes upon the one hand and miserable, tenement poverty upon the other. It now worships statistics and figures and reductions in income tax.

2—Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image.

The silver dollar is the graven image of the Republican party. It bears the inscription, "In God We Trust", but the Republicans have made it, "In God and the United States Marines We Trust". Worshipping this graven image of wealth, this symbol of Mammon, the American nation, under a Republican administration, has sent instruments of death into the peaceful forests of Nicaragua to be used against primitive men armed only with machetes. Mammon has been a prospering God; he has given us airplanes to bomb native villages. He has given us warships to send up peaceful rivers. He has given us 14-inch guns to raze unfriendly cities. He has given us instruments of death to clear our paths to the natural resources the God of nature put in the hills of Central America. The graven image the Republicans worship has brought us more of its kind, but it has also brought us the hatred of people who ought to consider us, a great Christian nation, as we call ourselves their friends.

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The Republicans have observed this commandment. Alexander Hamilton, with his idea that only the fit should govern and that the fit, because they are fit, should have the wealth of the country so that they may wisely distribute it, was the spiritual father of the Republican party and Harriet Beecher Stowe, with her bitter hatred of the South and its institutions was the spiritual mother. The Republicans have honored their father by trying to grab all the wealth and keep the benefits and power for the "fit" and they have honored their mother by attempting to enact the Dyer bill and the two force bills intended directly to express the hatred of the Republicans for the South. The party was conceived in hatred for the South; the pangs that attended its birth were a fratricidal war and it has cherished ever since the memory of that war. With the Dyer bill it seeks now to continue the causes.

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Look at the reports from Nicaragua of the victories of our 20th century airplanes over the 16th century machetes. Look at the reports of our marines. Further, recall that Jesse Smith, overwhelmed by his own iniquity as a figure in the Harding administration, blew his own brains out in Harry Daugherty's bathroom. Recall that Charles Cramer, conscience-stricken after he had engaged in the conspiracy to steal from the disabled veterans of the World War, blew his brains out. Recall that Warren Harding [illegible] by the discovery of the iniquity that he had carried with him to Washington, died a grief-stricken man. It was a Republican administration, the Republican party itself, that fostered, tolerated and participated in such an orgy of corruption that it killed three men at least and ruined the homes and lives of many others.

JOURNAL
DALLES, TEX.
NOV 1 2 1928

LEADERS GIVE STORY OF G. O. P. RISE IN TEXAS

MOVEMENT STARTED EIGHT YEARS AGO TO GAIN STRENGTH.

SEEK WHITE RULE

Negroes Are Gradually Being Ousted From Party Councils.

The far-sightedness of Republican leaders in Texas who eight years ago decided to make the Texas party a "white man's party" was responsible in a large measure for the Hoover victory in this State this fall, in the opinion of Orville Bullington of Wichita Falls, vice chairman of the Republican State Committee, who was recruited from the Democratic ranks when the Texas Republicans moved to bar negroes from active participation in party affairs.

"If the Texas Republican party had not been a white man's party I doubt if Texas would have voted for Hoover, in spite of the resentment among Democrats against Al Smith's wetness and other attributes unpleasing to most Southerners," Mr. Bullington said.

Interesting facts concerning the beginning of the movement to make the Texas Republican party "white" were disclosed by Mr. Bullington when he visited Dallas after the general election.

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Party Affiliation.

Lake Butler, Plain Times
Thursday, August 2, 1928

Race Issue Is Foremost Say Dixie Editors

CARPETBAGGING IS REVIEWED BY REPUBS IN SOUTH

Patronage Sold

NEWSPAPERS UTTER WHITE SUPREMACY BATTLE CRY

Atlanta, Ga., July 30.—That the race question will be a paramount issue in the presidential campaign, so far as the South is concerned, is evident from a casual reading of newspapers in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, the Carolinas and Florida.

The Asheville (N. C.) Citizen speaks of "prohibition, religion and Tammany Hall" as "smoke screens," while the Jackson (Mississippi) News points out that state's rights, "an underlying Democratic principle as opposed to Republican centralization of power at Washington," will be emphasized to bring the campaign close to "Southern people who do not want federal interference with their marriage laws, election statutes or public school operations."

"Force bills of reconstruction days," says a writer in the Columbia (S. C.) Record, "were designed to provide armed government supervision over local elections in Southern States, and were finally defeated only with the aid of New York delegations in congress, thanks to Tammany's historic friendship for the South." The Birmingham News calls the recently exposed trafficing in postal and other federal appointments in the South "carpetbagging again" and believes that the practice, "indulged in by Republicans whenever in power since the death of Lincoln, would be intensively developed in the South under Mr. Hoover since he is naturally an artful organizer, a superb propagandist and a believer in centralization of authority in government bureaus and departments with their increasing number of employee-voters." If the Republicans are continued in the saddle, the Macon Telegraph thinks "Hoover's organizing ability will knit their political machinery so closely that we will have Republican control of this country for many a year, and state's rights may become only a memory."

The point is made by the New Orleans Daily States that there were sixty colored delegates in the Republican National Convention at Kansas City, that one of them (John Hawkins of Washington, D. C.) seconded Herbert Hoover's nomination in the Kansas City convention this year, and that "purchased Southern colored delegations" helped give Mr. Hoover the majority necessary to nominate him. "As they have supported him he must reward them with positions and favors," comments the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser.

The Savannah (Ga.) Morning News quotes figures to show the steady decline in number of lynchings in the South and elsewhere, by years and by states, and adds: "The tendency is toward practical elimination, and there is not nearly so much excuse now as there may have been a few years ago for the anti-lynching activities of certain northern congressmen and for the anti-lynching plank in the Republican platform this year, written by the Republicans purely as a "vote catcher" and as a direct "slap at the Democracy of this great section of the country."

The Atlanta Constitution declares "the negro question in the South is not a theory or even a campaign bugaboo, it is a condition," but it is the "South's problem and Southerners will solve it, for the government of the South is in the hands of Southern Democrats." The St. Augustine (Fla.) Record says: "The South is not only Democratic, it is Southern."

"One real tragedy of this thing," states the Birmingham News editorially, "is the havoc that is worked by it upon the negro race in the South. Democrats do not blame the negro but the master strategists of the Republican party who unfailingly resort to this despicable, desperate expedient to win delegates in the South before each national convention and to win electoral votes in the North in each general election. It is the Republican party that invariably revives the race question and re-solidifies the solid South. Shall the self-respecting South submit to these indignities, to this violation of its standards of elemental human decency? Shall the South betray every instinct of its tradition and its blood? Shall the South, by substituting venality for virtue, bow down to the political gods of Herbert Hoover of California and his negro henchman Perry Howard of Mississippi? What would Wisconsin do under the circumstances? What would Massachusetts do?"

Republican.

The Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, the Albany (Ga.) Herald, the Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer-Sun, the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, the New Orleans (La.) States, the Jackson (Miss.) News, the Columbia (S. C.) Record the Raleigh (N. C.) Times, and the Jacksonville (Fla.) Times-Union are among the scores of leading Southern newspapers that are appealing for the maintenance of white supremacy stressing the danger of any Southern state assisting in the effort to place Secretary Hoover in the White House.

Citing the fact that segregation of the races, ordered by President Woodrow Wilson in the departments at Washington, had maintained until Hoover, becoming ambitious for the presidency, was prevailed upon by negro politicians from Boston and Philadelphia to abrogate the Wilson order in the Department of Commerce, the Atlanta Constitution declares editorially, "In the pending national campaign the question of white supremacy is paramount, and supersedes every controversial issue—it strikes at the very heartstone of every white man's home in the South."

"Within the past few days, in the disgraceful disclosures as to juggling federal patronage by a negro referee, this burning question, on which hinges the hope of the South, as it hinged in the dark days of reconstruction, has been accentuated," says the Atlanta newspaper, which continues:

"In Mississippi, where a negro patronage referee has been indicted and discharged for auctioning postmasterships and other U. S. jobs, the conditions are so 'astonishing,' as expressed by members of the senate investigating committee, that a grand jury, rather than a congressional group, undertook the investigations. Thus it is all over the South. Only a few months ago a postmaster in Florida lost his official head, and one in Georgia suicided when he was commanded to pay but was unable to do so. The senate investigations are now spreading into every Southern state.

"And what is to be expected should Secretary Hoover be elected to the presidency?

"He is entitled to his racial ideas. They were made plain during the World War, when, as food administrator, he brought the blacks and whites together, in his numerous division headquarters and office rooms in Washington—men and women of every shade and color—to work side by side, feed from the same tables and use the same rest rooms.

"It was only after the segregation order of President Wilson that such a condition was remedied. That order remained in effect, in all governmental departments, and with entire satisfaction, the white and black employes being properly separated, until a few months ago when upon the initiative of negro politicians of Boston, Philadelphia and elsewhere, Secretary Hoover abrogated the order as to the department of commerce, and all its branches, and today the same conditions exist as prior to the Wilson order ten years ago. Today the white and black employes, men and women, in all branches of that department, work side by side, use the same lavatories, and in no respect is there any racial segregation.

"The Republican candidate for president has never lived in the South. He has visited it only a few times. He has only stopped in Georgia for a brief period, and in waiting for his schedule in Savannah the fact that he received as his guest on his private car the negro national committeewoman of Georgia, one Maymie Williams, may have had more political than racial significance. At that time his candidacy for the nomination was brewing.

"He lived the most of his adult life in London and other European capitals. There social and racial conditions are different.

"But that does not alter, nor extenuate the situation in this country.

"While the racial question is inbred, it is sacred, it is crucial.

"The negro is equal to the white before the law, and the administration of the law in this, and in other states in the 'old black belt' gives to him freely and correctly that equality.

"He is encouraged to become useful in citizenship, in the trades, in industry, in agriculture.

"He is educated through the public school system on a parity with the whites, and the expenses are paid by taxation which accrues largely from the whites.

"Every upstanding citizen believes in justice, full and complete, to the negro.

"But that does not mean a relinquishment of white supremacy, for which the best blood of the South was shed to maintain, and which the upstanding thought of Americans, in every state, recognizes to be right.

"It does not mean social equality, or negro political domination, as the latter is today in the juggling by a negro assistant attorney general of these United States of federal jobs in Georgia and elsewhere. Will this negro political domination not expand and be made more intolerable if Secretary Hoover becomes the nation's executive?"

Former Governor Brough, of Arkansas, speaking before the Press Association of his state, made this plain when he said the real issue in the present national campaign is "Anglo-Saxon supremacy."

Wright Willingham, prominent attorney of Rome, Ga., writes that "a negro of Rome is a dispenser of federal patronage," adding that "this darkey, Bre'r Davis, of Georgia-at-large, and Bre'r Howard, of Mississippi-at-large, and other negroes hold the Republican throttle in the South."

The Constitution declares "it is time to think seriously of this question. Mr. Hoover is entitled to his views. Democratic malcontents and insurrectionists who want to join him and his negro Republican dictators in the South, may find comfort in such company. But white supremacy is the hope of the South. For it we fight!"

And the Florida Times-Union, Jacksonville, plainly states the issue thus: "Florida does not desire to see a president in the White House who believes in race equality."

G. O. P. NERVOUS AS COAST STATE NEGROES WAVER

Defection in Ranks of Colored Voters Seen in Four Seaboard States

MAY SAVE NEW JERSEY

Defection in the ranks of colored voters in four Atlantic seaboard states were reported to Republican headquarters here by campaign workers who were sent into them to canvass the situation. These states are Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Jersey. They have a total of 44 electoral votes and may determine the Presidential election.

While defection exists to a great extent, Republican party managers at headquarters were told, recalcitrant colored Republicans would probably be regular and able to align their personal views with those of the party by November 6.

New Jersey Man Go To Hoover

The view was expressed that the colored vote in New Jersey would go to Hoover. But at present there is considerable uneasiness about the situation in that state. Daniel E. Pomeroy, vice chairman of the Republican national committee; Hamliton F. Kean, the Republican nominee for United States Senator, and Senator Walter E. Edge are working toward satisfying colored voters and bringing them around to the support of the Hoover-Curtis ticket. Oliver Randolph, the Rev. William A. Byrd and George E. Bates, all of Newark, are working with them.

As the Negro Comes From the Polls

By KELLY MILLER

TWO weeks ago, in the light of expectation, I wrote a release and called it "As the Negro Goes to the Polls." Now, in the light of the aftermath, I am able to indite its supplement, "As the Negro Comes From the Polls."

I made three major predictions and gave one admonition, all of which have been justified by the recent election.

In the first place, I predicted that the Negro vote would be split into two approximately equal divisions; secondly, that Mr. Hoover would be elected by a marginal majority too great to be affected one way or the other by the capacity of the Negro vote; thirdly, that the "lily white" program of the Grand Old Party, though vicious in principle, would be effective in practice.

With these thoughts in mind, I admonished the race to exercise prudent moderation in extolling the moral grandeur of the Republicans and in the anticipation of any great racial advantage that might flow from Mr. Hoover's victory.

I. That the Negro did actually divide his vote between the contesting parties admits of little doubt or dispute. Of course, partisan advocates on both sides will claim that, by virtue of their controlling influence, the vast majority of the race voted according to their direction and dictation.

II. I stated in my open letter to Mr. Hoover that his majority would probably transcend the capacity of the colored vote. As it turned out, if every qualified Negro who voted had voted either for Mr. Hoover or against him, his vote would probably have been cast in the same way. As it turned out, if every qualified Negro who voted had voted either for Mr. Hoover or against him, his vote would probably have been cast in the same way.

— Kelly Miller —

triumphant victory would have stood just the same in its unshaken security. The President-elect is, therefore, free from political obligation to the Negro vote as an entity.

The Negro as a citizen, whether he supported or opposed Mr. Hoover, is entitled to equal consideration before the law. We can only fall back upon his assurance that in his view every citizen is entitled to equality of opportunity, without regard to race or faith.

III. Mr. Hoover's drastic policy of eliminating the Negro in order to appease the "lily whites" has proved to be a successful political stroke. I predicted in my open letter that he would probably receive a million and a half "lily white" votes in the South as reward for crucifying the Negro's ambition.

The Republicans have not only broken the "Solid South," but they have shattered it into fragments. Virginia, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Texas, Florida and North Carolina have joined the Republican ranks. All of the border States have reaffirmed their allegiance by unprecedented majorities. The Southern States which Mr. Hoover did not actually carry gave a strong minority vote which promises better luck in the future.

IV. The substitution of "lily white" for Democratic control of Southern States forbodes no direct good to the Negro race. The dominant attitude of Texas towards the Negro remains unaltered under whatever political designation it may disguise itself. But the crafty cunning of the Hoover management will be overruled for the good of the Negro.

The Negro exercises the full right of franchise in Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri and Kentucky, not because the Republicans of both States love him better than the Democrats, but because both parties find it necessary to solicit his vote in order to succeed. This election has accomplished two notable results: it has split the 'Solid South"; it has split the Negro vote.

V. Those who protested against the reaction of the Grand Old Party under Mr. Hoover's reserved control may be divided into two parts: those who, like myself, regretfully pointed out its sins while remaining passively loyal, and those who openly revolted to the enemy. Although the Democrats lost, the protest has not been in vain. Moral principles are not affected by political results. Mr. Hoover and his management must think immeasurably more of the Negro race for manly protest against the ills which they genuinely feel than if the leaders should stand with Uncle Tom's docility, with complaisant acceptance of insult and injury.

Mr. Hoover has promised the Negro nothing and owes him little from a purely political point of view. We can only rely upon his broad, patriotic conception of duty to administer the government with an even hand, without regard to faith or race.

SPLIT IN GEORGIA DISTURBS G. O. P

Fight Between Ben Davis and Lily White Faction Proves Dilemma to Hoover Leaders.

BY SAM W. SMALL.

Washington, D. C., September 29.—(Special.)—The split between the Ben Davis faction of the republican party in Georgia and the lily whites is creating considerable interest among the republican leaders in Washington, and it brings to the forefront the question as to who will be the next republican national committeeman from Georgia.

Davis has occupied the position for a long time and pending the election of his successor he is still the holdover member, and will retain that position until his successor is selected.

And thereby hangs a tale!

The Georgia delegation to the Kansas City republican convention developed a heated contest as between the Davis and anti-Davis forces.

Davis, from the beginning, was for Hoover, and while the Georgia delegation was kept in line strong opposition developed to the reelection of Davis by a part of it.

The contest waxed so hot that it was referred to the republican national committee, and the committee referred the question to a subcommittee to decide whether or not Davis should succeed himself.

Committee In Dilemma.

At the meeting of the subcommittee later the matter was fully discussed and strong pressure was brought to bear upon it to force Davis out.

The committee was in a dilemma.

If Davis was ousted the adverse reaction would be felt in the large negro republican vote in New York, Massachusett Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Chicago.

On the other hand, if Davis should be chosen that would be an end to the lily white republican movement in the south, and it would prove to be an insuperable backset to the effort to Hooverize the southern democracy, for even the democratic bolters whose support is being so earnestly sought, could not stand for that.

So the committee, after long discussion, concluded that the best thing to do was to do nothing at all and to postpone action until after the presi-

GEORGIA G. O. P. SPLIT IRKS PARTY CHIEFS

Continued from First Page.

dential election at which time the question could be settled without affecting the presidential election.

Both sides seemed satisfied—especially the Davis faction.

Two Opinions.

Davis believes that he has the support of Hoover, and of those who are closest to him in the management of the republican campaign.

On the other hand, the lily whites seem to be sure that when the presidential storm is over committee can be induced to oust Davis and elect a white republican committeeman from Georgia.

Those who know anything about the situation here believe that when the election is over Davis will unquestionably be chosen to succeed himself.

It will be recalled this problem was involved when this question came up for settlement during the Harding administration. At that time a strong lily white movement developed in Georgia headed by Charles W. Adamson, of Cedartown, and H. G. Hastings, of Atlanta, and other lifelong republicans who have for years been working to free the party from the domination of negro control, and the shame that has always been attached to the manner of the representation of the party by negro delegations at the republican national conventions.

Failed Before.

The movement then assumed considerable proportions, the lily whites succeeding to the extent of electing J. L. Philips, of Thomasville, as national committeeman. Philips was identified with the best element of white republicans in the state, and it was thought at that time that the problem was solved, for no Georgia republican stood closer to the Harding administration than Committeeman Philips. He seemed to have the situation well in hand and everything moved smoothly until the fight for the delegation to the next republican national convention. Then the storm broke loose in full force.

Philips elected a white delegation and it was bitterly contested by the negro wing of the republican party.

Philips had the advantage of party regularity and had the negro not been involved, his delegation would undoubtedly have been seated.

Then came the protest of the negro element of the large cities in the east and the middle west. They took the position that if Davis was turned down it would be an affront to the race. The other side took the position that if those who were trying to organize a white republican party in Georgia were turned down, it would be an end to the effort to establish a white republican party in the state.

Ben Davis won.

The lily white leaders were turned down and Davis again became the leader of the republican party in the state.

Have Bear By Tail.

Now the same fight is under way again, and those who are to umpire it have wisely concluded to postpone the decision until after the presidential election.

They recognize the fact that they have a bear by the tail, either way—and the question now uppermost in the minds of the republican leaders here is how to keep the bear in the middle of the road until after the election.

When it is all over the chances are ten to one that the party will do just what it did in the Harding administration and put another quietus to the lily white movement in Georgia, and the south.

At least that is the expectation of Ben Davis and those who are backing him.

As the Negro Comes From the Polls

By KELLY MILLER

TWO weeks ago, in the light of expectation, I wrote a release and called it "As the Negro Goes to the Polls.' Now, in the light of the aftermath, I am able to indite its supplement, "As the Negro Comes From the Polls." I made three major predictions and gave one admonition, all of which have been justified by the recent election.

In the first place, I predicted that the Negro vote would be split into two approximately equal divisions; secondly, that Mr. Hoover would be elected by a marginal majority too great to be affected one way or the other by the capacity of the Negro vote; thirdly, that the "lily white" program of the Grand Old Party, though vicious in principle, would be effective in practice.

With these thoughts in mind, I admonished the race to exercise prudent moderation in extolling the moral grandeur of the Republicans and in the anticipation of any great racial advantage that might flow from Mr. Hoover's victory.

I. That the Negro did actually divide his vote between the contesting parties admits of little doubt or dispute. Of course, partisan advocates on both sides will claim that, by virtue of their controlling influence, the vast majority of the race voted according to their direction and dictation.

II. I stated in my open letter to Mr. Hoover that his majority

— Kelly Miller —

would probably transcend the capacity of the colored vote. As it turned out, if every qualified Negro who voted had voted either for Mr. Hoover or against him, his triumphant victory would have stood just the same in its unshaken security. The President-elect is, therefore, free from political obligation to the Negro vote as an entity.

The Negro as a citizen, whether he supported or opposed Mr. Hoover, is entitled to equal consideration before the law. We can only fall back upon his assurance that in his view every citizen is entitled to equality of opportunity, without regard to race or faith.

III. Mr. Hoover's drastic policy of eliminating the Negro in order to appease the "lily whites" has proved to be a successful political stroke. I predicted in my open letter that he would probably receive a million and a half "lily white" votes in the South as reward for crucifying the Negro's ambition.

The Republicans have not only broken the "Solid South," but they have shattered it into fragments. Virginia, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Texas, Florida and North Carolina have joined the Republican ranks. All of the border States have reaffirmed their allegiance by unprecedented majorities. The Southern States which Mr. Hoover did not actually carry gave a strong minority vote which promises better luck in the future.

IV. The substitution of "lily white" for Democratic control of Southern States forbodes no direct good to the Negro race. The dominant attitude of Texas towards the Negro remains unaltered under whatever political designation it may disguise itself. But the crafty cunning of the Hoover management will be overruled for the good of the Negro.

The Negro exercises the full right of franchise in Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri and Kentucky, not because the Republicans of both States love him better than the Democrats, but because both parties find it necessary to solicit his vote in order to succeed. This election has accomplished two notable results: it has split the 'Solid South"; it has split the Negro vote.

V. Those who protested against the reaction of the Grand Old Party under Mr. Hoover's reserved control may be divided into two parts: those who, like myself, regretfully pointed out its sins while remaining passively loyal, and those who openly revolted to the enemy. Although the Democrats lost, the protest has not been in vain. Moral principles are not affected by political results. Mr. Hoover and his management must think immeasurably more of the Negro race for manly protest against the ills which they genuinely feel than if the leaders should stand with Uncle Tom's docility, with complaisant acceptance of insult and injury.

Mr. Hoover has promised the Negro nothing and owes him little from a purely political point of view. We can only rely upon his broad, patriotic conception of duty to administer the government with an even hand, without regard to faith or race.

SPLIT IN GEORGIA DISTURBS G. O. P

GEORGIA G. O. P. SPLIT IRKS PARTY CHIEFS

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Continued from First Page.

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Fight Between Ben Davis and Lily White Faction Proves Dilemma to Hoover Leaders.

BY SAM W. SMALL.

Washington, D. C., September 25.—(Special.)—The split between the Ben Davis faction of the republican party in Georgia and the lily whites is creating considerable interest among the republican leaders in Washington, and it brings to the forefront the question as to who will be the next republican national committeeman from Georgia.

Davis has occupied the position for a long time and pending the elections of his successor he is still the holdover member, and will retain that position until his successor is elected.

And thereby hangs a tale!

The Georgia delegation to the Kansas City republican convention developed a head on contest as between the Davis and anti-Davis forces.

Davis, from the beginning, was for Hoover, and while the Georgia delegation was kept in line strong opposition developed to the reelection of Davis by a part of it.

The contest waxed so hot that it was referred to the republican committee, and the committee referred the question to a subcommittee to decide whether or not Davis should succeed himself.

Committee In Dilemma.

At the meeting of the subcommittee later the matter was fully discussed and strong pressure was brought to bear upon it to force Davis out.

The committee was in a dilemma. If Davis was ousted the adverse reaction would be felt in the large negro republican vote in New York, Massachusetts, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Chicago.

On the other hand, if Davis should be chosen that would be an end to the lily white republican movement in the south, and it would prove to be an insuperable backset to the effort to Hooverize the southern democracy, for even the democratic bolters support is being so earnestly sought, could not stand for that.

So the committee, after long discussion, concluded that the best thing to do was to do nothing at all and to postpone action until after the presidential election.

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Have Bear By Tail.

Now the same fight is under way again, and those who are to umpire the republican party in the state, concluded that the best thing to do it have wisely concluded to postpone

Political – 1928.

Party Affiliation.

Anglo-Saxon Supremacy The Hope of the South, Says Willingham

Editor Constitution: The recent interpretation of democracy through your columns has been a source of interest.

Constitution

We have got a perfectly good black negro in Floyd county, Georgia, who goes by the name of "Professor" Atwater. By the conventional white (and black) republicans of this neck of the woods this black African (who, by the way, edits the only negro newspaper in northwest Georgia) is credited with controlling the patronage of the republican party in this part of the moral vineyard.

7-15-28

In the event Mr. Hoover is elected president, where is the white man in Georgia who has the temerity to promulgate the opinion that he will supersede this black "professor" in dispensing the patronage and otherwise speaking, for the republican party?

Atlanta, Ga.

This writer, though always loyal with his vote to the democratic party, did once juggle with the thought, we confess, in the days of our younger manhood, that this solid south might even be broken with propriety, for its progress and advancement. But we have not entertained for many years any such fictitious dream.

To the most casual observer it remains beyond dispute that the democratic party, even as it has been in the past, does yet remain the south's hope for the continued supremacy of Jeffersonian ideals, and the south's sole refuge for the continued supremacy of the white man's leadership in the affairs of state.

The republican party is irrevocably wedded to its alliance with the negro in politics. Should "Cuffy" linger in the south, the G. O. P. will continue to rely on him; and in the event the peregrinations of friend Cuffy should land him in the north, the G. O. P. will none the less find the necessity for the perpetuation of this political comradeship

All this talk about the "lily whites" of Georgia or elsewhere in the south is the bunk. The Ben Davises and the Professor Atwaters will continue to exercise undisputed audience in the councils of the grand old party.

It might be a matter inviting the serious consideration of our panic-stricken democratic friends, to remember that the congress still has the initiation and enactment of our laws, and these might do well to address themselves to the election of men to congress who will express the genius of the nation in the matter of Volsteadism.

This contingent of the excited cannot write off the fact that Governor Smith has demonstrated the ideals of citizenship and statesmanship and is proof of the fact that an American waif is still a potential occupant of the white house (even as Lincoln).

Tammany Hall has not yet, in spite of all attempts at vilification and abuse, turned out a Fall to betray its country, or a Forbes to rob its stricken soldiers, or a Daugherty to corrupt the attorney generalship of the nation.

In my humble capacity of private citizen, than which I aspire to no higher title, while holding to the conviction that justice shall be done to my black brother, and guaranteeing to him unmolestation in the peaceful pursuits of labor and the legitimate fruits of its rewards, I none the less subscribe to the doctrine that this is a white man's country; and experience of the past has taught me, if anything, that that supremacy cannot be secured through the practicalities of the republican party, and I shall remain true to the bridge that has thus far carried us safely across.

If the chairman of the democratic party of the state of Georgia was laboring under such a deep conviction to speak, it seems to this writer that he would have with more propriety spoken with a resignation of his stewardship of our party as chairman, than opened wide the door, and extended invitation to the voters of Georgia to be democrats in September and republicans in November, or stated in different language, followers of Mr. Jefferson in September and followers of "Professor" Atwater in November.

WRIGHT WILLINGHAM.

Rome, Ga., July 12, 1928.

HARMONY SHATERED IN GEORGIA.

Age 7-17-28

On the first page of the Atlanta Independent of June 21 appeared an article headed "Georgia's Shame at the Kansas City Convention." As the former Republican State Committeeman for Georgia, Benjamin Jefferson Davis is the editor of the Independent, it is only fair to presume that the statement emanated from him or had his approval although it bore no name of its author. It recited the harmony that prevailed in the state and district conventions that elected delegates to Kansas City, there being trouble in only two districts, the First and the Seventh. The State was unanimous on the question of National Committeeman, no name being mentioned except that of B. J. Davis, to succeed himself.

At the Georgia State convention Mr. Davis was unanimously elected and the delegates and alternates were instructed to vote for him. Eleven districts out of

Republican.

twelve either instructed for him or endorsed him for reelection. But all this harmony was shattered at Kansas City when Roscoe Pickett, chairman of the delegation, refused to present his name before the convention and instead nominated J. H. Watson with Mrs. George S. Williams for National Committeewoman. These names had previously been rejected by the State convention.

Mr. Pickett's action, it is claimed, was in violation of the instructions of the State convention, he having been made chairman of the delegation by virtue of the fact that he was chairman of the State Central Committee. It was also claimed that the rules of the National Committee provide, that when delegates fail to obey their instructions for national committeeman, the convention may count their votes for the party for whom they were instructed. Nine delegates favored the Watson slate while thirteen stood by their instructions and declared for Davis. Another performed the difficult feat of being on both side ,so that nobody could tell how he would vote. The chairman arbitrarily adjourned the meeting of the delegates, refusing to allow them to pass upon the question.

This irregular action by the chairman of the delegation was declared a deliberate attempt to wreck and disorganize the Republican party in Georgia. It was the result of a combination of politicians, who boasted that they were going to reorganize the party when they returned to Georgia and put out Ben Davis, who had too much power and authority. The white man who sided with Davis and held Federal officers would also have to walk the plank under the new leadership.

While The Age has not always been able to agree with Mr. Davis in his political policies or his editorial opinions, it has great respect for his sturdy qualities of aggressive leadership in seeking and maintaining racial representation. He deserves a fair deal at the hands of the Republican Party. If the facts are as stated in the Independent, he appears to have been the victim of a dirty deal.

Witness Charges Demand for $500 For G. O. P. Place

L. L. Spence Says Wife Was Not Reappointed Postmaster When Advance Payment Refused.

PATRONAGE PROBE HERE ENDS TODAY

East Point Postmaster Testifies He Has Contributed Approximately $600 Since 1923.

Testimony that republican state officials had demanded $500 from a former postmaster for his wife's job, and revelations that the postmaster at East Point had given the party 5 per cent of his salary, or approximately $600, insce he took office in 1923 because he "didn't expect a man could hold office unless he paid" featured the second day's sessions here of the senate subcommittee investigating republican patronage charges in Georgia.

Constitution

Testifying that John W. Martin, treasurer of the republican state committee, asked him how much he would give to have his wife reappointed postmistress, L. L. Spence, of Ball Ground, Ga., told the committee that he had offered Martin $500 after his wife received her appointment, but that Martin insisted on payment in advance. He said that he refused and that his wife was not reappointed.

7-11-28

Hearings here will close today, the subcommittee announced Tuesday and the body will go to Washington to hear the postmaster general. Chairman Brookhart said that he would take along a card index submitted in the first day's evi-

Atlanta Ga.

dence showing that practically all the postmasters in Georgia contribute to the republican state committee.

A letter from Ben J. Davis, negro, former national committeeman, also was introduced before the committee. The letter advised the state committee to refund a contribution to an applicant for a postoffice appointment who had failed to receive the job. Davis instructed that this was on advice of the postmaster general and added:

"We cannot accept money from an applicant who confesses that the money was given on his part out of consideration for an appointment."

While he at first stated that he paid the committee five per cent of his salary because he believed it to be the duty of an officeholder to support his party, S. N. Thompson, of East Point, admitted after questioning, that "To tell the truth, I don't expect a man could hold office unless he did pay."

While he denied that the committee had exacted money of him, Thompson said that he had received a letter from the state treasurer suggesting "that the books were being checked up and that everybody ought to come in."

Constitution

Thompson said he thought it was customary for postmasters to contribute, and he thought he ought to do his part.

Miss Esther McCollum, postmistress at Conyers, testified that she pays the republican committee about $100 per year of her own accord, and said that the total she had paid "might be $500."

7-11-28

Miss McCollum said she brought the money to Atlanta and paid it to the state treasurer.

"Why didn't you mail the contributions?" she was asked.

"Well," she said, "I saved a 2-cent stamp and I came into Atlanta frequently, anyway."

"Were these contributions voluntary?"

"They were."

"No one asked you to make them?"

"No."

"How much do you pay at one time?"

"Sometimes $5, sometimes $10, according to how much money I have."

"Would you send this money if you didn't hold your office?"

"Yes."

William Schley Howard, attorney for the republican committee, declaring that the suicide of L. F. Peterson, Douglas, Ga., postmaster, coupled with the charges from an Americus man of payments to the party, had precipitated the investigation, asked the committee to go into the Peterson case. He said he wanted the committee to hear from J. P. Johnston, postoffice inspector in charge here.

"It has been publicly said throughout the state," Howard said, "that the suicide of Mr. Peterson was due to 'unheard-of demands on him by the republican machine' when in fact he contributed only $100 or so to the party. The real supposed cause of the suicide was a shortage of some $7,000."

Senator George said he had no objection to hearing the witness. Inspector Johnston took the stand and said that the record was in the hands of the postoffice department and he preferred it should come from them.

Senator Brookhart interposed that the postmaster general had assured him that the department's investigation of the Peterson case would be placed at the disposal of the committee and suggested that introduction of the evidence not be attempted at this time.

Roscoe Pickett, state chairman, of Jasper, Ga., related his investigation of the Peterson case and said he learned from the department that the Douglas man had drawn overdrafts totaling $6,500 and was short $700 in addition. He said this, rather than any contributions, appeared to have been the cause for Peterson's act.

Pickett was asked by Senator George to explain how he proceeded in handling patronage matters.

The witness replied that he relied on his extensive acquaintance in the state obtained through service in both houses of the legislature and otherwise.

"Have you ever heard of cases where money was paid by applicants for postoffice jobs?" he was asked.

"I have had a few instances called to my attention."

"Can you name a recent instance?"

"I believe there was one involving a mail carrier down around Brunswick."

"Explain that."

"I don't know the facts."

"Did you investigate any of these cases?"

"I investigated the Peterson case, and the charge that he was driven to suicide by the excessive demands of the party were preposterous and I dropped the investigation."

"Since you have gone into the Peterson case," Senator George said, "I want to ask you in justice to a dead man, whether it isn't true that Peterson was notified that he would be removed two months before this shortage in the accounts was discovered?"

"I don't know how long it was."

Pickett also asserted that he had not drawn any salary as chairman since 1926, when the state party was reorganized. Treasurer Martin said Monday to the committee that Picket received a salary of $250 monthly.

The chairman also said he had paid his own expenses in some instances. Asked if any contributions had been made by the state organization to state or national campaigns, Pickett replied in the affirmative. Martin had related that all the money received by his office was used for current expenses.

Pickett was examined by Senator Cyrus Locher, democrat, of Ohio, who demanded of the chairman why he knew nothing about the regular contributions disclosed by the treasurer's card index. Pickett, answering Senator George's questioning, had related that he did not know what receipts of the state organization had amounted to. If any assessments had been made or collected, he knew nothing of it, Pickett asserted.

"Do you ever check with the treasurer who pays and who doesn't?" Senator Locher inquired.

"No."

"As chairman don't you assume any responsibility for finances?"

"No."

"You have no interest in the finances? Did you ever know the chairman of a political committee who was not interested in where the money comes from?"

"Certainly, I'm interested," Pickett replied.

"But you just said you didn't ever confer with the treasurer about finances," Senator Locher said.

Senator Brookhart asked whether Pickett knew if there were any funds in the treasury at present. Pickett said he had only asked the treasurer if he had funds to cover the office expenses.

"Did he say if the installments came in?" Senator Locher interposed.

"I didn't ask him," the chairman retorted.

Senator Harris came in with the remark that "it seems like money just drops from out of the clouds."

"It seems someone could tell us why some contributors pay centain specified amounts," Senator Harris added.

"I don't know," Pickett said.

Pickett told Senator Locher he could not tell him why various letters purported to have been mailed to postal employees by party officials or other spoke of "voluntary contributions."

Senator George read a letter which he said was from a postmaster to the treasurer, in which it was stated that $30 was inclosed, which, with $20, covers our understanding."

Pickett said he knew nothing about it.

"Do you want this committee to understand that, as chairman of this central committee, you deny all responsibility for what other members of the committee do?" barked Senator Locher.

"I can't assume responsibility for things I know nothing about," said Pickett.

Pickett also denied the statements of Treasurer Martin Monday that the regular expenses of the committee run from $1,000 to $1,200 per month.

"Why is it necessary to have three of four men employed on regular salaries the year round when you do not put out candidates for office except in the national elections?" Chairman Brookhart asked.

"It isn't necessary," Pickett replied. "We have only two men on regular salaries now, the secretary and the treasurer, and the total expenses are not running more than $600 per month."

"The only thing to keep them busy is the collections of these assessments against postmasters, isn't it?" queried Senator Locher.

"I don't understand that there are any assessments, just voluntary contributions," Pickett replied.

Assessed $100.

Senator Harris read a letter from a world war veteran stating that he had been assessed $100 by the republican organization.

"Don't you think it was an outrage to assess a soldier that much?" asked Senator Harris.

"I don't think he ought to have been assessed anything, and I don't know that he was," Pickett replied.

He also denied knowledge of the postmaster at Blairsville being assessed $350 or paying that much. He said that Union county is a republican stronghold and that the postmasters might have sent in funds for other contributors.

Returned Check.

Pickett was questioned concerning a check for $500 sent to him personally by the ordinary of Union county, and he said he sent the check back and suggested that it be forwarded to Mr. Martin as treasurer for the state committee.

"Why didn't you send it on to Martin yourself? Was it because you didn't want your indorsement on the back of the check?" Senator Locher asked.

"No. I was just closer to the sender than I was to Atlanta," Pickett replied.

Senator Harris called Davis to the stand, and inquired whether the negro's paper, the Atlanta Independent, received any money from the treasurer's funds.

Davis said he received money for regular advertising. He estimated that he had been paid about $150 by the state committee for advertising, and about $600 during the state convention.

COURIER-CITIZEN
LOWELL, MASS.

JUL 20 1928

THE REAL BATTLE-GROUND.

The more the political situation at the South develops, the more evident it appears that the Republican managers will do well to put forth their best efforts to carry the doubtful states of the North. If the agricultural states for the most part remain in the fold, and if none of the Republican states claimed for Smith on the Volstead issue (except New Jersey and New York) actually fall to the Democrats, it would not be unreasonable to hope that Oklahoma, Kentucky and Tennessee would contribute to a Republican majority. Further than that the South will probably remain solid. It has the habit.

The fact is that the anti-Smith Democrats of that section are all dressed up with nowhere to go. Developments with regard to federal patronage in Mississippi and Georgia have come at just about the psychological moment to discourage a shift to the Republican party, both in those states and in others where the same conditions are generally supposed to prevail. In Texas the puny Republican organization is split wide open and has been for years. Representative Wurzbach and National Committeeman Creager have a feud on of long standing. Creager would welcome an alliance with the Hoover Democrats. On the other hand, the faction to which Wurzbach belongs, under the leadership of J. M. O'Hara and the Negro Republican leader "Gooseneck" W. M. McDonald, has bolted to Smith. This group asserts that it "controls" 250,000 votes. One might safely leave off one or two ciphers from this estimate, seeing that the combined total of the Coolidge and La Follette votes did not approach that figure in 1924.

The strategic mistakes of the Republicans in the South go far back to the period of reconstruction. They cast in their lot with the Negroes from the first, at a time when this race was notoriously unfitted for the ballot, and the white people were inevitably thrown into the arms of the Democracy. So far all efforts to build up a white Republican party have been in vain. Indeed it is not certain that such an aim is morally justifiable, now that a large part of the Negro population is reasonably well fitted to exercise the franchise. At any rate, we fear that even the Negro vote has not been cultivated in such a way as to bring the best elements of that population to the front, and the white bolters from the Smith candidacy are not likely to feel at home among the Republicans.

It seems to be the clergy who are at the front of the bolt, but they are not unanimous. Every Sunday violent diatribes are reported from the pulpits of influential churches. One of these has more news interest, perhaps, than a hundred services in which no mention is made of politics. Yet considerable importance is to be attached to the formal statement by Warren A. Chandler, senior bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in which he reiterates and confirms pastoral letters of former bishops, which contained the advice: "You have no commission to preach politics."

The strongest Republican organization in that part of the South which has never since the end of the reconstruction era cast its vote for a Republican candidate in a presidential election is probably in North Carolina. So far, however, this state has not given many signs of restiveness. Senator Simmons was willing to risk his leadership in the party rather than to waive his opposition to Smith's nomination—but he is not bolting. With this honored chief in line, the North Carolina Democrats are not likely to desert in large numbers. Has even Tom Heflin sailed for Europe?

On the whole, therefore, it was probably wise for the Democrats to turn down Senator Robinson's proposal for sectional headquarters in the South, and it will be equally wise for the Republicans to confine their efforts to the really close states of the North. There are certainly enough of these, in the peculiar mixup of issues which raises havoc with ordinary party calculations.

Political - 1928.

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

HERBERT HOOVER has been selected as the candidate of the Republican party for the presidency of the United States when next November the citizens elect their chief to serve for the ensuing four years. Mr. Hoover's capacity for great achievements at home and abroad, his knowledge of foreign affairs, his position on outstanding public issues, his service to his country during the World War, his activities in relation to the Mississippi flood relief and his popularity among the masses of the American people caused him to become the unanimous choice of the delegates of the Republican national convention at Kansas City, and won for him the nomination.

He has declared himself for prohibition, is reputed to be for a protective tariff, is against government ownership of public utilities, believes in a program for the development of inland waterways, and is an advocate of farm relief. He is a sound financier, is most familiar with the problems of commerce, is an efficient executive, and is an adept at selecting subordinates. With a dearth of available presidential timber, satisfactory to the leaders, Mr. Hoover was no doubt the best qualified of those put forward. He is now planning an active campaign for the presidency.

As normal citizens, Negroes are interested in all of the vital political issues of the campaign and the qualifications of the respective candidates. But their peculiar and singular status causes them to scrutinize and examine most closely the records of all candidates as to their opinions, practices, and attitudes on the race question. This is a distasteful test to which American citizens must submit other American citizens, but conditions make it obligatory so that the question primary and paramount is, "What will be his attitude on the race question as regards the political rights of Negroes"

This question cannot be answered until the release of the campaign literature of Mr. Hoover discloses his declarations on this point or in his public utterances he cares to announce his intentions in this regard. And yet a man's public utterances count for naught unless he carries out in spirit and letter his avowals. It is not always the most voluble of our fellow citizens that are our best friends.

Herbert Hoover is not given to bombast. We do not believe that he will make any wild pledges and promises impossible of fullfillment, nor should any be exacted of him. We believe that if our political leaders are sagacious enough to draw up a demand of our attainable rights, such as the sharing of the Federal Patronage in the north and in the south, the Federal Supervision of elections in the south, including the reduction of congressional representation in the south where Negroes are denied the ballot, with the request of Mr. Hoove's support if elected and if he agrees to it, we have no doubt but that in the light of his past performances, as indicated by his disposition of the segregation of employees in his department at Washington and the flood relief situation in the south, he can be depended upon to keep his pledges.

Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas, Hoover's running mate and candidate for the Republican post of vice president of the United States, is a politician of the old school, having been elected to office at the early age of 24 years, in 1888, and having continued his career in public office since that time as a regular Republican. His record in his native state, Kansas, and his acts in some instances—in congress—where the interests of colored people were involved, has shown him at least kindly disposed to the group; and this fact, together with his long association with our old guard in politics, in congress and out of it, fits him to know even better than Hoover our needs and our desires politically. There is little doubt but that he also will prove a most acceptable candidate to the colored voters, provided the pledges exacted of him on measures appertaining to the political welfare of the Negro are sound and possible of accomplishment.

The candidates are both acceptable to the rank and file of voters; it is up to our political leaders to see to it, if they desire the support of the Negro vote, that they both promise to be fair and exert themselves in behalf of such legislation as will serve to better our political status in this country. We shuold not ask or expect everything of them at once, for that is impossible, but what is most sorely needed. When they have declared themselves the Negro voter will best know what stand to take.

OF ONE BLOOD

AS predicted in the editorial columns of the Chicago Bee the "lily whites" of the Republican party in the south succeeded in either supplanting the "black and tan" delegations at the national Republican convention at Kansas City, or in weakening the influence of those remaining by direct or indirect control of some Negro delegations.

It has long been the intention and ambition of the Republican party to build up a white controlled party in the south rather than a "lily white" party as some would believe and contend. The influx of thousands of white northerners into southern states has tended to increase this ambition and desire on the part of the national Republican poliitcians. It is gradually being worked out with the aid of the southern colored brother himself. Soon the "lily whites" will control entirely the fortunes, patronage, and all of the south and some of the southern political leaders there will have helped the cause along themselves.

Some of our northern, as well as southern, political leaders show that they are of the same blood, the same mind, the same spirit and cast in the same mold when it comes to keeping white leadership and supporting white political supremacy, oftimes when they are not compelled to do it other than in obedience to their white "master's voice", rather than in obedience to the call of the blood of their black brethren. So the southern colored politicians at Kansas City are only following a natural tendency and the example of some of our Chicago and northern colored politicians who will turn down a colored candidate on occasion for a white one.

A dozen years ago or so, the Negro voters of the second ward held the balance of power. The colored constiuency of that ward was discriminated against by the white alderman outrageously. Some red-blooded Negroes thought the condition might be remedied by the election of a Negro alderman and approached the Negro political leaders of that time with their convictions on this point, but the political leaders said, "Nay, the time is not yet ripe, for one of our own." Undaunted, the Negroes of the second ward that were loyal to the race first, as they properly should have been, put up first Griffin and then Cowan, both of whom sacrificed themselves on the political altar of that day for the good of their race, only to be defeated by their own flesh and blood.

Not long since, a Negro was ambitious to represent his people in Congress. The same song to the same tune was used to defeat him by people of his own blood.

In a recent election, a colored lawyer, Granady, was wantonly slain as he went about his duties as an American citizen seeking to exercise his rights at the polls. If he had been lynched in the south or if the Ku Klux Klan had been charged with his murder and the mobbing, kidnapping and mutilation of other Negro workers, some of our colored politicians would have made the welkin ring with their raccuous wails against it and crocodile tears would have been copiously shed by them. But happening in Chicago our own political leaders, with one or two exceptions, are strangely silent; they have held no public meetings of condemnation, contributed nothing in a financial way to bring the culprits to justice, and by their silence seem to condone these political crimes. But one Negro church and one or two Negro ministers have been outspoken against these brutal acts. Even our press is inclined to pussy-foot on this local lynching.

So we can not too severely condemn the colored brethren at Kansas City whom we accuse of selling out to the "lily whites." It seems that we are all of one blood when it comes to selling or betraying our own into the hands of other groups, be it north or south. Our likeness in this respect is unquestioned.

SOUTHERN NEGRO'S POLITICAL PLIGHT!

Judging from the small part played by the Negro in the recent Republican National Convention at Kansas City, Mo., and the well-known attitude of the Democratic party of the South, which goes out of its way to disfranchise, disqualify and politically outlaw the colored race, the Southern Negro is in an awful political plight—being literally between Scylla and Charybdis; between the devil and the deep, blue sea, to employ a stereotyped adage.

Considered the balance of power in several pivotal states of the republic, the Negroes in such states are given some degree of local consideration and recognition; but nationally the race is not functioning, not even under a Republican administration, as it did in yesteryears.

Chicago Bee 6-30-28

Informer 6-30-28

Dixie Democrats and Republicans appear to have a tacit understanding regarding the part the "brother" is to play or is not to play, in the political affairs and partisan councils of the Southland, and both political parties are ever seeking to proscribe against the black race, and to relegate it to wellnigh political oblivion and partisan ostracism. Houston, Texas

Founded on equal rights for all, the Democratic party of the South has completely forsaken its ancient shibboleth; while the Republican party, which sprang into existence on the "Negro question," and which has held sway largely because of the blind support accorded the party by the Negro voters of the country, particularly in border, Middlewest, Northern and Eastern states, since emancipation, has gone off after strange and false gods.

The Southern Negro is becoming more and more a political Ishmael and partisan orphan, while so many of the reputed political leaders of the race seem to be actuated by selfish desires.

Belated returns from the Kansas City convention indicate that Negro contestants were not considered in the light of their party orthodoxy or regularity, per se; but that their presidential preference was largely the determining factor in the settlement of most contests.

To be perfectly frank and candid, some of the contesting colored delegates from the South had no case; in fact, they failed to begin at the proper place to work up their case; and in the next place, they were unfortunate to perch themselves upon the wrong band-wagon.

But be that as it will or may, the fact remains that the Southern Negro is losing, or has about lost, his place in the Republican party of Dixie; and, despite the decision of the United States Supreme Court in nullifying and invalidating the "white man's primary" law of Texas and the South, the Democrats are still excluding the Negro from active participation in the affairs of their party.

It begins to appear that the Negro needs to hold a fact-finding political conference, to ascertain if the race still has any rights left under the provisions of the American constitution; and if he has any such rights and prerogatives, to adopt some method whereby these rights can be exercised and enjoyed; for, verily, the Southern Negro is in an awful political plight—somewhat "in statu quo," or a heluva fix!

Indications Point To The Naming Of John R. Hawkins As Leader Of Negro Republicans In Campaign

Said That His Close Association With Bishop Carey and A. M. E. Church Politicians Has No Part In The Selection; Cake All Dough

(Staff Correspondence of The Age.)

Washington, D. C.—Negro management of Negro end of the Presidntial campaign now at hand is still sole objective of nearly all "Afric-Repub" politicians. All roads, there fore, lead to Washington.

Wherefore the lobby of the Hotel Whitelaw here reminds much of the lounge of some "jimcrow" hostelry at Kansas City during the recent National Convention. And, consequently, allegations and rumors are legion.

The brethren are not united, and have as much right to not be as the Nordics who didn't and got mad at each other because of it at Kansas City. So there are individuals and groups seeking what, according to somewhat authoritative "grapevine radio," none will find an assignment to "Mussolini" the whole Afric-Repub works——chief organizer, head of speakers' bureau, generalissimo of publicity, etc., etc.

Sent To Manager.

It said that all Afric brethren who have penetrated to the Hoover lair at the Department of Commerce, without a request to call, have been referred to the campaign manager—even before that worthy's selection was officially announced. It is also said that the mantle of colored Republican leadership will be placed on the erect shoulders of Dr. John R. Hawkins of Washington, who seconded the nomination of Hoover at the Kansas City Convention, beefing on the part of Northern Negroes about assignment of directors from non-voting communities notwithstanding.

Dr. Hawkins is financial secretary of the A. M. E. Church, a trustee of Howard University, and president of the Prudential Bank here. As Kelly Miller would say, Dr. Hawkins is upright, downstanding, and looks every man straight in the eye as long as he faces him; and he will face any man!

If Dr. Hawkins has been selected it, can be authoritatively said that his church influence an dclose alliance with Bishop Carly played no part in the selection. He has been lifted to the attention of the powers that be through the same influence which dictated his selecion as one of the three persons to second Hoover's nomination, which influence absolutely has no connection with the A. M. E. Church.

Among the "Afric Repub" notables at the Whitelaw was the irrepressible Roscoe Conkling Simmons of Chicago, Louisville, Memphis and Mississippi. Roscoe, who is all things unto all men, had "Uncle Joe" Watson, Ben Jeff Davis' Nemesis in tow, and presented him to all as "My friend, Mr. Watson the Republican National Committeeman for Georgia!" Hon. Davis also WAS Roscoe's friend; but, seemingly, the "King is dead. Long live the King!"

Now that some of the brethren believe their cake is all dough, it is said that a wail of defeatist blues is being sung from the refrain of which comes the query, "Why a Negro management and Negro headquarters when the platform mentions only the anti-lynching Bill? We don't need no head quarters for just 32 words!"

NEW YORK WORLD

JUL 23 1928

Threatens Big Negro Defection From Hoover

From The World's Bureau

WASHINGTON, July 22.—Neval H. Thomas, head of the Washington branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is wrought up over the "persecution of Perry W. Howard." In a letter sent to Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt to-day, he said her activities in Mississippi are not aimed solely at Howard and his political associates, but at "the great Negro race."

"Perhaps you think you have deceived the colored people by your tactics at Kansas City and your entry into Mississippi to save it for white supremacy," said Thomas's letter. "This whole scheme against Perry W. Howard was concocted right here in Washington by the servants of Mr. Hoover to take from the colored people the last vestige of influence and prestige in a degenerate political party that has lived on the Negro for years."

Thomas warns Mrs. Willebrandt that the Negro voter will turn from the Republican party.

"We shall meet the faithless party at the polls," he said. "Every Negro newspaper in the country is railing out against the outrage, informing our millions of this last assault upon their liberties."

Political - 1928

Republican

Party Affiliation.

NEGROES IN THE BACK DOOR; WHITES THROUGH THE FRONT DOOR

This is the way Roscoe Pickett told the State Convention he solved the race problem in 1918 in addressing the delegates. His latest ebulition against Colored Republicans was at Kansas City.

He said there, that he didn't want any Negro for National Committeeman. The only reason he supported Joe Watson was because he knew Joe would not be elected, and that the surest way to beat Ben Davis was to use a "nigger" —Ben Davis made him state chairman in 1926, and 1928, over the protest of his best friends who told him that Roscoe was like a frozen snake, when thawed out he would bite him.

In the caucus the night before the convention in 1926, Mr. Pickett didn't have a peep-in for state chairman and never would have been elected had not Ben Davis okayed him—delegate after delegate stood up in open meeting and told him to his face that they didn't want him and that they came with their minds made up to see to it that he would never have the chance to order Negroes to his back door again as he said he did in 1918. Among those who were candidates for chairman were John W. Martin, O. M. Duke, Clark Grier, et al. Either of whom would have beaten Mr. Picket to a frazzle had not B. J. Davis gotten up and appealed to the delegates to elect him.

Pickett stood up in open meeting and promised if the delegates would elect him he would be good and work in harmony with B. J. Davis, and would concede the national committeeman the sole right to control the federal patronage. But Pickett has been stubborn and didn't want to keep his contract; and would have undertaken to oust Davis long ago had he had sense enough. So, at Kansas City he undertook to do the stunt under the leadership of Mr. Grier and his man Friday, by disobeying his written instructions and refusing to support the party nominee, for which he and his cohorts were removed from office and their position declared vacant.

Pickett has never contributed one thing to the National Republican Party and is now engaged in a futile effort to disrupt the party. He has been ousted as state chairman and would have the public believe that the bogus meeting he has called at Macon on August 11 (the very day that Chairman Flanders has called a meeting of the regular organization in Atlanta) has the sanction of Dr. Work, national chairman. Dr. Work has not been in the habit of recognizing insurgents who bolt their instructions as Mr. Pickett did at Kansas City. He was instructed to vote for Hoover in the state convention as second choice and bolted to Curtis. He was a dead load on the Republican party, and incapable of injecting in the work any enthusiasm or pep. No regular Republican will pay any attention to the bolters' meeting called at Macon. Every leader in the bolters' meeting is an ex-Philips man—lily-whites and Negro miscreants who lend themselves to ignorant and unscrupulous white men to drive decent colored people out of the party.

People of Georgia will never trust a Negro who had so little self-respect as to accept a place on Phillips' committee and continue to hang around after Mr. Phillips had used them for his purposes and kicked them off. Dr. W. H. Harris and Sol C. Johnson were the only colored men on the committee who had the good sense and manhood enough to decline the dishonor, in order to vindicate Lincoln Johnson, who had been slaughtered to satisfy the greed and avarice of the lily-whites; and for which President Harding expressed his regrets before he died and promised God to correct the error as soon as he returned from Alaska. But God called him from labor to reward before he could do the job, and Mr. Slemp made known his desires and the Republicans, in national convention assembled in 1924, vindicated Henry Lincoln Johnson before he passed from labor to reward.

JERSEY G. O. P. BALKS ON ENDORSING HOOVER

Okey On Republican Senator And Governor Also Withheld

WOMEN IN MAJORITY

Conference Cites Ills—To Meet Again In August

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J. — A conference of 100 G. O. P. leaders representing 21 counties in session here Thursday, declined to endorse either Hoover or state candidates for U. S. Senate and governor.

The call was issued by Isaac A. Nutter, president, and James A. Lightfoot, secretary. Another conference is scheduled for the second week in August.

Reasons for actions were stated as follows:

FIRST: While it would be dangerous for the party openly to espouse lily-whitism, yet there has been a subtle policy on the part of some white Republican leaders to eliminate the Colored brother.

SECOND: The Negro has not been allotted a single position by party appointment of any consequence for the past four years.

It is true that Oliver P. Randolph, of Newark, is an Assistant United States District Attorney, but no one would ever know it. He holds the position in name only. Randolph, himself, would not know it, but for the fact that he draws his salary check.

THIRD: The selection, by the white leaders, of Dr. Walter Alexander, of Orange, as one of the delegates-at-large to the last National Convention, was against the recommendation and wishes of the Colored vote.

FOURTH: The New Jersey Negro is incensed at the treatment accorded the delegates of color from Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Georgia at the past National Convention, and they charge both President Coolidge and Mr. Hoover with the responsibility for the Credential Committee's action, and further feel that the decisions were actuated by nothing less than to curry favor with the lily-whites of Dixie-land.

FIFTH: They further charge that the same catering to southern sentiment by the administration is responsible for the atacks and prosecution of Ben Davis, of Georgia, and Perry Howard, of Mississippi.

SIXTH: They charge that the administration has done nothing to relieve segregation in the Government departments at Washnigton.

SEVENTH: As for Mr. Hoover, while recognizing his great humanitarian work throughout the world, it is charged that he permitted the rankest discrimination to be shown towards Negroes in the Mississippi flood relief work; that an almost peonage system insofar as Negroes were concerned, was permitted by him during that relief work. And while they give him some credit for wiping out segregation in his department as Secretary of Labor, it is stressed that this was done only some two months prior to the National Convention the past June.

GA. MISSISSIPPI FIGHTS AIRED IN SEN. PROBE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Factional fights against Perry W. Howard and Benjamin J. Davis, National committeeman from Mississippi and Georgia, respectively, were aired in a hearing before the Senate Committee investigating campaign funds, Tuesday.

After admitting that $11,000 had been spent by his organization for Hoover in Mississippi, Howard told the committee that a "lily white" organization had sprung up there, backing Hoover and fighting his group. This night, he said, would be carried before the credentials committee at the National Republican convention and if he finds that he has been "double crossed" he might not vote his delegation for Hoover. Howard said he had received $4.000 from Rush L. Holland, a Hoover campaign manager, and expected to get $1,000 more.

Fight On Davis

Benjamin J. Davis, the Georgia Committeeman, told the committee that he had received $2,200 from Holland. In a two hour grilling he admitted that he kept no book and could give no itemized account of how the money had been spent. $200 was credited to travelling expenses and some of it went for a stenographer in his office.

Davis, who is being opposed by Joseph H. Watson, of Albany, Ga., declared that some of the leaders were opposing because they had heard that he had received large sums of money from the Hoover campaign chest and had not divided fairly with the other delegates. He declared the reports were untrue.

In addition to the $2.200 received from Holland, Davis told the committee that he had received $750 from Watson, $200 from G. F. Flanders and about $800 collected throughout the state.

Memphis, Tenn., Commercial Appl.
Thursday, June 21, 1928

Negro Leader Sees Hope For Race From States

The negro must look to his state legislature and not to the national government for aid in improving his condition, the Rev. Sutton E. Griggs, negro lecturer and pastor of the Tabernacle Baptist Church, said yesterday.

"Commenting editorially on the platform of the Republican party, one of the leading Republican papers of the nation, the Chicago Tribune, said: 'In Senator Borah's resolution in which he declared the constitution to be sacredly obligated upon all, his words meant nothing to the negroes; they were not intended to mean anything to them and will not have the slightest effect on their future lives under the American constitution in their states.'" Rev. Griggs pointed out.

"It has been my contention for years that negroes of the United States must look to their respective states and not to the national government for such legislation as may be needed to improve their conditions," the negro continued.

"It is my advice to my race throughout the nation to cease opposing the men among them who are working to make friends at home, and concentrate their attention upon their respective localities with a view to creating such sentiment that their white friends will be willing to co-operate with them in getting all that is needed for their development," Griggs added.

"Problems of the race will then cease to be a bone of contention as it was at the Republican convention. Then only will the American people turn their undivided attention to the general welfare of the nation."

Pay The Devil What Is Due And Place The Responsibility

There have been, and there are many, conjectures why the race is losing representation on the Republican National Committee. But the generally accepted reason given is that it is the well-planned program of the G. O. P. in common with the Democrats, to unload the Negro politically; that the movement is of lily-white origin, and the Republican Party is willing to throw its Negro allies over to realize the forlorn hope of white recruits in the South. The Independent does not take kindly to this view. While we are not satisfied with the treatment or recognition we are receiving from the hands of the Party, we are not willing to make the charge unless the proof is abundant.

The feeling is growing that Mr. Hoover is behind the elimination of Davis in Georgia and Howard in Mississippi. We cannot subscribe to this view and, moreover, we are not willing to believe the Party has any such suicidal program. If it is true in Mr. Howard's case it is not true in Mr. Davis' case. There is no analogy between the Davis and Howard cases. Mr. Howard is still a member, and the indictment does not any more disqualify him to serve than indictments against former white members of the committee who were indicted and never resigned. The National Committee has no right to prejudice his case, either by ignoring him or asking him to resign. If the Republicans, or Mr. Hoover's friends, did not want Mr. Howard on the National Committee because he is a Negro, they had every opportunity to displace him with a lily-white. His entire delegation from Mississippi was contested by the lily-whites and Mr. Hoover's friends were in complete control of the convention and could have seated the lily-whites as easily as they did Mr. Howard's delegation. But Mr. Hoover's friends chose to seat Mr. Howard's delegation and reelected him National Committeeman to succeed himself. This indictment is altogether another question, and should not be charged at Mr. Hoover's or his party's hands. Indictments mean neither guilt nor conviction, and we have no doubt that Mr. Howard will be able to establish his innocence when he has a day in court.

Mr. Davis exonerates both Mr. Hoover and the Party with the blame for his defeat at Kansas City. Negro treachery and corruption were alone responsible for his defeat. Georgia had eleven Negroes and five white men on her delegation, and why couldn't we have elected a Negro national committeeman, if he would? These eleven Negroes were instructed to vote for Mr. Davis, but they loved tainted money and treachery better than they did honesty and truth, and elected to betray the trust imposed in them. No lily-white, or the Party, is responsible for Mr. Davis' defeat. Not even the three tabooed white men who conducted the campaign and raised money to buy the cattle that sold their souls for a miserable mess of pottage could have traveled if the eleven Negroes had stood together like a stone wall.

Mr. Hoover is blameless, knew nothing about it and the crime is not chargeable to the Republican Party, but to Negro traitors.

It was Mr. Hoover's friends who defeated the unholy alliance which sought to steal the National Committeemanship from the Republicans of Georgia.

In Mississippi Mr. Howard is fought by lily-whites, but in Georgia Mr. Davis is fought by Negro leaders who play into the hands of corrupt Negro-haters.

We give Mr. Hoover a clean bill of health and place the responsibility where it belongs, at the hands of our own color. It was a Negro who brought the injunction Monday to enjoin the party from putting out presidential electors coached by white cowards who haven't the guts to show their faces. But there is always a tool for every job.

EVERY EVENING
WILMINGTON, DEL.

JUL 27 1928

GRATITUDE FOR THE BULL MOOSERS.

The effort of the old Bull Moose party to realign its forces for the November election is little short of ridiculous. Thirteen Moosers attended their recent convention and seriously adopted a platform, heard the keynote or slogan of the campaign and expressed the determination to gird on their armor for the battle of ballots. Not even the wildest flight of the imagination can give the smallest hope of their being able to do more than they are trying to do at their convention—just kick. Without the indomitable leadership of Roosevelt they can have no effect whatever on the result in November, but if their protests against buying the Negro votes in the South avail they shall not have convened in vain.

The same need for the Bull Moose being recalled into existence today exists as strongly as it did when Roosevelt blew the breath of protest into its lungs against the conduct of the G. O. P. in the South—controlling the nomination of the national ticket, and yet unable to show enough of a following to perfect an organization—just simple boss political trickery.

But the country is grateful to the Bull Moose, or it should be. It prevented the inept William Howard Taft from occupying the Presidential post during the World War without endangering the country with a third term for Roosevelt at that critical time when clear heads were needed to direct America's part in the World War. The Bull Moose gave us President Woodrow Wilson, concededly the ablest of world executives to meet war time emergencies, and who by his "notes" that brought him only jibes from partisan foes, did more to bring the war to a conclusion with victory for the Allied arms and the United States than perhaps any other single element that entered into the conflict. He disorganized the enemies' forces behind the fighting lines that eventuated in the revolt of the men and women of Central Europe, and sent the kaiser scurrying to Holland and dashed Berlin's hopes for conquest to the ground.

So the Bull Moosers may have been shot to pieces by the attacks of machine G. O. P. political bosses, but they surely served the country better than they knew or could have anticipated wh... they split the party entrenched in power with the result of paving the way for Wilson and his momentous service to the country and all civilization.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Daytona Beach, Fla., News-Journal
Thursday, July 5, 1928

Washington Sidelights

HOUSTON—Down here in the land of the Jim Crow car, one is apt to forget that the vote of the negro in those states where the vote is not denied him is likely to determine the result of this year's presidential election.

The Republicans, from year to year, have never lost sight of that fact, and have seen to it that the lowly black brethren always received certain nourishing crumbs from the groaning board of patronage.

The Democrats don't overlook the fact, either. But whereas the Northern Democracy is sometimes inclined to take the Republican attitude, as shown in Tammany's control of the Harlem black belt, the Southern Democracy would rather lose with only white votes than win with colored help.

The question is hardly ever discussed in the open, except occasionally by a negro political leader who seeks to remind the other politicians of the political importance of his race. There seems to be a sort of gentleman's agreement, the effect of which is that Democrats don't mention the somewhat scandalous method by which patronage and convention delegates are manipulated in the South by the party in power and the Republicans in turn refrain from making nasty remarks about the disenfranchisement of the negro wherever necessary below the Mason-Dixon line.

But when Perry Howard of Mississippi boasted that he represented a group which held the balance of power in about ten states, he wasn't talking much bigger than the facts permitted. The group of delegates of whom Howard is representative not only nearly always controls the Republican nomination but the racial group of which he is a member is also credited, and with apparently good reason, with turning tides in November.

There are large blocks of negro votes in New York, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland and other states. Except in New York, they generally vote Republican, recalling the Civil war and believing that the G. O. P. is a little more friendly toward them than the Democrats.

Politicians in some of the larger cities consider their negro votes their most important nest-eggs. Big Bill Thompson, for instance, in Chicago. The negroes in a given community nearly always vote as a group. One is advised, however, that if Lowden had been nominated this year, the Republicans would have lost the votes of some 12,000 Pullman porters who work for him and as many more votes as the porters could have influenced.

While the negroes are generally delivered by their political leaders and, as remarked, are overwhelmingly Republican, one or two factors are at work which may cause some sort of a split among them this year. They have nothing against Smith or Tammany Hall, which is at least one Democratic machine that has played with them. On the other hand, they may prove fully appreciative of Hoover's order abolishing race segregation in the census bureau at Washington. One recalls Senator Cole Blease's absurd assurance some time back that both Hoover and Smith planned to put a negro in the cabinet if elected.

But most political observers have put more stress on what the whites in the border states are going to do, now that the racial issue has been raised more or less prominently by that anti-segregation order and the likelihood that congress will have a negro Republican member from Chicago next session. Although some Republicans have expressed hope of breaking into Harlem and others have said that the Hoover candidacy would appeal to other Northern negroes, it is answered that nobody is going to rob Smith of New York and that the other Northern negroes always vote Republican anyway.

The Smith people have contended that Hoover's anti-segregation order assured them the electoral vote of the more or less doubtful border states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma, where prejudice against negroes was greater than prejudice against wets and Tammany candidates.

Meanwhile, one observes with mild interest but no surprise that although there was a considerable group of black and tan delegates tucked discreetly far in the rear of the Kansas City convention floor those negroes in sight here serve in a distinctly menial capacity.

Dr. Kelley Miller Tells Of The Negro At Kansas City

(By Kelley Miller.)

Washington, D. C., June 25.—There were fifty Negro delegates and ten alternates at the recent Republican Convention, a goodly proportion came from Northern districts. Their interests were mainly segregated and racial. The dominant issues of prohibition and farm relief did not arouse their emotions, nor stir their enthusiasm. After the manner of the Southern plan, the Negro representatives were shut into themselves by domiciliary segregation. The great Methodist Episcopal Conference had met in the same city several weeks previous. The colored contingency was similarly disposed of. Neither politics nor religion runs as deep as the color line. The Negro is learning painfully the purpose of the Nordic to set a social separatrix which shall operate as effectively as the decimal point in arithmetic. The basic question is, what power has he to alter or affect that purpose? It operates with baleful effectiveness alike in education, religion, politics and social procedure. All of our bombardment does not seem to budge it.

SAYS NEGRO HOPPED THE BAND WAGON.

DR. KELLEY MILLER

The Negro delegates did not seem to figure in any effective way in the general procedure of the convention. In the main, they were lined up on the winning side long in advance. The Afro-American has an instinct for picking the winner and getting on the band wagon. The Negro contingent held its own racial caucus. It constituted only five per cent of the enrollment of the convention. The chief concern of the colored political leaders was to secure the insertion of a plank, insisting upon the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The colored troops fought nobly, but to no avail. They were not even able to have these amendments bracketed with the Eighteenth whose enforcement was especially stressed as a party policy. But true to the verbal traditions of the party some slight reference must needs be made to the Negro and his claims. Cerubus must have his sop. The insertion of the splinter of a plank on lynching was only a complimentary gesture. It serves to remind the race that the Grand Old Party has not altogether forgotten the black ally who was formerly held in such high regard and esteem. The insertion will not be without indirect benefit. It serves to keep afresh

in the mind of the American people the enormity of the evil of lynching. I do not believe that a single Negro will be deceived thereby. It will certainly not be stressed as a campaign issue.

A colored delegate was assigned to make one of the four or five minute addresses seconding the nomination of Secretary Hoover. This he did creditably. I believe that this is the only instance where a Negro functioned conspicuously in the proceedings. The race undoubtedly impressed less influence upon the Kansas City Convention than upon any like session since enfranchisement. We can hardly believe that in 1884, Hon. John R. Lynch was chosen temporary chairman. As late as 1912, the late Henry Lincoln Johnson held the fate of the convention in the hollow of his hand. It was the emphatic and unswerving attitude of this bold black leader that determined the issue between Roosevelt and Taft, which put the Grand Old Party out of luck for the ensuing eight years. What a swift descent from the political heights of those days to low level of this day!

But there is a darker semblance yet. The Negro was all but eliminated as a dominant force in any of the states. Walter Cohen, the little pelican war horse was dethroned in favor of white leadership. He was personally allowed to retain his seat as a delegate merely to save the regnant party from the odium of throwing out a leading colored man without courtesy or consideration. Ber Davis lost the committeemanship in Georgia. Perry Howard alone survives, but even his temporary success has no assurance of permanency. The slightest shift in the exigencies of the situation would have relegated him to the company of his forlorn defeated brethren. Throughout the South the lily whites are in the ascendency. In Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida and Texas, where the voice of the Negro delegates used to be heard at National conventions, alas, they are heard no more. The Negro politician has given up the ghost, without expectation, if not without hope of resurrection.

The race owes President Harding an unrecognized political debt of gratitude. All had once before been lost to the Negro. When Judson Lyon was thrown off the national committee by Lincoln Johnson, there was not a in that august body. Lincoln Johnson fought his way to chieftanship. But when President Harding seized the reins of power, he decided to turn over to Negro control the states of Mississippi and Louisiana. The national committeeship in that state belonged to Cohen who by abnegation gave it to the very white man who has brought about his unhorsing. Such is political gratitude. But the outstanding fact remains, the Negro has been practically eliminated from trusteeship of the Grand Old Party. He is now holding on only by a tenuous thread which the scissors of political fate are ready to clip.

There is little likelihood that this power will be restored. The great Republican Party is a practical body and, excepting the Roman Catholic Church, is the most efficient organization on earth. It has no sentiment that will stand in the way of efficiency. It desires to build up a functioning Republican Party in every state of the union. Nowhere has this yet been accomplished under Negro leadership, certainly not since the days of Wright Cuney of Texas. The party in such states as North Carolina, Virginia, Florida and Texas thrives much more vigorously under white sponsorship. Negro leaders for the most part seem satisfied to traffic in delegates rather than build up strong local organizations which will induce every Republican to vote in local as well as national elections, even under restrictions by revised constitution. Theodore Roosevelt in his Progressive campaign, adopted the policy of placing in power in the Southern states the men who could best command the situation, regardless of race. But he found that they were mostly white men of local standing, courage and influence and wealth. It is needless for the would be Negro leader to hark back to the sentimentality of a by gone age. In poltics as elsewhere, it is a case of the survival of the fittest.

The loss in the South is partially offset by gains in the North. The vital difference is that the Northern delegate must needs speak with a dictated voice. He is in the hopeless minority in every state and must follow the fortune of party bosses. There is little or no latitude for racial independence.

And so, now we face the coming campaign with eyes wide open. There must be devised an entirely new set of reasons and arguments for racial support of Hoover and the Grand Old Party. Appeal to Lincoln and Sumner and Grant will not sway Negro votes as it did aforetime. Extravagant prophecy of what the new administration is going to do for the Negro has been done to death in previous campaigns with sad disillusionment. Only the simple will bite at that bate. Denunciation of the Democrats and dread of Southern fire eaters, if Smith succeeds, will no longer frighten the simple. The Southern fire eaters eat as much fire under Republican as under Democratic authority.

There are sufficient sound reasons and good sense why the Negro should, in this campaign, prefer the Republican to the Democratic party, why Hoover should be chosen rather than Smith. But the Negro spellbinder must learn a new speech. The one which he has used for the past forty years has lost its spell and potency.

CHAS. MITCHELL IS OUSTED FROM W. VA. COMMITTEE

Rumor Is He Will Be At National Headquarters, Washington

(Special to The Age)

Charleston, West Va.—The Republican State Committee met at Clarksburg on July 7, and, among other acts done, ousted Charles E. Mitchell from its personnel. Capt. Gurnee Fergusson, colored overseas veteran, realtor and owner-manager of the modern hotel here which bears his name, was elected to succeed Mitchell.

Mr. Mitchell, who is business manager of West Virgina Collegiate Institute, Charleston bank president, supreme auditor of the "alphabetical" Knights of Pythias, it is said will be compensated by assignment to a managerial post with the Republican National Committee in prosecution of the Hoover campaign among Negro voters. The entire State Republican organization, backed by the National Committeeman and Committeewoman, will press for Mr. Mitchell's assigment at Chairman Work's Washington headquarters, it is said.

A Balance of Power.

West Virginia is classed as somewhat doubtful. Its Negro vote is formidable, reliable, constitutes a real balance of power; and a demand for representation in campaign management cannot be ignored, as it is thus far the sole voting constituency to demand such representation.

Mr. Mitchell's assignment to national headquarters will not stir any enthusiasm outside of his own State nevertheless. He was eastern manager at New York under direction of Organizer, the late William C. Matthews in the Coolidge campaign of 1924, and the brethren and sisters and Negro newspapers are still squaking over Mitchell's peculiar "economy complex." He served himself "without pay" and seemed unable to appreciate that the workers in his jurisdiction were not "volunters' with just per diem expense account.

Political - 1928

Republican.

Party Affiliation

Gainesville, Ga., News
Wednesday, July 18, 1928

WHITE SUPREMACY

In the pending national campaign the question of white supremacy is paramount and supercedes every controversial issue.

It strikes at the very hearthstone of every white man's home in the south.

In Georgia the problem is peculiarly acute. Within the past few days, in the disgraceful disclosures as to juggling federal patronage by a negro referee, this burning question, on which hinges the hope of the south, as it hinged in the dark days of reconstruction, has been accentuated.

In Mississippi, where a negro patronage referee has, as alleged, auctioned postmasterships and other federal jobs, the conditions are so "astonishing" as expressed by members of the senate investigating committee, that a grand jury, rather than a congressional group, has undertaken the investigations. Thus it is all over the South.

And what is to be expected should Secretary Hoover be elected to the presidency?

He is entitled to his racial ideas. It is not charged that he is influenced in them by political expediency. They were made plain during the world war, when, as food administrator, he brought the blacks and whites together, in his numerous division headquarters and office rooms in Washington—men and women of every shade and color—to work side by side, feed from the same tables, and use the same rest rooms.

It was only after the segregation order of President Wilson that such a condition was remedied. That order remained in effect in all governmental departments, and with entire satisfaction, the white and black employees being properly separated, until a few months ago, when upon the initiative of negro politicians of Boston, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, Secretary Hoover abrogated the order as to the department of commerce, and all its branches, and today the same conditions exist as prior to the Wilson segregation order ten years ago. Today the white and black employees, men and women, in all branches of that department, work side by side, use the same rest rooms, and in no respect is there any racial segregation.

There is no purpose to reflect upon the character or the statesmanship or the business ability of the republican candidate for president. He has never lived in the South. He has visited it only a few times. He has only stopped in Georgia for a brief period, and in waiting for his schedule in Savannah the fact that he received as his guest on his private car the negro national committeewoman, may have had more political than racial significance. At that time his candidacy for the nomination was brewing.

He lived the most of his adult life in London and in other European capitals. There social and racial conditions are different.

While the racial question is inbred, it is sacred, it is crucial.

The negro is equal to the white before the law, and the administration of the law in this, and in other states in the "old black belt" gives to him freely and correctly that equality.

He is encouraged to become useful in citizenship, in the trades, in industry, in agriculture.

He is educated through the public school system on a parity with the whites, and the expenses are paid by taxation which accrues largely from the whites.

Every upstanding citizen believes in justice, full and complete, to the negro.

But that does not mean a relinquishment of white supremacy, for which the best blood of the south was shed to maintain, and which the upstanding thought of Americans, in every state, recognizes to be right.

It does not mean social equality, or negro political domination, as the latter is today in the juggling of federal jobs in Georgia and other states. Will this negro political domination not expand and be made more intolerable if Secretary Hoover becomes the nation's executive?

Former Governor Brough, of Arkansas, speaking before the Press association of his state made this plain when he said the real issue in this national campaign is "Anglo-Saxon supremacy."

Elsewhere in The Constitution today is a communication from Wright Willingham, prominent attorney of Rome, Ga., in which he makes the issue plain.

A negro of Rome is a dispenser of federal patronage, and with Bre'r Davis, of Georgia-at-large, and Bre'r Howard, of Mississippi-at-large, and others, hold the republican throttle in the south.

It is time to think seriously of this question. Mr. Hoover is entitled to his views. Democrats, malcontents and insurrectionists who want to join him, and the negro republican dictators in the south, may find comfort in such company. But white supremacy is the hope of the south. For it we fight.—Atlanta Constitution.

Clarkston, Ga., Dispatch
Thursday, July 19, 1928

CALLING HIS HAND

And the Negro is exactly right in this. If he is good enough to serve as delegate in the nomination of Mr. Hoover, he is certainly good enough to go the ticket to be voted for as an elector by the white Republicans of Georgia and take Georgia's vote to the electoral college. Just what is the difference in the two propositions? —Macon Telegraph.

Despite that the Grand Old Telegraph has been promptly and flatly called on the matter of negro republican electors and negro everything else except Al Smith in Georgia as a prospect for the November ticket, the Telegraph still persists in offering Georgians Tammany liquor leaders and the Romanist promise to head the government of this republic. We are not for the open saloon. We are not for surrendering the individual civil and religious freedom given us by our forefathers. We do not want the rule of a foreign power in America — and we do not want a Roman Catholic president. We know we do not want an ambassador of the pope here representing his as a temporal power dictating in both religious and temporal affairs everything our government does. We know we do not want that agency in this country to close our public schools so that young Americans may not have the opportunity to think and act except as Romanism dictates.

We know further that we are not wrong in this wish. We know still further that Romanist domination is boldly offered in Al Smith and John J. Raskob — and we have four years of both Romanism and the advocacy of the saloon in Raskob, whether Al Smith wins or loses. We already have that. We oppose that as the worst thing that has been offered the free American voter in this generation regardless of party affiliation or political program. We know these things for we pinch ourselves as we write these words to see if it hurts—to know that we are in a manner still alive and rational.

On the question of negro domination of Georgia, the Al Smith supporters are seeking to smelch the revolt. They know that the negro has in time past been in the way. They tell us he is still in the way. Well, it isn't so any more. The following is so correct as to detail that we offer it to our readers for what it is worth. We took it from an open letter in the Telegraph today, signed by Henry C. Davis of Macon — not a negro, but an upstanding white man who tires, as we do, of seeing pure falsehood thrust under the noses of decent Georgians in an effort to whip them into line and hold them for Al Smith.

"I am in position to state positively that there are not and there will not be any negroes on the Republican electorial ticket in Georgia. On the other hand it will be composed of white men, whom even you respect. Further, the name of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates have always appeared at the head of the list of electors, and the names of Hoover and Curtis will so appear on the ballot which will be used in the November election.

"You refer to Ben Davis as the Negro national committeeman from Georgia. This statement is misleading for the reason that Georgia has no Republican committeeman or committeewoman. The delegation to Kansas City was unable to make a selection, the convention refused to make one and referred the matter to the executive committee of the national republican committee. The executive committee later referred the matter to a sub committee of the national committee. A short time ago this sub committee refused to recognize either of the negroes who were contestants for the place. The official list of national committeemen from the states, issued by Dr. Work carries blanks opposite the state of Georgia for national committeemen and committeewomen.

In view of the fact that Georgia has no national committeeman, to whom do you refer as the "negro republicans to represent Mr. Hoover in Georgia?"

"Do you not think that the fact that Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, who is one of Mr. Hoover's chief lieutenants, took personal charge of the Mississippi investigation is evidence of Hoover's desire to "clean up" the patronage situation in the South?"

276 NEGROES HOLD OFFICE IN DEMOCRATIC NEW YORK.

Have you been worried about "following the leadership of Ben Davis?"

Ben is the negro who has been Republican national committeeman for Georgia. He has been discredited by his own party, and has lost his job.

The Al Smith leaders have been making a great "to do" about this one, lone negro party official in Georgia. You will hear a lot about Ben Davis before the election. Efforts will be made to frighten you into voting for Al Smith with the old bugaboo of "negro domination," and this discredited negro, Ben Davis, will be cited as proof that the Republicans will force the negro on Georgia.

But here's something they will not tell you:

In New York City, controled by the Tammany Democrats, there are 276 negroes holding political or civil service positions, with salaries in each instance of more than $1,800 per year!

The Tammany wing of the Democratic partyparty is not only the dominant Catholic party, the dominant party of the alien influences, but is rapidly becoming the dominant negro party!

William Hard, correspondent of the Consolidated Press Association, in a special dispatch from Washington to the Atlanta Journal, says:

"Tammany Negro's Friend."

"The headquarters of favorable and equal treatment for the negro politically by Democrats in the north has been for a long time Tammany Hall. It is claimed by Tammany leaders that two hundred and seventy-six negroes now hold New York city political or civil service positions with salaries in each instance of more than eighteen hundred dollars a year. It is indeed claimed by them that negroes hold more really good and lucrative positions under the New York city government alone than under the whole federal government throughout the United States.

"Ferdinand Q. Morton, a member of the New York city civil service commission and said to be the highest salaried negro office holder in the country, with those other New York city officials of his race visited Washington last week on a tour through this country westward for the organization of "Al Smith-Joe Robinson negro clubs," in all important centers of negro voting activity.

"Even in Arkansas, a state of the 'solid south,' the chairman of the state Democratic committee, J. S. Utley, has now under consideration a project for 'Smith and Robinson clubs' among Arkansas negro voters.

"Many negroes are highly dissatisfied with Republican rule. **They claim that the number of negroes occupying honorable and valuable positions under the federal government has been steadily declining.** They note that the three negroes who recently have been members of the Republican national committee are all in sad trouble. Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, and Ben Davis, of Georgia, have been dropped from the committee. Perry Howard, of Misaissippi—the third and only surviving member of the committee—is being severely pursued by judicial agents of the Republican federal government for alleged injudicious transactions in relation to federal offices in Mississippi."

Montezuma, Ga., Georgian
Thursday, July 19, 1928

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He lived the most of his adult life in London and in other European capitals. There social and racial conditions are different.

But that does not alter, nor extenuate the situation in this country.

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The Constitution:

Political-1928

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

TAMPA, FLA.
Times
JUL 21 1928

PUBLIC PULSE

Vote for Hoover; if Republican.

Tampa, Fla., July 18, 1928.

To the Editor of The Times: I am a Protestant, a southern man to the manor born, a Mason, and am old enough to have known and felt the domination of negro, low down scalawag and vicious republican rule in the south, and I do not care to have my children or my neighbors' children pass through such trying times as there will be if Hoover with his negro loving proclivities happens to be elected, for it has not been so long in the past that when you had business with the internal revenue collector of the state of Florida, the office being in Jacksonville, you had to approach the negro holder of that office, Joe Lee, with your hat off and call him MR., and with Hoover's tendency toward social equality between the negroes and whites in his office, what will it be in the south, since the tendency of the republican party largely in the north is to cram the negro down the throats of southern whites, as witness the minute you cross the Mason and Dixon line the negro rides your Pullmans and sits by you in the movies and theaters.

I do not say it in a bragging manner, but I have a line of four ancestors who fought in the Revolutionary war to free this country from English mis-rule and domination, and I have no patience with any southern man or woman, be they Mason, preacher, bishop or what not, who has voted in the democratic primary and now say they will vote for Hoover, for they are what was called by both northern and southern people renegades or deserters.

If any well thinking democrat will study who the ones are that are making most of the trouble and creating dissensions in the democratic party they will discover those persons are mostly made up of persons who were and are republicans at heart, and now try to shine under the guise of prohibitionists, yet like their "home brew," for the strongest prohibitionist of today is the liquor runner and bootlegger. That is a well known fact which cannot be successfully denied.

I am not a drinking man. I believe in the Bible from "cover to cover." That good man, St. Paul, whom all preachers love to quote, says that a little wine is good for the stomach, so why not follow all the teachings of this Good Book.

Every true Christian who adheres to the teachings of the Bible and endeavors to uphold the constitution of the state and United States, cannot conscientiously accept a part and disregard the other, for if they do they also are nullifiers.

One bishop says, vote according to your conscience, referring as to whether one being a democrat, should vote for Al Smith or Hoover. If their consciences are so elastic that in June they can be a democrat and in November a republican then they are adherents to no party. Again I quote the Bible: "Because you are neither hot or cold I will spew thee out of my mouth and have no more of thee." So stay with the republican party if you vote for Hoover in November, for then we democrats will know where to place you two years hence. D. B. GIVENS.

* * *

Democrat
Port Clinton - O
July 20

Negro Republicans led by many white Republican leaders have organized Smith clubs and claim they will support the Democratic nominee. Republican leaders claim that the negroes have organized in order to touch the pursestrings of the g. o, p. organization. They can make the touch.

THIS CLIPPING FROM THE
NEW YORK TIMES
JUL 25 1928

WOMEN PLAN FIGHT TO ELECT HOOVER

Republican Committee Members From East and South Confer in Washington.

WILL MOBILIZE THEIR SEX

But Complain of Chairman Work's Omission to Put Them on Advisory Group.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 24.—Complaint over the failure of National Chairman Work to give women of the Republican National Committee representation on the advisory group that will conduct the Hoover-Curtis campaign in the East was voiced at the conference of party women held here today under the direction of Mrs. Alvin T. Hert, Vice Chairman of the National Committee.

The conference was attended by Eastern and Southern committeewomen in accordance with a call issued by Mrs. Hert, in which she stated that she desired to effect an interchange of ideas with a view to perfecting plans for the organization of women in behalf of the Hoover-Curtis ticket.

At the outset of today's meeting a reference was made by committeewomen to the omission of any of their number on the Advisory Committee created by Chairman Work to take over the burdens of the campaign in the Eastern States. This was at the morning session. It was decided then to postpone further discussion of the subject until the session that was scheduled to be held after luncheon.

Apparently something happened in the interval to heal the threatened breach, for Dr. Work's action in making the Eastern advisory all-masculine was not mentioned again.

"Grave Mistake," Says Mrs. Sabin.

Nevertheless, according to statements made tonight, women members of the Republican National Committee insist that they are entitled to representation in the management of the Eastern campaign and they intend to press their case at Hoover headquarters.

"I think it is a very grave mistake not to give women representation on the Advisory Committee," said Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, National Committeewoman from New York. "If women are to share responsibility for the success of this campaign then they should also share in its direction and confidences."

It was agreed at today's conference that the women voters in the East may prove to be the controlling factor in determining the issue in the Presidential campaign, and for that reason it was felt it was incumbent upon Republican women with organizing ability to be up and doing if the Hoover-Curtis ticket was to win.

The plan of campaign to be conducted among women generally throughout the country may be patterned along the lines of the one that is to be adapted to the situation in New York by Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, who proposes that the State shall be divided by Congressional districts and special attention devoted to those areas that may be classified as "doubtful."

Mrs. Sabin believes that the drift among women is toward the Republican ticket and that a drive for their votes should be made in Democratic as well as Republican strongholds.

"It was demonstrated in New York in 1920 that Governor Smith can be beaten there, and I believe he can be beaten again," she said. "I am of opinion that Mr. Hoover can carry the State. To do this it will be necessary to increase the number of women registrants by about 20 per cent. in every Congressional district. In New York 100 men vote where 60 votes are cast by women.

"It is our duty to see to it that women who have in the past stayed at home on election day shall this year go to the polls."

While today's conference was called primarily for the benefit of Republican Committeewomen from the Middle Atlantic and New England States, there was a scattering of representation from the South. Among those who came up from below the Mason and Dixon line was Mrs. Mary C. Booze of Mississippi, a colored woman, who has been an active Republican worker in her State for many years. In addition to Mrs. Hert, Mrs. Sabin and Mrs. Booze, other National Committeewomen in attendance were:

Mrs. W. E. Kennon of North Carolina, Mrs. Charles Warner of Delaware, Mrs. Guy P. Gannett of Maine, Mrs. W. Bladen Lowndes of Maryland, Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer of Massachusetts, Mrs. Nellie D. Parker of New Hampshire, Mrs. W. Reginald Baker of New Jersey, Mrs. Charles F. Stauffer as proxy for Mrs. Worthington Scranton of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth E. Sharpe as proxy for Mrs. Charles J. Steedman of Rhode Island, Mrs. Margaret M. Tucker as proxy for Mrs. George Orvis of Vermont, Mrs. Ellia A. Yost of West Virginia, Mrs. Virginia W. Speel of the District of Columbia and Miss Katherine Byrne of Connecticut.

Deny Mrs. Booze Was Barred.

A report that Mrs. Booze was barred from the luncheon given by Mrs. Hert was denied by officers of the National Committee. They explained that after the adjournment for luncheon Mrs. Booze left the Hotel Willard, where the conference was held, to lunch with Washington friends. She returned to attend the afternoon session. It was added that Mrs. Booze was photographed with her white co-workers and took part in the discussions.

Mrs. Hert presided at the two sessions of today's conference. The keynote of her speech was that women would this year play a greater part in Republican politics than ever before. Chairman Work, Secretary Fort and General Counsel Burke of the National Committee made short talks.

Dr. Work stressed the value of women in the conduct of the campaign and he asserted that largely because of Mr. Hoover's popularity more women would go to the polls this year than in any election since the adoption of the equal suffrage amendment.

There seemed to be general agreement among the women that the presidency would be won and lost in the East this year and that Republican women could turn the scales to Hoover by effective organization.

"The Democrats haven't a chance in Ohio," said Mrs. Hugh Clarke of that State. "We have a very hard gubernatorial fight on at present, but all of the primary wounds are healed so far as the national campaign is concerned. We will sweep our State with the Hoover-Curtis ticket."

"Tennessee," said Mrs. Beulah Hughes, "will be in the Republican ranks. Never has a Republican candidate been so popular in that State as Mr. Hoover."

NEW YORK
EVE. TELEGRAM

JUL 27 1928

SAYS NEGROES DISTRUST SMITH

J. W. Johnson Declares Early Enthusiasm Has Waned.

By failing to take decisive action to win the confidence of the colored people, Democratic leaders have allowed a strong enthusiasm for Governor Smith to wane, until it now seems unlikely any appreciable number of the 3,000,000 enfranchised negroes will vote for him in November.

That is the opinion of James Weldon Johnson, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who believes the situation is unfortunate for everyone and worse for the negro than it was four years ago.

"Intelligent negroes look forward to the day when no one can point to a black man and say 'there goes a Republican,'" he said, "but the faith we had in Governor Smith seems to be misplaced.

"Two months ago we felt he was the friend of all men, who would bring us political freedom, but since his nomination nothing has been done to give us that assurance.

"Furthermore, the nomination of Senator Robinson for vice president created mistrust.

"Undoubtedly Governor Smith has been advised against any stand that would further prejudice the South, already doubtful on the prohibition issue and the Catholic question.

"Consequently we feel that a wonderful opportunity for realignment of parties has been lost and we are frankly discouraged and do not know which way to turn, to the openly hostile Democratic party or the apathetic Republican party. It is my own belief that the vote will be very much as it has always been."

DOCTOR ASKS $25,000

ITEM

Sumter - S. C.

JUL 26 1928

WHITE ELECTORS FOR GEORGIA

The negro Republicans in Georgia are resenting the suggestion that they be left off the ticket in November just because a few Georgia Democrats, who might want to vote for Hoover, object to voting for negroes on the electoral ticket. And the Macon Telegraph says the negroes are right. The Telegraph explains the Georgia complication:

If the Republican organization, with Ben Davis, the negro national committeeman in Georgia, affronts Southern negroes in this way, it is going to react upon the Republicans in Northern states, and it is not probable that the Georgia negroes are going to submit to being left off the electoral ticket this year, when they have been on the electoral tickets in years past and have every right to expect like treatment this year. The negro delegates to Kansas City cast their votes for Mr. Hoover, he is their choice, they named him as their candidate and they have too strong a call upon the Northern negroes in doubtful states to be so calmly and coldly cast aside in November, simply to please some white bolters from the Democratic ranks who would not want to vote for negro electors to go and cast votes for them in the electoral college.

And the negro is exactly right in this. If he is good enough to serve as delegate in the nomination of Mr. Hoover, he is certainly good enough to go on the ticket to be voted for as an elector by the white Republicans of Georgia and take Georgia's vote to the electoral college. Just what is the difference in the two propositions?

That raises the question as to whether or not "Uncle Joe" Tolbert will give the South Carolina Democrats who want to vote for Hoover a "lily white" electoral ticket. He might make some concession to the South Carolinians who are going over to the Republican party.—Spartanburg Herald.

THIS CLIP...
RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.

JUL 23 1928

AS NEGROES VIEW IT.

Monroe Mason, in a letter to *The Boston Transcript*, a day or two ago, declared the patronage investigations now being carried on by the Republican Senate and the Republican Department of Justice are viewed by negroes North of the Mason and Dixon line as "a conspiracy to throw negro voters overboard, particularly those in the South and border States."

He says the Northern negroes—who practically hold the balance of power in more than a dozen Northern States—consider the Dixie patronage quiz as a gesture being made on behalf of the Republican party to the "lily-white" Republicans of the South in order to carry the border States for Hoover and Curtis. "High ranking Republicans of the North," says Mason, "are thus trying to eliminate the negro by blaming him for a practice that the party has long winked at."

He charges that "both parties" have been levying assessments on office holders for many decades, especially in the South, and even in the North he says there have been both voluntary and involuntary assessments levied on federal office-holders, and the smokescreen now staged by the Republican party cannot be taken in any degree by the negro Republican except as a plan to eliminate him in the South as a political asset.

To a man up a tree it looks as though the negro race was gradually seeing the light. For fifty years the negro has been exploited to a wonderful degree by the Republican party, never for any other purposes than to get his vote. Human nature being what it is, the Republican party is no greater admirer of the negro than any other political division is. But it has made the rank and file of the negro race believe that it is his sole protector.

The two administrations of Grove Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson did much to wise up the black race to the Republican trick. These Democratic administrations held no petting parties, but they recognized negro merit and where appointment to office was logical negroes stood on an equal footing with other voters. They have not forgotten this system of justice and they promptly divided and voted largely democratic in 1916 for President Wilson.

They are still a questionmark from a Republican standpoint, and they are not going over the top for the Republicans now as they used to do. Only a few days ago William (Gooseneck) McDonald, long the outstanding leader of 250,000 Republican negro voters in Texas, stepped into the Smith bandwagon, declaring he would take the stump to tell his people why they should vote for Smith.

Bloc voting has injured the cause of the black voter fully as much as it has injured the political influence of the Solid South—this bloc voting. The sooner he learns to keep 'em guessing, and the sooner as a race he turns his back on the Republican negro baiter, the more important will he become in the political landscape, North and South. There never was a better time to take the step than in 1928.

HOOVER AND THE NEGRO

To the Editor The Birmingham News:

Your remarks in today's issue anent the late Senators Walthall and Hoar is an interesting, though too-guarded, approach to the age-old question of racial superiority.

Herbert Hoover, true to the instincts of Republican duplicity (for votes), has made the issue clear and strong. He has thrown down the gauntlet to Caucasian superiority. On HIS head be the results!

The Democratic party stands, in this instance, for biologic truth. Why resort to velvety speech, or diplomatic expression?

I'm not preaching or advocating racial prejudices. I am simply stating a great fact, and I am speaking in a large racial sense.

Let us have the truth! The Negro is not the white man's equal. Whether he can ever be so remains to be seen.

If Herbert Hoover wants to set the Senegambian in official capacity beside the fair daughters of men, let us tell him he can do it only in his own home!

Narrow? Yes, it's narrow; but it's based upon the laws of external truth, for which I'm not responsible!

F. B. CULLEN.

Birmingham, July 12.

Political — 1928

Party Affiliation

Salisbury, N. C., Post
Tuesday, July 17, 1928

NEGRO CONTROL OF G. O. P. NOW LIVE QUESTION

Findings of Postoffice Probe Bring Issue to Fore.

Washington, July 17 (AP)—Perry W. Howard, negro national committeeman for Mississippi, under indictment on charges of conspiring to violate the law prohibiting sale of federal office, was suspended today as special assistant attorney general.

James W. Hubbard, deputy United States marshal for the southern district of Mississippi, indicted with Howard, also was suspended.

CHANGE VENUE

Biloxi, Miss., July 17. (AP)—Judge Edwin R. Holmes granted a change of venue today to three negro Republican leaders, in Mississippi who are charged by the federal grand jury with trafficking in federal patronage on a motion of one of their number who charged that it would be impossible for them to obtain a fair trial here. The case will be transferred to Jackson for trial here on a date yet to be set.

Sidney E. Redmon, negro attorney, addressing the court in behalf of himself, his brother, Augustus M. Redmon and Ed L. Pattan, all of Jackson, alleged that the grand jury's indictments charging "purchase and sale of public office" and the investigation now under way by the grand jury prompted by "malice and factional politics."

He charged further that testimony before the grand jury had been obtained by "threats," coercion and promised immunity."

Biloxi, Miss., July 17 (AP)—While a federal grand jury continued to receive evidence of methods employed by Mississippi Republican leaders in dispensing federal patronage today, speculation became rife as to what effect the investigation would have on sentiment which has kept a group of negroes in control of party affairs.

A bitter factional struggle has been waged within the party in the state for the past several years. Forces headed by Perry W. Howard, negro national Republican committeeman from Mississippi, bitterly opposed at every turn by the group headed by George L. Sheldon, formore governor of Nebraska and now a delta farmer and leader of the "Lily White" faction advocating white leadership. Sheldon has made several attempts to oust Howard from his acknowledged position of party leader.

The arrest of Perry W. Howard, negro special assistant attorney general and recognized Republican leader in Mississippi, on an indictment charging conspiracy to violate the law prohibiting sale of federal offices, was imminent today in Washington.

At the same time three of six others under indictment on similar charges were en route here today for arraignment before Judge Edwin R. Holmes in federal court.

Howard, with S. D. Redmon, A. M. Redmond and Ed L. Patton, negroes, arrested yesterday at Jackson, Miss., and Scott Hubbard, deputy United States marshal stationed at Biloxi, was charged specifically with conspiring and receiving $1,500 for the appointment of A. P. Russell, of Magee, as deputy marshal for the southern district. Russell served from June until October, 1927.

Hubbard, the Redmonds and Patton, the latter of whom was indicted on the seventh count, gave temporary bonds of $2,500 each at Jackson for their arraignment here today.

Howard, whose delegation at the Kansas City national convention was recognized over the "Lily White" delegation headed by George L. Sheldon, declared through counsel in Washington yesterday that he would not oppose removal to Mississippi to stand trial. His indictment was mailed to the attorney from Biloxi yesterday.

MANY COMPLAINTS

Washington, July 17. (AP)—Complaints from practically all southern states have reached the senate sub-commitee investigating charges of sale of federal patronage in that section, but no formal action will be taken upon any of them until reports which have been called for are received from the postoffice department.

When Postmaster General New has furnished the information requested, however, the sub-committee will formulate plans and probably make a sweeping investigation, including nearly all these states. Recently the committee received complaints from Alabama on the subject. Previously it had received them from the Carolinas, Florida, Tennessee, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, and had held hearings on charges from Georgia. It is refraining from making inquiry in Mississippi until after grand jury proceedings there have ended.

It was announced today that the committee at this time had reached no decision regarding further hearings.

Republican

NEW YORK TIMES

JUL 21 1928

INDICTS TWO MORE IN PATRONAGE SALES

Grand Jury Names Negro Republican and Unidentified Man in Mississippi Inquiry.

GOES TO ARRANGE TRIALS

Federal Prosecutor Leaves Biloxi to Plan Federal Court Action at Jackson in September.

BILOXI, Miss., July 20 (AP).—A Federal Grand Jury today concluded an eight-day investigation into Federal patronage affairs in Mississippi by returning two additional indictments, one of which named a man hitherto not identified with the investigation. Court officials refused to identify the man or reveal his connection with the investigation, pending his arrest.

The other indictment named Edward L. Patton, negro Republican leader of Jackson, and brought the total of charges against him to nine. The latest charge against Patton is that he solicited $900 from B. B. Breeland of Wiggins for promoting Breeland's candidacy for appointment to the postmastership at Wiggins.

Breeland, court attachés revealed, refused to pay, and the appointment went to William E. Miller, who, with Patton and J. C. Tannehill, former Deputy United States Marshal of Summerall, is under indictment in connection with his appointment. Both are charged with violating the law prohibiting the purchase or sale of public office.

Patton also was named in an indictment for conspiring with Perry W. Howard, negro National Committeeman from Mississippi and a Special United States Attorney General S. D. Redmond, A. M. Redmond, Jackson negroes, and J. Scott Hubbard, suspended Deputy United States Marshal here, to violate the public office law in bringing about the appointment of A. P. Russell as a member of the United States Marshal's force at Magee, in which payment of $1,500 was involved.

The Grand Jury's final report was presented and accepted by Judge E. R. Holmes without comment. Millard McGilchrist, Special Prosecutor for the Department of Justice, also refused to comment. He left here tonight for Jackson to perfect arrangements for the trials there of Patton, Miller and Tannehill in September. The others will be tried at the November term of court.

Alabama

LYNCHBURG

VIRGINIA

JUL 18 1928

HOW UNGRATEFUL.

Now that Perry W. Howard, negro republican national committeeman from Mississippi, has been indicted on the charge of selling federal offices, reports are being broadcast from Washington that Herbert Hoover, republican national nominee, intends to shake off the negro rule of the party in the south.

How ungrateful. Howard was one of the Hoover lieutenants in the pre-convention campaign. He was the beneficiary of $4,000 of Hoover money and when the balloting began at Kansas City, the Mississippi delegation was delivered into the Hoover camp.

Much as Hoover might want to shake off negro rule of his party in some of the southern states, it is going to be a difficult job. The negro has been the backbone of the organization for too many years to be turned out into the cold at one stroke. And besides, southern delegates to republican national conventions might not be so easily obtained in the future, and that situation is something the practical politician aren't likely to desire disturbed for the present.

Tuscaloosa, Ala. Gazette
Tuesday, July 17, 1928

In Mississippi

The indictment of Perry Howard, the negro national committeeman from Mississippi, on a charge of conspiracy to violate the law against the sale and barter of federal offices, will give Mr. New something to think about. Indeed, it will give everybody something to think about.

Mr. New, who explained that the system of dickering in federal jobs had continued under the Republican administration because the Democrats had sought contributions from officeholders, will now be under the necessity of stating why he has permitted a special statute on the subject to go unenforced in his department. The general public, which has not had an opportunity to see corruption in this field made conspicuous in court proceedings, will be wondering just how far it penetrates, just to what extent the Republican party itself is particeps criminis.

This is no new thing that is now being disclosed. The sale of Southern patronage goes far back. It has for many years been a fixed part of the scheme of things in connection with the control of Republican delegates from this section. Mark Hanna profited by it to nominate McKinley. Practically every Southern delegate at Kansas City voted for Mr. Hoover. The obvious reason why leaders of the Republican party have acquiesced in this system is that it provides the necessary votes for the domination of conventions.

"The mainspring of the evil" is not in the lust of a few negro committeemen to make some easy money, but "in the ambition of high members of every Republican administration or national committee to control a smooth-running administration machine by means of federal offices." Thus The New York World indicates the real menace and shame of the situation. It lies in the connivance of leading Republicans.

The ugly business of peddling jobs could be stopped with perfect ease if the administration wished to do so. Mr. New's statement defending himself proves this beyond any doubt. The naked political value of allowing unscrupulous wirepullers to get their rake-off in order that their services will be available when convention time comes around—this has been at the bottom of Republican willingness to let such rottenness continue.

"It is all on a strictly commercial basis," says The World.

A certain number of trusty Republican agents in the South get federal jobs—chiefly small postmasterships and clerkships—to peddle out. They dispose of them and receive what party Treasurer J. W. Martin, of Georgia, brazenly called "voluntary contributions" in return. They pay for their share of the emoluments of the system by delivering the delegates when wanted to the men in Washington who want them. It is a neat scheme, and the only loser is the public.

It will not, therefore, be enough to indict and punish the small-fry who have been immediately engaged in selling federal offices. That will simply make their successors a little more cautious in their operations. What is necessary to remove this evil is a new birth of public conscience on the part of the practical gentlemen who run Republican politics nationally. And the best way in which to bring about this renewal of decency is to give the G. O. P. its walking ticket next November.

Millen, Ga., News
Thursday, July 19, 1928

Bulloch Times.

Ben Davivs is the Atlanta negro editor who represents the Republican Party in Georgia as its national committeeman.

A senatorial committee, appointed at the last session of congress, is at this moment holding an investigation of his alleged sale of postoffices in Georgia.

Ben Davis knows Georgia pretty well, and he knows how much to expect of the possibility of carrying the state Republican in the coming national election. In his paper last week he said:

"In Georgia we want to make a better showing at the polls. We do not hope to carry the state for Mr. Hoover, over Governor Smith, because we feel that the Democrats will continue to subordinate every principle, moral or economic, for political expediency. What they want is control, and it matters not whether control comes to them through a wet or dry instruentality. What they want is every rein of the government in their hands, and whatever is expedient to bring about this much desired result is going to be adopted. They may curse Governor Smith now, as they have been doing; they may denounce his religious beliefs because he is a Catholic, as they have been doing; they may continue to say they will not support a wet candidate, but on election day you will find them all in line voting the Democratic ticket, without regard to Smith's wetness or his religion. So the Republicans neede not expect any substantial increase in their vote for Hoover. The Democratic Party is a party of politics, not of statesmanship. It is a matter with them of what trick or policy will win, not what services they can render the country. So let us rely on our own resources. Let us nominate the very best and most respectable electoral ticket. Many Democrats in the state say they will vote for Hoover, but say they do not want to vote for a negro. Well, let's give them a white electoral ticket—decent, respectable, moral and high class—and give them an opportunity to make good or belie their logic."

Every time we see a white man riding around the country with a "Hoover" placard on his windshield, and we have seen one or two of them recently, we wonder if that man has kept well enough posted to know that Ben Davis is head of the Hoover

LEDGER-DISPATCH
NORFOLK, VA.
JUL 18

MORE FEDERAL OFFICE SCANDALS

The importance of the Republican office-selling scandal in Mississippi has been emphasized by the presence of Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, who hurried to Biloxi to "observe" the proceedings of the grand jury impanelled to make an investigation. Just what the very attractive and able woman holding a high position in the department expected to "observe" is not revealed, but since the trail of office-selling appointments touches the Department of Justice, it is surmised that Mrs. Willebrandt was interested in that phase of the investigation as much as in bringing the guilty to the bar of justice.

As in Georgia, a Negro Republican leader is involved, and he, with a former United States marshal, has been indicted. The grand jury is yet to hear several hundred witnesses as to other scandals, and press reports indicate the probe will reach to every important Federal office in the state. Just how much these office-holders have been "shaken down" for is not estimated, but the boys are not in business for their health, and it takes money to round up presidential delegates who will stay put as did those who gave Mr. Hoover the Solid South at Kansas City.

There have been no recent revelations of brazenness on the part of Republican leaders in Virginia in the shaking-down process, but in other Southern states there is nothing particularly new in the charges. Postmaster-General New's naive defense of the practice in charging that the Democrats had solicited funds from Federal office-holders when the party was in power is not a parallel case. So far as mere requests for contributions by either party is concerned, there is no special harm. But when Negro Republican leaders offer postmasterships and other Federal jobs to the highest bidders among white men and women, a condition exists that should serve as a warning to those Democrats who would aid in turning the South over to the Republican party.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
Thursday, July 19, 1928

Tweedle-dee and Tweedle-dum

Interested parties undertook to explain to The Telegraph yesterday that it had made a mistake in saying editorially on Tuesday that Hoover's name would not be on the ballot in November, and that if the W. C. T. U. and other threatening bolters wanted to vote for Hoover they could not do it, but would have to vote for his electors. They claim Hoover's name will be on the ballot, as have been presidential candidates in previous years.

That is all very true, but simply to vote for Hoover or to leave his name unscratched and not vote for his electors will not be a vote for Hoover. His name will be at the head of the ticket simply to identify it as the Republican ticket. If one of the bolters wants to see whether The Telegraph is correct or not, we suggest that the bolter scratch the electors and simply cast the ballot with Hoover's name unscratched.

It is claimed also that this year's ticket will not contain the names of any Negro electors, so that the white women who want to vote the Republican ticket will not this year be confronted with that dilemma. It is claimed that Negro delegates went from Georgia and selected Mr. Hoover and that this was sufficient appeasement for the Negroes of the North whose votes were desired, and that as Mr. Hoover's selection has been made by the Negroes of Georgia they will not be allowed to participate further in the honors, but will have to content themselves with going to the polls in November and voting the Republican ticket as the Republicans have decided to have them do, and not put them on any ballots, to be voted for as electors.

Mr. Hoover has made a gesture that rather contradicts what the Georgia Republicans claim they intend to do in this matter, however, as he has put himself squarely on record as wanting the Negro vote and will go any length to get it. This was demonstrated recently when a Western Negro politician went to his office in Washington and demanded that he abolish the segregation rule then in practice and bring about the intermingling of Negroes and whites in Hoover's department, having them occupy desks alongside one another and forcing them to use the same lavoratories, etc. Based upon this cheerful acquiescence on the part of Mr. Hoover, there is no good reason to believe he is going to have Georgia Negroes offended and through them the Northern Negroes by simply having them go as delegates to Kansas City to nominate him and then have them sit down and say they are not equally capable and acceptable as electors to cast the vote of Georgia Republicans in the electoral college.

If the Republican organization, with Ben Davis the Negro national committeeman in Georgia, affronts Southern Negroes in this way, it is going to react upon the Republicans in Northern states, and it is not probable that the Georgia Negroes are going to submit to being left off the electoral ticket this year, when they have been on the electoral tickets in years past, and have every right to expect like treatment this year. The Negro delegates to Kansas City cast their Votes for Mr. Hoover, he is their choice, they named him as their candidate, and they have too strong a call upon the Northern Negroes in doubtful states to be so calmly and coldly cast aside in November, simply to please some white bolters from the Democratic ranks who would not want to vote for Negro electors to go and cast votes for them in the electoral college.

And the Negro is exactly right in this. If he is good enough to serve as delegate in the nomination of Mr. Hoover, he is certainly good enough to go on the ticket to be voted for as an elector by the white Republicans of Georgia and take Georgia's vote to the electoral college. Just what is the difference in the two propositions?

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Cordele, Ga., Dispatch
Monday, July 9, 1928

SPEAKING OF THE NEGRO

Al Smith supporters in Georgia are taking up much of their time trying to convince Georgians who are opposed to the Tammany ticket that Hoover is imposing the negro in the commerce department upon white employees—that he looks to Ben Davis in Georgia for advice on the matter of federal appointees. That slush is being used to drive the democrats back into the camp of Tammany and the Romanists.

And at the same time these Georgia newspaper operators who are running the Smith campaign forget to tell their readers anything about the Tammany negro program. Speaking of the negro, frankly, we would prefer the Hoover program—and it is bad enough—to what we would have to swallow if we accepted the Tammany ticket with Al Smith at the head of it. We think it is bad policy to agitate against the negro in Georgia where most of the colored population is trying to deserve the peaceful place it now holds in the pursuit of a livelihood and preparation for usefulness. There is no negro problem in Georgia as compared with that now existing in the north and east.

And speaking of negro coddlers, Georgians ought to know what Tammany does in that respect. First Tammany seeks to make Roman Catholics of all the negroes coming into Greater New York. Next it seeks to enroll all of them as voters. To encourage the negro to vote the Tammany ticket Tammany leaders hold the public schools open to the negroes and in any class where the little white child goes, he is the classmate of a pickaninny. His progress in school is measured by what the pickaninny can do. In all the public restaurants and eating places the negro goes and comes as the whites. A southerner who has had the experience knows that it is more than likely that before he gets his meal and gets away that a negro is likely to come in and occupy a seat at the same table for the same meal. We have seen that often in New York. In all the street cars, subways, public places—everywhere— the negro comes and goes like the white person. And at that we have seen wops everywhere that in personal appearance and cleanliness ought to give the negro some concern when the question of equality is considered.

The negroes are housed not in segregated districts, but throughout the great metropolis and often there is serious trouble when some real estate agent who wants to get hold of certain property goes out and lodges negroes adjacent in order to drive away the paying white tenants next door. Occasionally there is an interracial marriage, or a negro male found in the company with a white woman and trouble of a most serious kind follows. We were treated recently to the divorce suit of Kip Rhinelander, an old line New Yorker who had married a negress and was refused legal separation. The papers were full of this case at the time.

All that stuff results from the political coddling of the negro by the Tammany bosses. The general attitude is always to side with the negro and leave the white person to move out or find room somewhere in a more congenial climate. The negro is always right because his vote is needed in the election contests.

Those of the old timers in the south—in Georgia, especially—do not have to be told what trouble this makes. Political coddling of the negroes by Tammany leaders is far the worst thing in this country. Georgia has no troubles as compared with it. Hoover's handling of the negro is a gentleman's conduct as compared with

Republican.

what the New York so-called democrats do to get and hold the negro as a voter. And a Georgian who knows Tammany's record in that direction will tell you quickly that the republican attitude towards the negro as a voter is but a trifle as compared with the Tammany record.

We have not the slightest doubt but that Al Smith's election would force upon the whites an endless, unbearable intermingling of negroes with all white employees of the government in Washington. It does as much now in New York — and Al Smith and Tammany have control of the government in New York state—have had control of it long enough to have cleaned out with anything like negro political favoritism if they had any mind in that direction.

The Georgian who objects to Hoover because Hoover gives the negro standing room in republican politics, should weigh carefully the Tammany attitude first. In New York it is negro equality with a dark, perspiry odor to it. In the notoriously famous Tammany Society the negro's democratic political membership counts for more than that of the white, because on a straight issue the negro always wins.

In Georgia he has to be able to read and write—and face a battery of sawed-off shot guns on a forced issue at the ballot box. And unless he is a worth while negro deserving the commendation and approval of the white man, he doesn't travel far in politics against the white man's will. The democratic party has at its head a negro coddling Tammany political organization now in whose ranks anybody is good enough to vote—and be counted many times.

Watch your step, Georgian. Take time to know the leadership of the democrats before deciding against the republicans because of the negro. You may get out of the frying pan into the fire.

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution
Monday, August 13, 1928

STUDIED INSULT TO SOUTH.

Southern voters, white and colored—and particularly southern white women—are being flooded with Hoover propaganda, direct and indirect; and principally indirect, as covert and subtle under-cover methods appear to be the chief stock and trade of all of the republican propagandists.

This propaganda, coming from different sources, some of it signed, and much of it anonymous, is differentiated into three distinctive classes. One is in the effort to arouse the negroes, and incite them not only to vote in November, if qualified to do so, but to become racially embittered with the southern white people, who have been their supporting friends through all the history of this country. This class of propaganda deliberately sets Hoover up as their ally, and makes his anti-segregation order the "witness on the stand" to testify to his approval of racial equality.

Another class of propaganda, coming from another and different Hoover campaign agency, is assigned to disintegrate, as far as possible, the democratic party through misguided bishops and other preachers, and women, who have been heretofore democrats, this method of scuttling the ship from the inside being based on the false and impossible premises of "anti-Smith democrats," and built around a so-called "moral issue." This class, with subtle cunningness, does not mention Hoover, as a rule, but with full knowledge that any breaking down of the vote for the democratic nominee can only mean the automatic building up of the vote for the republican nominee.

The third class is assigned to arouse religious prejudice, openly and above board, by the capitalization of ignorance, intolerance and bigotry.

These insidious attempts to throw some of the southern states into the Hoover column are the products of republican desperation, realizing as do the national leaders of that party that unless this is done Smith and Robinson will very probably sweep the country through democratic cohesiveness in the east and central west, and its debatable chances even in the Pacific coast states.

The following letter from one of the best known women of Georgia speaks frankly and knowingly of what is going on:

Editor Constitution: I am inclosing a clipping from the editorial page of July Holland's magazine, published in Dallas, Texas.

Southern women are being flooded with Hoover and anti-Smith propaganda from Washington and New York. Having been a farmer during Hoover's price-fixing era and having a friend whose daughter has recently been put under a negro boss in Hoover's department, and being familiar with the terms of the Dyer bill, which the republicans are pledged to support if victorious in November, I think there are more important subjects than "How wet is Al?", particularly as we do not know "how dry is Hoover?"

MRS. IRA E. FARMER.

977 Ponce de Leon avenue, Atlanta, Ga., August 9, 1928.

The propaganda as referred to by Mrs. Farmer is a studied insult to the south, and no scalawag in the dark days of reconstruction attempted more sordidly to impel the "free negroes" to riot and invasion of the sacred hearthstones of the southern white people. One of the paragraphs that ought to make the blood of every white man and woman in the south boil with rage is as follows:

"Some students of history believe that the southern white has degenerated morally even beyond the moral level of the negro. This theory is probably correct, and it therefore seems that the only way of regenerating the white man of the south is through his negro brother and associate. We, of the north and west, are doing our best to help this good cause along by educating the southern darkey in our colleges and sending him back for missionary duty. Our statesmen are also doing their best with that end in view. Hoover, for instance, has pulled down the bars of segregation in his department of the government, thereby allowing greater contact between whites and blacks and giving the negro the better opportunity to absorb the white man's civilization of the north and west to carry back home to his more unfortunate white neighbor of the south. It should be the duty of northern and western Americans and European emigrants who have recently made

the south their adopted home to work for the uplift of the black man as the best and surest means of helping his white brethren in that section of the country.

Hollands magazine in a stinging rebuke says that such Hoover propaganda, coming out of Washington as this letter did, is such an insult, and intended for such a sinister political purpose, that even the intelligent negroes of the south "should, and probably will, resent it."

And they will. In Georgia the races as a whole have always maintained satisfactory relations, to the material advancement of the negroes. They are given every opportunity for self improvement. They are educated out of tax moneys, paid to a large extent by white property holders. They are paid good wages, and provided wholesome living conditions. But Georgia and other southern states are entirely able to handle their own problems, without any more carpet-baggers and renegades.

Perhaps Mr. Hoover is not personally responsible for the methods of the campaign being conducted for him in the south, but in this particular insult, his abrogation of the Wilson segregation order, deliberately, if not wittingly, invited it.

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977 Ponce de Leon avenue, Atlanta, Ga., August 9 ,1928.

The propaganda as referred to by Mrs. Farmer is a studied insult to the south,, and no skallawag in the dark days of reconstruction attempted more sordidly to impel the "free negroes" to riot and invasion of the sacred hearthstones of the southern white people. One of the paragraphs that ought to make the blood of every white man and woman in the south boil with rage is as follows:

"Some students of history believe that the southern white has degenerated morally even beyond the moral level of the negro This theory is probably correct, and it therefore seems that the only way of regenerating white man of the south is through his negro brother and associate. We, of the north and west, are doing our best to help this good cause along by educating the southern darkey in our colleges and sending him back for missionary duty. Our statesmen are also doing their best with that end in view. Hoover for instance, has pulled down the bars of segregation in his department of the government, thereby allowing great contact between whites and blacks and giving the negro the better opportunity to absorb the white mans' civilization of the north and west to carry back home to his more unfortunate white neighbor of the south. It should be the duty of northern and western Americans and European emigrants who have recently made the south their adopted home to work for the uplift of the black man as the best and surest means of helping his white brethren in that section of the country.

Hollands magazine in a stinging rebuke says that such Hoover propaganda, coming out of Washington as his letter, did is such an insult, and intended for such a sinister political purpose, that even the intelligent negroes of the south "should, and probably will, resent it."

And they will. In Georgia the races as a whole have always maintained satisfactory relations, to the material advancement of the negroes. They are giving every opportunity for self improvement. They are educated out of tax money, paid to a large extent by white property holders. They are paid good wages, and provided wholesome living conditions. But Georgia and other southern states are entirely able to handle their own problems, without any more carpet-baggers and renegades.

Perhaps Mr. Hoover is not personally responsible for the methods of the campaign being conducted for him in the south, but in this particular insult, his abrogation of the Wilson segregation order, deliberately, if not wittingly, invited it—Atlanta Constitution.

Marietta, Ga., Cobb County Times
Saturday, August 2, 1928

WHITE SUPREMACY

(Lawrenceville News-Herald)

"In the office of the Interstate Commerce department at Washington, of which Mr. Hoover is the head, over twenty negro men and women are working side by side with an equal number of white men and women, the women having the same toilet and rest room, and the men theirs together.

"During the world war, when feed commissioner Hoover brought the negroes and whites together in his numerous division headquarters and office rooms in Washington, fed them from the same table and using the same rest room, but when President Wilson learned the situation he immediately issued an order segregating the races.

"We do not believe that Secretary Hoover did these things for political expediency, but for the reason that he favors the absolute social equality of the races, which he has the unquestioned right to do, just as we have to abhor such a situation.

"White supremacy is the main issue in Georgia, and it is a thousand times more important than prohibition and religious creeds, neither of which will be, in the slightest degree, affected by the election of Governor Alfred E. Smith to the presidency. A great man, and an honest one, and the only democrat in the nation who would have the ghost of a chance of election."

Political-1928

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

The National Negro Political Outlook

After visiting the Negro division of the Republican headquarters in Washington and Chicago with the view of surveying the situation and rendering whatever service we could to those in charge, we decided to write an article approving the set-up in spite of what had been said to the contrary.

We felt that taking everything into consideration as Republicans we had nothing to gain and everything to lose by adverse criticism—and that it behooves us to make the best of a bad situation—if we found ourselves in one—but subsequent circumstances have made it expedient that we write according to developments since our survey. Whether those at the head of the party in the nation realize it or not, the situation so far as our group is concerned, is far from satisfactory, and the outlook is not at all encouraging for the party.

The situation does not grow out of the Negro's inclination to vote the Democratic ticket, or that he has lost interest in the Republican party, but that he feels that the Republican party has lost interest in him.

The Negro is just as much Republican as he ever was, but it is growing on him that those who control Republican affairs in these latter days are not so much Republican as those who controlled in former days, when the party sought votes and not races.

The Republican party cannot win in November without the Negro and those who are telling Mr. Hoover otherwise are either dishonest or suffering from an aggravated case of bad judgment. The Democrats North and South are putting on a terrific drive for Negro votes, and are doing everything they can to keep rum sheets like the New York World and Negro-hating sheets like the Atlanta Constitution from scaring them away, and bourbon democracy is making some headway with its drive because of a few fools and Negro novices who beleve that Mr. Raskob has barrels of money and that he is going to slop it out like a farmer feeds corn to his hogs in harvest time. What the Republicans want to do is to speed up and put on a drive now in dead earnest to arouse and organize the Negro vote throughout the country for Hoover and Curtis, and cut out the damn fool idea that the Negro must be relegated to the rear until the lily-whites can break the solid-South.

The Negro is far from being satisfied. While no greater number of them could vote for Negro-hating Democracy, thousands of them may not go to the polls on election day.

So let the Republicans get down to brass tacks and organize the Negroes from Maine to California and from the Lakes to the Gulf. Spare neither money nor men to put the job over. Don't insult the Negro management by offering it $150,000 to a million-dollar job. Give them the same discretion in the premises and aplenty latitude to use their own judgment and political foresight. The colored people are not satisfied, and don't you listen to the story that they are. It matters not what the present set-up says. They simply don't know what it is all about. Neither peace nor working order obtain among the personnel of the set-up.

We want Hoover and Curtis elected and nothing can do it except all the Republican forces pulling harmoniously together—the black and the white. Stop talking about this is a new day, and that the day of the old politician has passed. This is a day when it requires the combined wisdom and experience of all men young and old to put the proposition over. Any man who thinks otherwise is deceiving himself or is drunk with his own self-importance. If the set-up is not what we would have it, let us make it our ideal by supporting and cooperating with it. Let's hold the ropes for Hawkins and staff while they organize our forces to win. If the young men haven't the political wisdom to do the job, invite enough old men to turn the trick November 6th.

But the immediate emergency is to arouse the colored vote by obliterating the color line and turning Hawkins aloose to get votes for Hoover and Curtis anywhere he can. Stop dreaming about the solid-South and take care of the Negro in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, West Virginia, Ohio, Oklahoma and Tennessee. There is nothing in Dixie for Hoover and Curtis. The Negro holds the balance of the power in the big border states, and if he won't follow a voteless leadership, use common sense and give him a voting leadership. It is not persons or races or classes that the Republican party needs, or wants, but votes. Nothing else will count in November. Hence, let us get down to the every-day business of vote-getting.

We hope conditions in our group will so adjust themselves in short that we can write the article that we had in mind when we completed our rounds at the headquarters last week. But the hour is not yet. Let Chairman Work go out on a fact-finding mission in the Negro group with a view of analyzing the situation and applying the remedy.

IS THERE AN ALLIANCE WITH THE KLAN?

An Associated Press dispatch from Thorsby, in Chilton County, reporting the Hoover rally inaugurating the Republican campaign in Alabama, says:

> Speakers, present from various sections of the State, attacked the candidacy of Governor Al Smith, **paying especial attention to the religious issue.**
>
> O. D. Street, Republican National Committeeman, attacked newspapers of the State, charging that they "denounce the preachers who do not adhere to their views regarding Smith."

Some time ago C. B. Kennamer, United States District Attorney for the Northern District of Alabama, speaking at Gadsden, attacked Governor Smith on religious grounds.

Recently anonymous literature blackguarding the Roman Catholic Church has been coming into Alabama from blind addresses in New York and Detroit. From Detroit comes the spurious "Knights of Columbus Oath"—now known by all informed persons to be a downright, scoundrelly forgery—which apparently has been widely distributed in Alabama, and presumably other States as well.

The New York booklet discusses "two unwritten laws" in America, one that a President shall serve only two terms, a

second, that no Roman Catholic shall ever be President.

Anti-Catholic agents are roaming through Alabama distributing these vicious tracts and making scurrilous verbal attacks upon Governor Smith's church. These loathsome wretches in some instances, we are informed, represent themselves as "former Catholics."

It is significant that practically every politician in Alabama who has bolted the Democratic party to support Hoover against Smith is commonly regarded as a Ku Klux Klansman.

It is equally significant that every one of the weekly papers in Alabama that have declared against Smith is known for its Klan sympathies.

So much for the tale as it unfolds itself in Alabama. But there is news from other sectors in the long battle line in this "holy war."

In The Louisville Courier-Journal of August 10 is an editorial from which we quote as follows:

> What is the significance of the Republican County Administration's action in donating the Armory for a day to the Ku Klux Klan?
>
> That action is unprecedented here. The Klan heretofore has not had the open recognition of the governing authorities. But now the Armory, which belongs to the people of Jefferson County, is turned over free for the use of the Ku Klux Klan, which promptly announces that one of the uses to which it is to be put is to provide an auditorium for the exploitation of Heflin, the rabid ranter against the religion of one of the nominees for the Presidency.
>
> Is it possible that in making this astonishing innovation in the management of the Armory, the Republican County Commissioners have been influenced in any degree by the knowledge that we are having a campaign for the election of a President and that one of the methods employed by some of his opponents in attacking the Democratic nominee is by maligning his church, the sole occupation of Heflin?
>
> That query may do the Commissioners an injustice, but in the circumstances it is a natural and legitimate query.
>
> There are plenty of politicians in Louisville who are not above fighting a political opponent in this way; but certainly such disgraceful tacties not only have not the sanction, they have the strong disapproval, of Herbert Hoover.

The bolting bishops of the Methodist Church, South, and the bolting Baptist and Presbyterians are talking about prohibition, but they are thinking also about Al Smith's church—and at least one of them, Bishop Mouzon, has been frank enough to admit it. Recently he called upon Southern Methodist preachers to take up the Catholic question from their pulpits.

To what extent is the Republican party culpable in the premises? How far is the National leadership prepared to cooperate with Southern bigots? Is it consciously forming an alliance with the discredited and disgraced Ku Klux Klan in the Southern States? Is any of its money being used to pay for anti-papal tracts and to hire the tramps who are sneaking through the Southern States to blackguard Al Smith's church?

Yesterday Mr. Hoover disclaimed any sympathy with religious bigotry. In a mild sort of way he indirectly repudiated those supporters of his who are fighting Smith on religious grounds. This was a gallant thing to do; but it is clear that Mr. Hoover will have to go much further than he has gone in this matter. We believe that Herbert Hoover is above the vice of religious bigotry and that he has no respect for Ku Kluxism. But it is going to be necessary for him to repudiate the Klan in an explicit and emphatic manner. It is going to be necessary for him to disavow all responsibility for the anonymous vultures who, at the expense of some unknown person or organization, are mailing out costly anti-Catholic tracts in the interest of Hoover, and in disavowing such responsibility denounce these conspirators against the human conscience.

The suspicion grows that there are subterranean passages leading from some branch of the Republican National Committee to the lair of these firebrands and fanatics who are specializing in traducing Smith because of his religion.

For the sake of his own self-respect it will be necessary, we predict, for Mr. Hoover to speak more boldly and more emphatically than he has spoken, to allay this ugly suspicion. He has made a good beginning by declaring for toleration. It is The Advertiser's opinion that Hoover believes in and practices the principle of toleration. But we know that hundreds of his most active supporters are bigots and that a majority of the votes they win for Hoover in the South will be the votes of bigots.

WILSON REFUSES CAMPAIGN POST

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 29.—J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, wrote recently a letter to Dr. Hubert Work, chairman of the Republican campaign, in which he refused a position on the advisory committee of the colored voters' division, giving as his reason the loss by colored folk, under recent Republican administrations, of their civil rights, political representation and political leadership.

The refusal of Mr. Wilson to serve follows similar declarations by other leaders. Two weeks ago Carl Murphy, editor of The Baltimore Afro-American, declared editorially after seeing his name on the Republican advisory list, that The Afro had not declared for any candidate, but when it did, it would not be for Mr. Hoover.

The editor of The Indianapolis Recorder, an influential weekly in Indiana, declared editorially last week that he had not authorized the use of his name by the G. O. P.

Neval Thomas, Washington civic leader, only last week declared for Al Smith and several weeks ago, the Rt. Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, bishop of the New York area of the African Methodist Episcopal church, declared for the New York governor.

EDITOR BEN DAVIS, OF GEORGIA

Ben Davis, Negro Republican National Committeeman from Georgia, who delivered the Georgia delegation to Hoover at Kansas City, is also editor of The Atlanta Independent. In his latest issue, according to Julian Harris, editor of The Columbus Enquirer-Sun, he prints the names of the Republican candidates for electors. On this list are two well known Georgia women Democrats who were delegates to the Houston convention. They are, Mrs. Mary Harris Armour and Mrs. Marion Williams. He writes an editorial in support of the Hoover ticket from which we quote:

> Sometimes we may vote for a Democrat because of the man, but we can never vote for the Democratic party, so long as it stands for ignorance, meanness and race hatred as exemplified in Memphis, Texas, Georgia and Mississippi. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic party.
>
> Al Smith is no better than the Democratic party. His record does not disclose a single favor that he had done for negroes in New York. He (the negro) knows that the Democratic party is his sworn enemy.
>
> As infamous and as wrong and cowardly as lily-whiteism is, it is no worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic party against the American negro.

In his comment on this editorial, Mr. Harris says, in an article in The New York Times of last Sunday. "It is to be hoped that former Democrats who are now opposing the Democratic nominee will read Ben Davis's comments."

Church Refuses Post As G. O. P. Campaigner

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug 29.—Disapproval of the appointment by Dr. Hubert Work to the colored voters' division of the Republican presidential campaign, and his resignation as a member of that body because he believed the group was "unfitted," were voiced in a letter recently to Dr. Work by Robert R. Church, powerful political boss of Memphis, Tenn.

Excerpts from his letter to to Dr. Work in which he tells his reasons for his action follow:

"Announcement of my selection as a member of the executive committee of the Colored Voters division has been made. I am not insensible of the honor.

"Since, however, I cannot bring myself to endorse either the personnel of this committee or the method by which it was chosen, I am forced to decline the appointment and withdraw from membership thereupon.

Can't Influence Votes

"In no circumstance must I become a party to such a situation as is created for us in ignoring men and women who meet issues daily and create votes and elevating above them those who dodge isssues, cannot influence a single vote, have no voice to raise when we are assailed and are Republicans only once in every four years, and then only by appointment and by choice of the people.

"To the fortunes of Mr. Hoover I am devoted. Politically I am his follower and supporter. Personally I am his ardent admirer. Nothing that my hands can find to do to assisthim will remain undone. Nothing I can do in aid of you and your party will remain unperformed."

Republican leaders claim to be surprised at Mr. Church's action. They indicate that his reference is to Dr. Emmett J. Scott, secretary of Howard university, and Dr. John R. Hawkins, wealthy business man of Washington. Since both these men are residents of the District of Columbia, neither has a vote in any national election. Because of this Mr. Church evidently feels that they can influence no other voters.

Political – 1928.

Party Affiliation.

One Month After Houston

It is a month after Houston. Since that eventful session of the nation's Democrats, much has happened. The editor of this paper, who observed the proceedings there with no less interest than he watched the New York meeting four years ago and who fought against the present nominee of the party in both conventions, has viewed with absorbing interest the trend in American political affairs during the past few weeks, in which hectic period we have heard of new alignments all over the country; of a Democratic East and a Republican South; of prohibition being the principal issue, with the Republicans for, and the Democrats against; of religion; the race question; and other issues being involved—issues which are loaded with dynamite. And if the leaders of American thought and opinion do not watch their step, we are likely to have misunderstandings and bitterness which will sever friendships and bring schisms even in family circles.

One purpose of this editorial is to urge our people of the South to stop long enough to take stock of the situation; to think it out clearly in all its angles, and not to let hysteria, passion, or prejudice decide us in our final determination. We do not favor trying to use a big stick, or by conscription or proscription endeavor to keep anyone in either of the old parties. Every man and every woman is responsible only to his own God and his own conscience. This is a free country and we can do as we wish. We therefore do not consider seriously the idea of having "bolters' books" or otherwise keeping members of a party herded, or hurling anathemas at those who desert it for another party. Neither do we believe it is right to use the negro and his past political affiliations with the Republican party in the South as a lever to force people to vote the Democratic ticket. Some newspapers are stirring up racial feeling by using the past of the negro in politics as a club to drive wayward Democrats back into the fold. We shall never do that, for the splendid accord that exists between the white people of the South and the millions of good negroes should continue, and we shall attempt to promote a continuation of good feeling instead of feeding the fires of prejudice and passion.

What then is our duty, our own individual duty, to our state, to our country, to the principles of free government? Bearing in mind the principles which caused the barons to wrest Magna Charta from King John, that forced the Bill of Rights and prompted the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, we should search our consciences and see which of the two old parties comes nearer to exemplifying such principles. Coming down further in the history of our own government, let us decide which of the parties stands more staunchly for the principles for which our forefathers fought and died; principles enunciated by the glorious heroes of the South who fought for that nation which "rose so pure and white and fell so free from crime; which of the two stands for the principles of that nation which emancipated Cuba from the tyranny of Spain and under Woodrow Wilson's great leadership laid down the doctrine of the rights of small nations and helped make the world safe for democracy. If we weigh all these matters carefully in our minds and reach a sober, definite, unalterable decision, then we are responsible to our conscience and our Maker and to no one else.

What of the greatest moral issue that has ever faced the American people, that of national prohibition? Does the Democratic party stand against it as Mr. Raskob would have us believe? It is a bitter pill for those who for years have fought within the ranks of the party for the principle of prohibition to have the campaign manager of the party's duly accredited nominee speak of ridding the country of the "damnable affliction of prohibition".

Will Mr. Smith in his acceptance speech repudiate such a statement and lay down the principle that he expects to secure modification of the Volstead act, not through nullification, but through enforcement; will he say that he expects to enforce the law so rigorously that the country will demand that Congress repeal the bone dry act? A great deal depends upon how the campaign is to be pitched.

Those who would charge that every opponent of Mr. Smith in the South is an opponent on religious grounds and not because of his "wetness" are unfair, since the noble women who have fought for 50 years and more under the banner of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and hundreds of ministers of the gospel and other thousands of prohibitionists by conviction are absolutely sincere. They would oppose any "wet" candidate vigorously. It is possible that Governor Smith's speech of acceptance may change the views of some of them, and we hope that this will be a happy result.

As for ourselves we hope that Governor Smith will, if elected president, enforce the law as he says he will and that in his acceptance speech he will repudiate any statements to the contrary. Certainly, in absolute fairness, every one should await the acceptance speeches of the two candidates before making up his mind definitely, and also remember, there are other issues in this campaign besides prohibition.

Republican.

And now, in the face of defection in Democratic ranks of such outstanding leaders as Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, and Senator Simmons, of North Carolina, we take occasion to emphasize our position. Many of our fathers and grandfathers have given up too much in the name and for the sake of democracy for any of us to consider lightly the matter of forsaking it in its hour of need. Certainly we must be worthy sons of worthy sires. There is nothing, however, that we shall say either now or later that shall attempt to cast into outer darkness those who do not agree with us. After all, is a matter of what we consider our duty in the light of our conscience.

During the coming days, which are bound to be fraught with a certain amount of excitement, let us not in the frenzy of enthusiasm or in the heat of political passion, allow ourselves to forget and say and do things which we may later regret. Tolerance of the other person's viewpoint is a cardinal virtue. And let us remember, too, that we must live together in this country long after a certain Tuesday in next November. And may the South, of all sections of this country, strive for a leadership of thought in the minds of true men and women that will bring us safely through the crisis!

COMMITTEE SHOULD MEET

The Constitution has received numerous communications complaining of the failure of the state democratic executive committee to function in connection with the democratic primary to be held on September 11, 1928. Inquiries are made asking why no meeting of the state committee has been held, and whether the rules and regulations formulated by the committee for the conduct of primaries were intended to be automatically operative without direction by the committee.

Constitution 9-1-28

Specific attention has been repeatedly called to rule 18, which provides that—

"The chairman of the state democratic executive committee shall appoint a subcommittee of nine, of which the chairman and secretary of this body shall be members, to arrange and supervise all of the details of the primary elections and all conventions that may be held during the tenure of said committee. **Said subcommittee shall be charged with the responsibility of enforcing all the rules, regulations and resolutions of this committee** while said committee is not in actual session, and is empowered to make all other necessary rules and regulations with reference to said primary elections and conventions which are not inconsistent with the provisions of law or these resolutions. A majority of said subcommittee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business."

The Constitution is in receipt of a printed circular signed by a candidate for a high state office, and whose name appears on the official ballot, purporting to have been distributed with the authority of the state democratic executive committee, which circular is headed "Anti-Smith," and which proclaims the purpose of the candidate in question to vigorously support the republican candidate for president of the United States in opposition to the candidate nominated by the democratic party in its national convention.

Rule 5 of the primary rules and regulations, unanimously adopted by the state democratic executive committee, reads as follows:

"No person shall be deemed a candidate in said primary unless he is legally qualified to hold the office for which he announces, **is a valid member and adherent of the democratic party in both state and national politics**, and pays the assessments hereinafter prescribed, by the time hereinafter named."

Rule 2 provides as follows:

"All white electors who are democrats and qualified to vote in the general elections **who, in good faith, will pledge themselves to support the democratic candidates for all offices to be voted on this year, are hereby declared qualified to vote in said primary, and the act of voting in said primary shall constitute the aforesaid pledge.**"

Investigation shows that the official ballot heretofore referred to was prepared by the chairman and secretary of the state committee, as provided by rule 4, but without submitting to the state committee or its subcommittee any question of qualifications raised under rules 2 and 5 above quoted.

The rules of the state committee specifically provide for called meetings of the state committee, as follows:

"The secretary or chairman of the committee shall mail written notices to all members in advance of called meetings, notifying members of the time and place where such meetings

shall be held. Called meetings shall be held upon such notice upon the direction of the chairman of the committee, and called meetings shall be held whenever and wherever a quorum of the members of the committee shall deliver to the chairman or secretary of the committee a written request for such meeting."

We have been unable to locate among the records of the democratic party in Georgia any instance in which the state democratic executive committee, after calling a state primary, has failed to meet in full committee, or through its delegated subcommittee, to make all necessary provisions for the conduct of the primary, including the essential provision of qualification.

Certainly no party emergency has ever been presented in Georgia which demanded more imperatively party action through its duly constituted committee on the question of qualification of candidates seeking the suffrage of participators in the democratic primary.

It may be conceded that unusual conditions pertaining to the national campaign have, to some extent, subordinated popular interest in the state primary to the more general interest of democrats and republicans in the general election, but genuine democrats throughout the state are not overlooking the fact that the primary to be held on September 12 is for the sole purpose of selecting democratic candidates for United States senator, governor, attorney general, secretary of state, comptroller general, state treasurer, commissioner of agriculture, state superintendent of education, commissioner of commerce and labor, prison commissioners, public service commissioners, judges of the court of appeals, justices of the supreme court, representatives in congress, judges of the superior courts and solicitor generals, state senators and representatives and candidates for all other offices to be filled in the general election of this year, and are not overlooking the fact that the rules of the state committee specifically prescribe that no elector shall vote in the primary except democrats who, in good faith, will pledge themselves to support the democratic candidates for all offices to be voted on this year, and that no candidate is qualified unless he is a valid member and adherent of the democratic party in both state and national politics.

The immediate importance of a meeting of the state or subcommittee is emphasized by the fact that "The Hoover Bulletin of Georgia," published and widely distributed in the interest of the republican party, conspicuously carries an article signed "G. E. Maddox, chairman state democratic executive committee," headed "Democrats not bound by rules of party in national election," which purports to emanate from Mr. Maddox, but which is printed with the following introduction: "No democratic voter in Georgia will be ruled out of the democratic party if he desires to vote the republican ticket in November, according to the interpretation of the primary rules by Ed Maddox, chairman of the state democratic executive committee."

While the text of the communication expresses the personal view of its author, that "a participant in the coming state primary is pledged only to support nominees of that primary," the communication as printed in the Hoover organ carries the official signature, "chairman state democratic executive committee."

The title page of "The Hoover Bulletin" is ornamented with the slogans, "Elect Herbert Hoover president," "Beat Alfred E. Smith for president" and "News bulletin for all individuals and groups working for the election of Herbert Hoover to the presidency of the United States."

Whatever may be the personal views of the chairman of the state democratic executive committee, the rules unanimously adopted by the committee itself are so clear and explicit as to leave no room for doubt that the committee itself, in formulating these rules, **did not contemplate any possible condition under which the rules could be ignored and defied by the qualification of a candidate in the democratic primary who boldly proclaims his unalterable purpose to aid in the defeat of the democratic national nominee for president,** by openly campaigning for the election of the republican nominee.

In any event, in justice to the democratic party in Georgia, and especially in justice to every individual member of the committee, including its chairman, a meeting of the state democratic executive committee should be called promptly by the chairman, in order that all of its members may be afforded an opportunity to vote their official expression concerning the qualification rules created by them.

If candidates who publicly proclaim their hostility to the democratic nominee and their loyalty to the nominee of the republican party shall be permitted to participate in democratic primaries, then the primary system in Georgia, having lost its usefulness as a vehicle for party expression, will be abandoned as a political farce.

Democrats in Georgia who believe in the protection afforded under the primary system have no other possible avenue of relief than by a prompt meeting of the state committee, and it is to be hoped that its distinguished chairman, regardless of his own personal views in the premises, will measure up to his party responsibility by ordering a called meeting of the committee without delay.

WALTER WHITE SAID TO HAVE DECLINED POST

"Al's" Democratic Campaign Leader Has Not Been Yet Named

SMITH UNWILLING TO SIGN A DECLARATION

New Yorkers Urging Tammany To Name A Magistrate

The American

NEW YORK — Walter White, assistant secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. is unofficially reported to have declined to head "Al" Smith's Campaign to attract colored voters.

8-11-28

Robert J. Nelson, D. C. "Eagle" editor, is also mentioned in connection with campaign leadership.

Unwillingness of Smith's advisers to have him make public his stand on the race question is said to have been the reason.

Such a public utterance as Smith was requested to make would have him pledge himself, if elected, to make no discrimination in the treatment of Negroes as citizens. His advisers claim such a statement would lose him more votes in the South than he would otherwise gain.

What reference, if any, Smith plans to the race question is awaited in his notification speech.

An article appearing in the New York Times this week details the potential power of the Negro vote, state by state, and says that Republican leaders are worried over the move that is being made by John J. Raskob, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, to corral the Negro vote for Smith.

Rascob is to make every effort to line the colored vote behind Governor Smith in the East, West and border states with a large colored population.

Magistrate

As a result of Raskob's drive for the colored vote, Negroes in Harlem are insisting that George Olvany, "Tammany boss," name a colored man at one as magistrate in Harlem. Leaders in Harlem say that they are going to point out to Governor Smith and Olvany the wisdom of making such an appointment now.

NEGROES MUST NOT VOTE IN DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, WHITE DAILY

Memphis, Tenn., August 6.—(By A. N. P.)—Everything is being done here to prevent Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary which will be held here this week. The efforts of those opposing the participation of the colored brother in the Democraitc primary have taken many forms the most noticeable of which was a photograph run on the editorial page of the Memphis Commercial-Appeal, showing a white man instructing a Negro woman how to vote and two Negro men marking the ballot.

This photograph is headlined "This Must Not Happen Again in Memphis" and in the article thereunder, it is declared that the Negroes are voting for Hill McAllister, who sought the office of Governor of Tennessee in the last election and who is seeking the Democratic nomination in the primary. The daily paper declares that "The Commercial-Appeal" on Thursday will have reporters with cameras at precincts where fraud is usually most flagrant. Photographs of machine voted Negroes in a Democratic primary may be useful in an emergency such as a federal investigation."

Whites After Church

On the Republican side of the fence, a group of white Republicans are out after the scalp of Robert R. Church, the recognized political leader of this section. A petition circulated here Friday and Saturday urged that Mr. Church be defeated as a member of the State Republican executive committee. Leaders here, however, predict that the lily whites will be defeated in their efforts and Mr. Church will be elected by an overwhelming majority.

FROM AN IRRECONCILABLE

Editor The Advertiser:

In your editorial, "Mr. Hoover and the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill," in last Sunday's Advertiser, you mentioned the names of Senators Underwood and Harrison who fought the bill.

Why do you omit the name of Senator Borah and other Republicans who made speeches in the Senate and voted for the defeat of the bill?

People with as much good sense and as well informed as those who edit and publish newspapers in the once "Solid South," knew as well before as now that the ideals of Tammany Hall are not the ideals of the "Solid South," and that the day Gov. Smith was nominated a bitter fight would open right here among a people who have always been loyal, always fought side by side, always stuck to the nominee and always been a political nonentity in national politics

The truth of the whole matter is that Tammany Hall now has the Democratic party, lock, stock and barrel.

The separation of life-long white political friends and comrades makes a sad picture—a condition that makes these same editors and publishers, (who are innocent of producing the conditions) turn their guns on the departing brothers, is unthinkable. But when big Tammany said, "Do it," the little Tammanies answered, "Yea, Lord."

Gov. Smith is not responsible for mixed schools and "social equality" in New York, as charged, except that so far as I know, he has done nothing to better conditions.

Democratic Grover Cleveland, while Governor signed the bill that abolished separate schools for the races in New York. Social equality? Yes, they begin in the tender age of the child. If it suits those people, I do not object.

President Cleveland also wrote Fred Douglas, negro (and whose second wife was a white woman of Western New York) personal invitations to attend White House functions. Compare appointments for the last 60 years, and see if others than Republicans do not play politics.

I am not a member of the Ku Klux Klan and never was, nor do I believe that all the anti-Smith people are bad, as some would have us believe. Possibly, when the extremists of both sides begin to call each other liars we will then get more truth and personally, I think that the best lesson a child can be taught is to look for the truth, love it, live it and defend it.

Is it true, as charged, that Tammany Hall has a negro political organization in each of the 48 States? If so, what have they been promised? If not, why did nobody under the sun ever hear of a Democratic negro until this year of our Lord 1928?

And if not, why have the Democrats of the Congress? Twelfth Missouri District nominated a negro for

W. E. GLOVER.

Haleburg, Ala.

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

East Tennessee News Editor Characterizes Bob's Attack On Hawkins' Committee As Selfish

CHICAGO, ILL., August 28.—More than 200 colored political leaders representing various state organizations, civic and fraternal bodies, assembled Friday, and Saturday at the Wendell Phillips High School and organized the National Negro Voters League. Hon. J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, was chosen permanent chairman and presided over the sessions.

While the representative men and women of the racial group were of one accord that the Negro is not getting all that is due him from the officials in charge of our government, the eloquent speeches sent forth by the several men called upon to address the audience pledged support to the Grand Old Party and declared republicanism is the only party that the race can look to for the desired recognition and relief from the conditions complained of.

TENNESSEE EDITOR FLAYS BOB CHURCH.

Just as Chairman Finley Wilson was introducing Attorney Webster L. Porter, editor of The Knoxville, East Tennessee News, to speak, some one sitting near the well known Tennessean handed him a copy of the issue of the Chicago Defender, pointing to the article outlining a statement issued by Robert R. Church, of Memphis, Tenn., in which he offered his resignation.

After lauding the party of Lincoln and Douglass and issuing a forceful plea to the women and men who represented the leaders of the race to throw their undivided support to the Republican party in the campaign that is now being waged, the versatile young orator raised a copy of the Chicago paper containing the resignation of Church and proceeded to denounce the action of the West Tennessean as the finest example of ingratitude that has come to the attention of the public in recent years.

The large audience listened with rapt attention as the East Tennessee editor, referred to by the chairman as the "tall sycamore from the mountains of East Tennessee," declared:

"The recent letter of Robert R. Church, of Memphis, to officials in charge of the National Republican Campaign, in which he offers his resignation as a member of the committee of colored men and women selected to wage a campaign among the Negro racial group in the United States, was an exhibition of the grossest kind of ingratitude that we have seen in recent years.

"Bob is a Tennessean and we regret exceedingly that it has become necessary to direct attention to the selfishness and childish whims of the Shelby Countian, especially when the need is so thoroughly evident for the forces to pull together if Mr. Hoover is to carry that state.

"The storm center of West Tennessee's political activities for years has long been referred to as the leader of Negro politics in the state and the national leaders have exhibited an inclination to put him to the fore as concerns the group's activities. In view of such a leadership, Mr. Church has been in a position to render the race inestimable service. We have observed his tactics and, while we have never been impressed with his ability to lead, we have refrained from registering criticism, fearful lest some should misconstrue our motives. We felt that the young man was passing over the rugged shoals and that eventually the jolts and tossings that he received would knock some of the jagged selfish edges from his form, and when he might strike the calm waters where sailing would be smooth, he would forget self and then pull off his coat, roll up his sleeves and register contentions for some worthwhile recognition for the group which he represented," the speaker declared.

"Not so, however, for even at this time when honor after honor has been conferred upon the Shelby Countian and the reins of leadership have been placed in his hands for many years, we find him playing the role of a baby—whining and crying, as he offers his resignation as a member of the committee to aid in bringing about the election of Herbert Hoover, as president of the United States, offering only as an excuse the lack of experience and absence of previous political activity on the part of Dr. John R. Hawkins, Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Dr. Robert R. Moton, and others of the earnest, efficient and unselfish men and women named to aid in the campaign."

"Such an attitude," said Editor Porter, "is exhibited by Mr. Church right at the most crucial moment of the campaign, and we contend that his action savors of extreme selfishness apparently based on his not having been selected to head the campaign for the group. His action in this instance is typical of his attitude in practically every other instance that has arisen where the question of leadership existed, both in Tennessee and the nation. Bob has been the storm center in many, many contests for positions of state committeeman and other recognition at the hands of the republican party. Conventions and committee meetings that have been held, devoted hours of their time to the contention for personal position coming from Bob and his henchmen. The press has devoted front page space to his contests and in most cases he has been accorded the desired recognition. We have yet to see, for the very first time, what good has come to the Negro racial group because of Bob's elevation to leadership.

LIKENED TO SEAL.

"The situation takes on the appearance of the big seal exhibited by the circus. The large inhabitant of the water flounders about in the improvised pool, splashes the water right and left until the keeper tosses him a raw fish and then calmly dozes away on the ledge of the pool. Bob rants and snorts for position of leader. He expends countless energy in his efforts to gain position and when such is given him he folds his arms and offers nothing in return but a billiken smile, which is so much in evidence across his widely proclaimed handsome physiognomy.

DECLARES CHURCH ILL ADVISED.

"Bob Church has been ill-advised," Editor Porter declared, "and in following the advice of the disgruntled faction that suggested this most recent exhibition of selfishness and ingratitude, we are of the opinion that he has rendered himself wholly unfit for further recognition at the hands of either the republican party or the racial group of which he is a part.

"When one notes the flimsy reasons advanced by Bob for his refusal to serve as a member of the campaign committee, the situation appears all the more ridiculous. What one of the outstanding white men who have been selected by the republican and democratic parties is more widely experienced and capable of generaling the forces among the members of their racial group than is John R. Hawkins, Emmett J. Scott or Robert R. Moton? Who could be selected from among the so-called leadership who has enjoyed more success as organizers of human forces than these three men? They have rendered worthwhile service for many years. Each has been successful in his chosen profession, rising into confidence and esteem because of the unselfish and efficient service rendered, which has been accompanied by worthwhile promotions and recognition that usually follows unselfish service. The reputation of these men for unquestioned ability, honesty and sterling character is undisputed. Therefore, we are at a loss to understand just what other qualifications Mr. Church would suggest as being necessary for leadership of the campaign forces other than those possessed by Drs. Hawkins, Scott and Moton.

LINKED UP WITH HOWARD AND DAVIS.

"Will Chairman Work," the speaker questioned, "and other of the officials heading the organization accord a moment's consideration to the fallacious contention of Bob Church, in which he seeks to discredit the leadership of Hawkins, simply because he and others of his committee have not hobnobbed in the hog wallow of political activity in previous years along with Perry Howard, Ben Davis and himself? The fact that this new leadership has kept itself aloof from the selfish and questionable operations of the so-called 'Old Guard' should be sufficient reason within itself to be placed at the head.

"The fact is the 'Old Guard' is dying hard. Perry, Ben, Bob, et. al., had been holding the teat so long that it had almost grown to their upturned lips and the delicate surgical operation performed by Dr. Work and the other leaders of the republican campaign committee, proved exceedingly painful. So much so that they are now squealing and offering such rot as that advanced by Church against the capable and well qualified men already selected for work among the colored group.

"Bob and Perry and Ben were given their day and they failed miserably as concerns the rendering of worthwhile service to an oppressed group which they were appointed to represent. While legislation such as the bill to suppress lynching came up in the halls of our law making bodies and at the times when such important measures needed the un-

divided support of all Negroes, these fellows were conspicuous by their absence. They were so busy in an effort to have themselves placed in positions of honor and where they could feather their own nests by having themselves appointed to office that they completely lost sight of the interests of the group that was so needful of their influence. Now it is, as the 'Old Guard' is being dethroned, that the race is exhibiting a hands-off attitude."

VIRGINIA LEADER SPEAKS.

Other speakers who issued eloquent and forceful addresses before the convention were Hon. W. B. F. Crowell, grand chancellor Knights of Pythias, of Virginia; Hon. William Warley, editor of the Louisville News, Kentucky; Hon. Martin Fleming, alderman of Cleveland, Ohio; Hon. John L. Webb, of Hot Springs, Ark., and Hon. Homer Phillips, prominent attorney of St. Louis, Mo.

The executive committee of the National Negro Voters League, at the close of the session Saturday, immediately began to organize on a national basis, with delegates from the various states as a nucleus of state and city organization. This organization will comprise a national committee, made up of a committeeman and committeewoman from each state through whom the city units will be organized in their jurisdictions. This organization will proceed under direction of W. C. Hueston of Gary, Ind., chairman of the national committee.

Officers of the National Negro Voters League elected Friday were: J. Finley Wilson, president, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Grace Wilson Evans, vice-president, Terre Haute, Indiana; Charles P. Howard, secretary, Des Moines, Iowa; William M. McDonald, treasurer, Fort Worth, Texas; W. C. Hueston, chairman national committee, Gary, Indiana.

Among others in attendance were Sydney B. Thompson, Alderman Thomas W. Fleming, Mrs. Carrie Lowery, Ansel Chambers, Clarence Veney, Ohio; Frank Sutton, Jack Houston, Thomas H. Browne, Dr. Frank L. Bishop, Mrs. Abbie M. Johnson, Charles W. Gant, Pennsylvania; John T. Brewington, Guy U. Blaine, Dr. D. T. Cardwell, C. P. Richardson, Harry St. Clair, Indiana; Caesar R. Blake, Rev. George W. Avant, Zeke Alexander, E. H. Copeland, C. C. Valle, North Carolina; Biliy King, T. P. King, Mrs. Anna Vandenberg, Mrs. Ella G. Berry, Mrs. Joanna C. Snowden, Illinois; C. Henri Lewis, Cecil Rowlette, Brazil J. Bryant, Michigan; Charles W. French, Samuel Parker, Kansas; W. B. Driver, J. E. Kelly, Alabama; John L. Webb, C. M. Wade, Arkansas. Emory V. Crain, California. Octavia Washington, Dr. E. J. Gregg, Maryland; Florence Jackson, Massachusetts; Homer G. Phillips, Mrs. Myrtle Foster Cook, Edward L. Snider, Missouri; J. G. Brown, W. J. Shepherd, Iowa, William Warley, Kentucky; Benjamin J. Davis, Dr. H. P. Butler, Georgia; Dr. W. D. Thomas, Louisiana; Charles E. Mitchell, West Virginia; C. Tiffany Tolliver, W. B. F. Crowell, Mrs. Emma V. Kelly, Mrs. Mamie Hodges, Virginia; Webster L. Porter, George W. Lee, Tennessee; Perry W. Howard, Thomas I. Keys, John K. McMiller, Dr. B. H. Dilworth, Dr. W. D. Kyle, Mississippi; A. P. Scruggs, Ole W. Jackson, Nebraska; Louis E. Williams, John Duncan, Ethel Fraser, New York.

The Southern Bishops

THE war of Southern bishops over the wetness of Governor Smith is more than a side-show or a fight between Dry and ultra-Dry Democrats. It is a serious challenge to that trinity of social attitudes which rules the South, loyalty to the Protestant church, allegiance to the Democratic Party, and "keeping the nigger in his place." These three things have gone together so consistently in Southern life that a "nigger lover," a Catholic, or a Republican has, in many sections, had no chance whatever of success.

Now come a number of ultra-respectable leaders of Southern Protestantism who say frankly that they are going to bolt the Democratic ticket and vote for Hoover. They take this unprecedented step in the name of their hatred for the liquor traffic. Whatever may be the justice of their cause, we rejoice that they are smashing the political prejudices which made the Solid South solid. One of those prejudices was given a painful blow when the Democrats nominated a Catholic. Now another is threatened when a large number of native Southerners announce their intention of voting for a Republican. There is hope that a new wind of reality will blow through Southern political life.

The main question concerning the challenge of the ultra-Dry bishops is still to be answered. Will they dare to permit the Negroes to vote with them for the Republican ticket? Clearly they need the Negro vote to win, and many of the Negroes would like to give that vote. If a fair and free election were taken in the South, the Negro vote might be the deciding factor. Our guess is that the ultra-Dry bishops will never open their mouths about the Negro vote. To doubt the justice of white supremacy as it is now practiced in the South is a greater sin in the eyes of most Southern people than anything mentioned in the Decalogue. If the Hoover Democrats should venture to suggest the possibility of Negro support for their cause, the resulting tidal wave of racial fear would undoubtedly swamp them.

Bishop Warren Candler of the Methodist Church South and the Coca Cola family does not mention the Negro vote in discussing this subject. He chides his brethren for using the church openly to fight against Governor Smith. "Do not preach politics," he says, in quoting an old episcopal letter. "You have no commission to preach politics. The divinity of the church is never more strikingly displayed than when it holds on its ever straightforward way in the midst of worldly commotions."

With the bishop's attitude toward Governor Smith we are not concerned here, but since when has the Methodist Church South held to a straightforward way in the midst of worldly commotions? In the Civil War the Southern Methodists stood for the South and slavery; in the World War they stood for Wilson and the Allies; in the present controversy in the South over the eleven-hour day and twelve-hour night in cotton mills at least one church conference has espoused the cause of the mill-owners.

Bishop Candler, who leads the regular Democratic section of the Methodist Church South against Bishop James Cannon and his pro-Hoover associates, is quite willing to mix in economic and political controversies when he is on the dominant, conservative side. He favored compulsory military training at Emory University when he was chancellor, and he kept Debs from speaking on the campus of that institution in 1920 by charging that students who petitioned for the right to hear Debs "had tried to take the escutcheon of honor of this institution into their hands and stain it in dishonor by having a jailbird enter our midst." When the leaders of the American (Southern) Cotton Manufacturers' Association met recently in Richmond they were treated to a splendid eulogy from Bishop Candler, who praised them for giving their workers every educational, social, and spiritual advantage. The fact was not mentioned that these manufacturers pay their workers the lowest wages and work them the longest hours of any large manufacturing industry in the United States.

As between Bishop Candler, who appears to be wholly consumed with Pentecostal yearning, and Bishop Cannon, who says he is out to demolish Al Smith, we prefer Bishop Cannon, though he ought not to be so shocked at the thought of Roman Catholics likewise seeking their ends through politics. Why shouldn't a bishop go into politics if a moral issue is involved? And where can a political situation be found in which there is not a moral issue of some sort? Almost every aspect of moral life is conditioned by political habits and institutions, and the preacher who is interested in the moral life of the community cannot stay out of politics. He may take the plunge into politics as a non-partisan, or he may indorse one party as against another. In either case he is to be judged, as any other citizen is judged, by his knowledge of facts and the reasoned truth of his utterance.

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Upheaval Occurs In South Carolina G. O. P.

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Columbia, S. C., March 12.—For the first time in the past twenty years the leadership of Joseph W. Tolbert in the State Republican ranks has been challenged and threatened and "an opposition ticket" has been elected. This followed in the wake of what has ben termed the "dirtiest deal and the biggest steamroller feat ever accomplished in a Republican State Convention.

At the outset of the convention it was evident that the well oiled Tolbert machine was in the usual working order and there was little indication that there would be any slip up. The monkey wrench was thrown into the machinery when the Rev. J. C. White, who had been designated as temporary chairman, permitted Attorney N. J. Frederick to speak.

This happened after the various committees had been appointed by National Committeeman Tolbert, who opened the convention with a ringing address in which he declared that the Republican party was the party of all people and not solely of the Negro race. Attorney Frederick, who gained fame by his efforts to bring the Aiken lynchers to justice, ascended the platform amid the cheers of the entire convention.

The hall resounded with cheers for "Frederick" and "We Want Frederick." The brilliant attorney challenged the leadership of "Tireless Joe" Tolbert and urged the convention to throw off "the yoke of Tolbert domination" and to foster the leadership of Negroes as Georgia and Mississippi had done." Following his address, a white man by the name of Karnes ascended the platform and attempted to refute the arguments as set forth by Frederick, but the seed had been sown.

When the committee returned and made its report, the following candidates were pronounced elected amid a pandemonium of "cat calls and nayes:" Joseph W. Tolbert, John H. Goodwin, Samuel Leaphart, and W. S. Dixon. Both tickets will favor Herbert Hoover for president.

The election drew fire and L. A. Hawkins of this city submitted an opposition ticket which was elected as follows: Dr. W. M. Porter, Dr. R. J. Wilson, E. R. Riley, and J. Y. Mayes. In opening the second election, Hawkins declared that the Tolbert election was illegal and that there would be a real contest at the National Republican Convention.

The aftermath has brought forth serious criticism of both Tolbert and Rev. White. The latter has been urged to denounce the election of the Tolbert ticket, but has steadfastly refused to do so. While few believe the contest will overthrow the Tolbert faction it is believed to sound the end of Tolbert's reign in the state.

Delegation

NEW ORLEANS, La. Mar. 14—A preliminary injunction enjoining and restraining Walter Cohen comptroller of customs and his followers from acting with the Republican state central committee and from naming delegates to the National Republican Convention at Kansas City next June, was made permanent Friday by Judge Wm. H. Byrnes, J., in civil district court. Mr. Cohen, through his attorney, W. O. Hart, said he will appeal to the supreme court.

Eleven Republican committeemen affiliated with the faction represented by Emile Kuntz applied to the state court for the injunction.

PERRY HOWARD AND COHEN GROUPS ARE DEALT WITH CRUSHING BLOWS

Injunction Against Colored Republicans is Made Permanent by Chancellor's Decision

G. O. P. "LILY WHITES" WIN

See Uselessness in Taking Case to Supreme Court. Negroes to be Missing in

HATTIESBURG, Miss., March 14—Waging a battle against overwhelming odds the representatives of the thousands of colored Americans in the State lost in an effort to retain their right to political privileges as the result of a decree issued to "lily white" Republicans of the state. The action practically bars Negroes of the state from participating in the activities of the Republican party and thus excludes them from all political rights as they have no representation in the Democrat party.

Overrules Motion

The crushing blow dealt the Negro voters of Mississippi came as the climax of a bitter fight between the colored voters, led by Perry W. Howard, National Republican Committeeman and assistant in the U. S. Attorney General's office, and "lily whites." The "lily whites" sought to restrain Mr. Howard and his colleagues from holding or participating in the convention within the state for electing delegates to the National Convention, and from representing themselves as the Republican party in Mississippi. A temporary injunction was granted against the Howard faction at a recent hearing in the case was appealed. Friday Chancellor T. Price Dale handed down a decision in which he overruled a motion to dissolve the injunction, thus making it permanent.

To Go To Highest Tribunal

The Howard faction made an almost useless last effort to stave off the affront of their opponents following the decision Friday. Their counsel immediately filed an appeal motion and announced that the case would be carried to the State Supreme Court. A cost bond of $500 was set by the chancellor. The complainants were placed under a $10,000 bond as long as the injunction is valid.

Whites Rejoice

The "lily whites" laughed up their sleeves," so to speak, at the last effort of the Howard group for the National Republican Convetnion will have passed into history by the time a decision can be obtained from the appeal to the Supreme Court.

The leader of the "lily whites," George L. Sheldon, former governor of Nebraska and now a Delta planter said after the verdict was received that his group, known as the S[illegible] Republican Council expects to [illegible] general mass meetings in every [illegible]ty in the state in order to set up [illegible] party machinery and se'ect del[illegible] to the state and national conve[illegible] Such actions will result in Mi[illegible]pi's Republican delegation bein[illegible] posed entirely of whites for t[illegible] time in years.

"LILY WHITES" ATTEMPT TO OUST NEGROES THROUGH COURTS

Wresting control of the Republican party from Negroes in southern states by court injunctions is the latest effort of "lily-whites," according to information reaching here Tuesday.

Court injunctions against the regular Republican organizations have been obtained by "lily-white" Republicans in the states of Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia, the last strongholds of Negro Republicans.

In other southern states where the Negro has already been eliminated as a factor in Republican affairs, efforts are being made to keep him out of all conventions and bar his election as a delegate to county, district, state and national conventions.

The "lily-white" Republicans are being supplied with funds to carry on their fight from an unknown source. The favor with which the Herbert Hoover candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination is meeting in the south gives rise to the belief that these funds are coming from those who are backing the Secretary of Commerce.

Negroes Unyielding

Colored Republicans are unyielding. They intend to carry the fight through the courts and to the Republican national convention in Kansas City, Mo., in June, and force the Republican party to declare whether it sanctions the elimination of the colored Republicans from the party councils.

The fight of the "lily-whites" is directed mainly at Walter L. Cohen in Louisiana, Perry W. Howard in Mississippi, and Benjamin Jefferson Davis in Georgia. Emil Knutz, the Republican national committeeman for Louisiana, has joined forces with the "lily-whites" in their efforts to eliminate Mr. Cohen as a delegate to the national convention.

In Mississippi a chancery court judge at Hattiesburg has enjoined the regular Republican organization headed by Mr. Howard from holding its county, district and state conventions in accordance with the calls originally issued for these meetings. The prospect of contesting "lily-white" and "black and tan" delegations at the next convention rises.

In Georgia where the most harmonious Republican state convention in the history of the party in that state was held, the "lily-whites" have obtained an injunction to restrain the delegates from attending the national convention.

HEADS OF ELKS, GREAT FRATERNAL ORGANIZATION, CALL ON MEMBERS TO FIGHT SEC. OF INTERIOR

MIGHT BE G.O.P. NATIONAL CHAIRMAN IF HOOVER IS NOMINATED

What is at once the most startling piece of news and the most outstanding of the week, is the action of the National heads of the Elks—I. B. P. O. E. W.—one of the largest fraternal organizations of the race, in denouncing Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and probable National Chairman of the Republican Party if Herbert Hoover is nominated for the Presidencey on the Republican ticket.

News

The Elks are very progressive and do more than "take care of the sick and bury the dead". They have a Civil Liberties Commission, among other activities, whose duty it is to wach out for the rights of the Negro race.

3-17-28

Robert J. Nelson is Executive Director and he with representatives of other organizations called on Mr. Hubert Work to demand that segregation of Negroes in his department be stopped. Mr. Work flatly refused their demands.

Louisville, Ky.

So Mr. Nelson in his capacity as Executive Director of the Elks Civil Liberties Commission is calling on all Elks to stop Mr. Work and in hitting Mr. Work he hits Mr. Hoover because Mr. Work is Mr. Hoover's Campaign Manager.

The Elks are 100,000 strong in this country. If they heed Mr. Nelson's call it will be a serious jolt to the Hoover candidacy.

Here is Mr. Nelson's defi:

Commission On Civil Liberties
I. B. P. O. E. W.
Office of
Executive Director
907 You St. N. W.
Washington, D. C.

March 9, 1928.

To the Officers and Members of the I. B. P. O. E. of W., Greeting:

For some time past this Commission, in cooperation with the local organization of the N. A. A. C. P. and the Equal Rights League, has been waging a persistent and aggressive fight against segregation in the several departments under the administration of President Coolidge The fight has been centered particularly on the Interior and the Treasury Department. We succeeded in breaking down segregation in the Pension Bureau and hadhoped to have it broken down in the Land Office of the Interior Department of which Hubert Work is the Secretary. Mr. Work flatly refuses to repeal the order establishing segregation in the Land Office of his Department.

As citizens of this country with rights equal to those of any other citizens, I am requesting that each lodge have resolutions adopted in the lodge in regular session and forward to the Congressman of your district asking that he bring the matter to the attention of the President to the end that he issue an executive order abolishing segregation in the several departments under his administration.

Segregation is not a local Washington matter. Washington as the seat of the National government makes segregation and discrimination of all kinds a matter of concern to every Negro in the country.

Your cooperation in this matter will be appreciated and by having your lodge pass the kind of resolution above mentioned you will be rendering a patriotic service to your race.

Act at your next meeting!

Fraternally Yours,
Robert J. Nelson,
Executive Director,
Elks Civil Liberties Commission.

Following in the wake of Mr. Nelson's strong statement, The Washington Eagle, official organ of the Elks, edited by Hon. J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler, says:

Department Segregation

The attitude of Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior Department, with respect to abolishing segregation in the Land Office of his department, should meet the hearty condemnation of colored people in all parts of the country. When the committee waited on him several days ago and asked him what he was going to do , he frankly told this committee that the segregation would stand.

Here is a head of a department under the Federal government who holds an important executive position telling freemen that an order which is un-American, and which discriminates against a certain group will stand and that they must be considered as pariahs in the service of a government which they help to maintain by their taxes now, and for which in time of war, they bravely fought to repel their country's enemies.

Hubert Work, the present Secretary of the Interior, has been holding office under the past two Republican administrations. We have never heard of any special service he rendered to the party, nor have we heard of him possessing outstanding qualifications which would fit him for the office he now holds, or the one he held before he was ctapaulated into the present one in which he rattles around, and in which he has the opportunity to wave the big stick of discrimination.

Were he the possessor of any statesmanship, had he any regard for the traditions of the Republican party in which he masquerades as a member, he would not flaunt his manifest hate for the Negro.

He is said to be high up in the councils of Herbert Hoover as aspirant for the Presidency on the Republican ticket. It has been said that in the event of Hoover's nomination Work will be the national chairman. Should such an eventuality occur the Republican party will be freighted and handicapped with a chairman who will be the subject of attack from those colored people who will fight to the bitter end Negro baiters, segregationists and lily-whites.

If the present outfit now masquerading under the name of Republican thinks of the Negro as it did twenty-five years ago it is due to a rude awakening. If they want segregation to be the issue in the next campaign, we are ready.

Political 1928

Party Affiliation.

Repubs Pledge Hoover Support

Fourteen Delegates Go To Commerce Secretary

By ATTICUS MULLIN

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., May 16.—Not a ripple appeared on the surface during a two-hour session of the state Republican convention here Wednesday afternoon at which Herbert Hoover was endorsed for the presidential nomination, four Hoover delegates at large chosen, and National Committeeman Oliver D. Street was endorsed.

Correction

The selection of four Hoover delegates at the convention Wednesday chalks up 14 of the 15 Republican delegates from Alabama for Hoover. One delegate from the Tenth District was instructed by his district convention for Lowden.

5-17-28

It was whispered around the hotel lobbies Wednesday morning that there was a possibility of a scrap in the convention that would be started by the delegates from the Tenth Congressional District especially directed against the ruling Republican powers in Alabama. But not a voice was raised. President Coolidge's administration was emphatically endorsed, Herbert Hoover was endorsed, Committeeman O. D. Street was endorsed and State Chairman Swan was endorsed.

Ex-Gov. W. L. Harding of Iowa delivered an address to the convention and lauded Herbert Hoover and the Republican party. His address brought applause from the large number of delegates assembled in the Jefferson Theater.

Jere Murphy of Huntsville was the chairman of the meeting and presided during the two hours' deliberations, one of the shortest state conventions and one of the tamest Alabama Republicans have ever held.

Those named as delegates at large to Kansas City were Dr. J. C. Swan, Mobile; Foy Guin, Russellville; H. G. Ashley, Ashville, and W. E. Snead, Birmingham. Alternate delegates named were S. B. Adams, Mrs. Martha Hoffman, Miss Ella Perryman and John McEniry.

The convention referred the question of naming a state ticket to oppose the Democrats in the November election to the state committee that will meet later in the year.

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.
MAY 4 1928

Republican

PRIMARY NEAR, NEGROES MADE "WHITE WINGS"

Fifty Reported Employed By Jacoby In Week Or Ten Days.

EMPLOYES TOLD TO ROUND UP VOTES

Letter Over Schuch's Name Brings Charge By Main.

Virtually on the eve of the primary election, which takes place next Monday, came the information at the City Hall yesterday that large groups of Negroes were being put to work in the Bureau of Street Cleaning.

Fifty have been employed by Frank W. Jacoby, head of the bureau, within the last week or ten days, it was said.

Vote Round-Up Urged.

At the same time, Charles W. Main, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Baltimore, charged that a Republican ward executive, who was Commissioner of Street Cleaning in Mayor Broening's first administration, had circularized city employes and urged them to work for the Broening-Marchant-Lowndes-Jackson faction of the party. The executive is Adolph P. Schuch, of the Seventh ward.

In connection with the hiring of Negroes by a member of the Republican administration, it was pointed out that Negro "white wings" were an innovation in Baltimore. William A. Larkins, former Commissioner of Street Cleaning and a Democrat, had Negroes working in his mosquito gangs.

118 Men Laid Off.

It also was learned that 118 per diem laborers, all white, have been laid off since April 19, and 186 new men employed in the same period. The figures are for the Bureau of Street Cleaning and the construction bureaus of the Department of Public Works.

Of the new men fifty were put to work on May 1, according to employment tickets that passed through the office of the City Service Commission and the Central Pay Roll Bureau. Whether they were the Negroes put to work by Mr. Jacoby the records did not disclose. Other new men were employed in daily groups of from two to thirty-seven. There was one group of twenty-five, two of eighteen, one of twenty-two and one of twelve.

The dismissals were in groups of from six to twenty-one. They were presumed to be Democrats, or Republicans affiliated with the Weller-Tait faction in various wards of the city, but particularly in the East Baltimore wards.

Changes Cause Talk.

The lay-offs and the employment of new men gave rise to considerable discussion in the Bureau of Street Cleaning and in other bureaus of the Department of Public Works, but no mention was made of the situation at a meeting of the City Service Commission yesterday, nor at the Pay Roll Bureau.

At both offices it was said that the employment and cut-off tickets were passed on as they were received, and the men either taken off or placed on the per diem rolls as the circumstances demanded.

Bureau heads involved in the transactions asserted that the increases in their rolls were "customary at this time of the year, with the beginning of spring work."

Employment of new men and the dismissal of old men will continue, it was said, until the per diem forces are "stabilized" for the spring and summer work. It was pointed out that in the absence of a labor registration bureau, as called for in the Charter, the City Service Commission has no control over the per diem forces. They can be laid off and employed at the will of the bureau and department heads.

It is the only class of employe left to the politicians, and it was said at the City Hall that the Republican district and ward leaders appeared to be taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to strengthen their organization for the primary on Monday.

Reports in political circles yesterday were that Oscar B. Chenoweth, a district member of the Republican City Committee, was slated for the new position of secretary to the Appeal Tax Court, created by the Board of Estimates last Tuesday, when the position of chief assessment clerk was abolished, effective May 15.

Several days ago Mr. Chenoweth, in a letter to J. Craig McLanahan, charged that "under the guise of financing a Hoover Presidential campaign" the Maryland Hoover-for-President committee "is collecting and expending contributions" in the interest of the Weller-Tait faction of the Republican party.

McLanahan Denies Charge.

Mr. McLanahan is chairman of the Hoover committee. He denied the charges and declared that the books of the committee were open for inspection by any responsible person who cared to look at them.

Albert K. Sherman, Democratic executive of two precincts in the Twelfth ward, has held the position of chief assessment clerk for a number of years.

As secretary to the court, Mr. Chenoweth would take over Mr. Sherman's duties.

Until recently Mr. Chenoweth was a follower of O. E. Weller. He is now running on the Jackson-Lowndes-Marchant-Broening ticket for delegate to the State convention from the Fifth district.

Schuch Denies Writing It.

"I am very much under the weather and some one else is attending to these matters for me," Mr. Schuch said last night.

"I did not write the letter and am not responsible for it. Somebody wrote the letter and signed my name to it, thinking that I would approve it."

"Do you approve it?" Mr. Schuch was asked.

"Well, it suits what I am trying to accomplish, he replied.

Predicts Success.

Mr. Schuch said, although in poor health, "there is still some fight left in me."

"I want to win this fight," he added, "and we are going to carry the ward (the Seventh) by an overwhelming majority."

Letter Advises Workers To Back Mayor's Ticket

Charges that a letter which Adolph P. Schuch, Republican executive of the Seventh ward, is alleged to have circulated "indicates plainly that the money of the taxpayers of Baltimore is being used", to aid the Marchant-Lowndes-Jackson faction of the Republican party were made yesterday by Charles W. Main, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Baltimore.

"Expected To Do Part."

Mr. Main's charges were contained in a statement he issued. The following sections from the letter, over Mr. Schuch's typewritten name, are quoted as follows in the statement:

"Mayor William F. Broening is very much interested in the outcome of this (the primary) election, and as you are employed by the city you are expected to do your part to assist in getting out the vote and urging your friends to vote for the candidates in which Mayor Broening and the Seventh Ward Active Republican Association are interested.

Will Watch Returns.

"All city employes are expected to spend as much time as possible between now and election day in their precincts canvassing for votes and to assist their respective precinct executives on election day to get out the vote, and I am looking to them to do this and expect to scrutinize the returns of their respective precincts."

Mr. Schuch is aligned with the Marchant-Lowndes-Jackson faction of the party and is opposed to the Weller-Tait group. Each faction is attempting to obtain control of the Republican State Convention by the election Monday of delegates who are favorable to its cause.

Winner Controls Convention.

The Marchant forces are backing William P. Jackson, Salisbury, for reelection as National Committeeman. The Weller forces are opposed to Mr. Jackson and are presumably supporting O. E. Weller for committeeman, although the former United States Senator has not announced himself as a candidate for the post.

The faction which acquires control of the State convention will elect the majority of the delegates to the national convention, who in turn elect the National Committeeman.

Says Letter Proves Charge.

Mr. Main's statement in part is as follows:

"It has been for some time a notorious fact that Mr. Marchant (Roland R. Marchant, city boss) and his forces have been using every possible agency of the city government of Baltimore to influence sentiment and make votes for their ticket.

"That this charge made against the Marchant forces is true is proved by a letter written by Adolph P. Schuch, executive of the Seventh ward. The letter indicates plainly that the money of the taxpayers of the city of Baltimore is being used in a Republican primary for the purpose of electing the Marchant and Jackson delegates to the Republican State Convention.

Asks Mayor's Opinion.

"The letter from Mr. Schuch, which is dated May 2, 1928, was sent out generally to the registered voters in the Seventh ward.

"What has Mayor Broening to say concerning this use, from his standpoint, or misuse, from the standpoint of the public, of the taxpayers' money?"

Concord, N. C., Tribune
Monday, May 7, 1928

AFTER THE NEGRO VOTE.

The much discussed action of Secretary Hoover in ordering that negroes working in the census bureau be scattered among whites in the several offices is palpably a campaign gesture calculated to catch negro votes for him. There will be quite a few negro delegates at Kansas City, most of them from the South but some also from states like Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and other states necessary to Republican success. As close as the race for the Republican nomination now is the votes of negro delegates might easily prove decisive.

It could hardly be argued that Secretary Hoover has been on the job seven years and has just now found out that the negro employes had been confined to one section of the bureau. It took a protest from a quarter that indicated negro delegate strength to get the attention of the usually alert Mr. Hoover.

The new arrangement will probably last until after the election in November, and then no matter who is elected the negro census bureau employes will probably slip back into the basement to stay until another presidential election impends.—Lexington Dispatch.

Friends of the Commerce Secretary picture him as some gigantic being who cares nothing about public office or the high position that goes with such office. They picture him as a superior sort of man, with no ambition but one to serve his fellowman. They would make one think that Secretary Hoover would accept the presidency only as a sort of sacrifice.

All of which is pure bunk. He wants to be president and he is making the usual political gestures in his effort to land the nomination. We are confident the negro employes would be in their usual place today were it not for the approaching convention and election, and we are inclined to agree with The Dispatch in their belief that after November they will be segregated, regardless of who is president.

If Secretary Hoover is elected he will send them back, for they will have served their purpose. And if a Democrat is elected he will send them back on the cry that both colored and white employe are better off when in surroundings peculiarly fitting for each.

Mr. Hoover stooped to the level of the average politician when he made this bid for the negro vote.

TO DESERT G. O. P'.S FOR DEMOCRATS

Negroes of Richmond Issue Warning to the Republican Party. Are in Favor of Al Smith

RICHMOND, Va., May 9.—(Special)—Republicans of Richmond were caused much concern Monday, when Race political leaders of the city announced that their constituents planned to desert the ranks of the Republican Party for the Democrats. The 5,000 Race voters of Richmond to nearly a man will vote the Democratic ticket in the presidential elections next Fall contingent upon the Democrats picking Al Smith as their candidate, it was said.

A test suit for damages growing out of colored voters being refused ballots in the Democratic Mayorality primary April 5, last is in U. S. District Court for trial next week. Upon the outcome of this case will rest the possibility of the colored voters becoming Democrats.

NORRIS CHARGES SOUTHERN G. O. P. VOTES FOR SALE

Convention Delegates Purchased Like Mere Merchandise; Faction Holds Control, He Says.

Washington, June 7. — (United News.)—Delegates from the south to the republican national convention have been bought and sold like merchandise over the counter, Senator Norris, Nebraska, republican, charged in a formal statement tonight.

"The country is witnessing a spectacle that occurs every four years," the senator said, "just prior to the national republican convention.

"It is the buying and the selling and the trading and the trafficking in delegates from the solid south to the republican national convention.

Contests Settled.

"The newspapers announce that these contests have been settled. Everybody knows how they were started, how they were continued, why they were started, and something about the cost of it.

"They have been handled and dealt in just like the merchant sells his goods across the counter. They come from a section where everybody knows there is no possibility of a republican presidential elector being elected, and yet, from these southern states there come delegates enough to hold the balance of power and nominate a president of the United States.

"The machinery there, everybody knows, is illegal, corrupt and disgraceful," Norris continued.

Dominating Factor.

"It is common knowledge that the delegates from the solid south, as a rule, have a republican organization only for the purpose of trafficking in government offices and in cold cash, but yet they are often the dominating influence in selecting a candidate for the republicans of the balance of the country.

"After these disgraceful and reprehensible methods have been successful and the man named, the balance of republicans over the nation must furnish the votes and the sinews of war and are supposed to shout and yell themselves hoarse in order to induce republicans to 'vote'er straight,' yellow dog and all."

Norris, although classified as a republican, has been the leader in the senate independent bloc. He has been mentioned as a presidential candidate and has 35 delegates from Nebraska and Wisconsin pledged to his candidacy.

Americus, Ga., Recorder
Saturday, May 26, 1928

BEN DAVIS, GEORGIA G.O.P. HEAD, GETS HIS.

Ben Davis, the Negro Republican National committeeman, is busy these days explaining about that contribution given by the Hoover people. You'll recall that the Georgia Republicans endorsed Mr. Hoover for presidential candidate at Kansas City next month.

The LaGrange Reporter thinks the Hoover stock in the South is going down, saying:

Unless we misjudge Southern sentiment, the testimony given before the Senate campaign funds committee by Rush Holland, Hoover agent, that he gave $2,200 to Ben Davis, negro Republican committeeman of Georgia, in addition to giving sums to other negro politicians in other states in the South, will effectively block whatever hope there may have been of a Southern bolt to Hoover in case he is nominated.

Following the testimony of Rush Holland, Ben started explaining what he did with the boodle. Joseph Watson, an Albany Negro, saw the weak spot in Ben's armor and now is out for Ben's job. Joseph wants to be national committeeman of the Grand Old Party and will carry his fight to Kansas City, where the jobs are parceled out. Of Joseph, the Albany Herald makes these observations:

It appears that the pot is already boiling from the fire kindled by this Georgia contest. The recent Republican state convention endorsed Herbert Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination, but did not instruct the Georgia delegation for him. That, together with certain other developments in which the fine Italian hand of Ben Davis, present national committeeman for Georgia, has been seen, is understood to have aroused the resentment of the Hoover supporters, and they covet Davis' scalp. If current reports are to be believed, ten of the sixteen Georgia delegates to the Kansas City convention are pledged against Davis, which is understood to mean that they are pledged to Watson.

Joseph H. Watson is a leader of his race in this state. His life has been spent in Albany, where he has many friends in both races. He is president of the Supreme Circle of Benevolence, a Negro fraternal and benevolent order with headquarters in Albany and lodges in several states. It owns a handsome headquarters building, and publishes a sprightly weekly newspaper which is circulated among its members. Watson is an able executive, he has tact and judgment in which Ben Davis often seems to be lacking, and it is not surprising that he should have been selected to lead a movement to oust the present Georgia national committeeman.

The G. O. P. pie counter is ladened with good things and we see no reason why a South Georgia Negro should not step up and feed for awhile. Ben has grown sleek and fat. Bring up the hungry ones.

Adel, Ga., News
Friday, May 25, 1928

Ben Davis, the negro National Committeeman of the Republican party from Georgia, received two thousand dollars for his services from the friends of a Republican Presidential candidate. And yet some Southern white people announce that they will vote with Davis in the event the Democrats nominate a certain candidate for President. Well, we won't. That's all.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

BOB CHURCH WINS AGAIN

THE greatest concerted effort ever made in Memphis to defeat Robert R. Church and his white colleagues who are seeking a square deal for the Negro citizen in that thriving city has ended in ignominous failure. Mr. Church and his white friend, E. H. Crump, had for weeks been the targets of the most vicious attacks this country has seen for many years. Opposed by a little group of irreconcilable lily white Republicans, the powerful Commercial Appeal and Clarence Saunders, the grocery store chain magnate, Mr. Church won his seat on the Republican State Central Committee by a majority of ten to one in the August 2 primary, and McAllister, Crump's candidate for Governor of Tennessee, carried Shelby County, where Memphis is situated by a majority of more than 20,000, while Horton, the opposition's candidate for Governor received less than 2,500 votes in the county.

This is the more remarkable when the nature of the Opposition's attacks is considered. For days Clarence Saunders, whose fortune has been built out of the nickels and dimes of Negro cooks, washerwomen and laborers, had been carrying page advertisements in The Commercial Appeal, the leading Memphis daily newspaper, attacking Ed Crump, the Democratic leader, for making an alleged unholy alliance with Bob Church and charging there was a conspiracy to urge Negro voters to capture the Democratic primary and control Memphis. These vicious advertisements were supplemented by equally vicious and mob-inciting editorials and cartoons in the Appeal almost every day intended to make the people of Memphis believe that the city was on the verge of a grave crisis. The Opposition also strung great banners across Main street and on motor trucks with the legend "Horton is no Bob Church Democrat." Thus Bob Church became the main target, and when his victory was announced the town wildly celebrated.

Other Negro communities might borrow a page from Memphis, for the victory of Bob Church and his friends was not the result of chance but of calculation. Back in August, 1927 George W. Lee, Church's lieutenant, organized the West Tennessee Civic and Political League for the purpose of protecting the liberties of the Negroes and obtaining new concessions. In a short time this league qualified 12,000 Negro voters, almost 40 per cent of the voting population of the city, and so well did the league control those 12,000 black votes that less than 50 voted for the Opposition. As a result, J. Rowlett Paine, the Mayor, who had said that a Negro would never sit in one of the city parks or hold a municipal job was relegated to the political ash heap in an avalanche of black votes. Realizing that the Negro held the balance of power in the city, The Commercial Appeal attempted to create a situation in which anybody running for office aside from the candidates it approved would be afraid to seek Negro votes. Hence the vicious editorials and cartoons. An alliance between Church and Crump was suspicioned since in every campaign except the Democratic primaries, the Negro votes have gone to a Crump candidate. While the Opposition realized that few Negroes would vote in the Democratic primaries, the cry of Negro domination was raised to scare the whites into voting for Horton, their candidate. This effort failed because the Negro political organization held five rallies every night, completely canvassed every ward and brought home to every Negro voter the absolute necessity of voting solidly for Church and the candidates endorsed by the organization.

The result of this primary election in Memphis shows what the Negro can do in the way of organization when intelligently led by fearless men of his group. If this can be done in Memphis, why not in Atlanta, San Antonio, Jacksonville, Birmingham, Houston, Raleigh and a dozen other communities in the "Solid South?" And if it can be done in the South why isn't it possible for Negroes to do the same thing in St. Louis, Philadelphia, Kansas City and New York? Of course it is possible, Chicago and Memphis have shown how it can be done. It remains for other communities to follow their example.

VOTES OF NEGROES MAY DETERMINE OUTCOME OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Figures Show 5,588,500 Voters of the Race in Country

THE NORTHERN STATES ARE THE MAIN FACTOR

Balance of Power Almost Certain to Rest With Colored Vote

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug 8. — That the Negroes' votes are a potential power in determining the outcome of the presidential election may be attested by figures recently gathered to show the relative voting power of Race voters and white voters in the United States.

Facts disclosed by the investigation were as follows:

There are about 5,588,500 Negroes of voting age in the United States. While the bulk of them are located in the South where they do not count, or at least are not counted at the polls, according to Republican leaders there are a sufficient number in many of the pivotal and in some of the border States to determine the result in a close election.

According to the Census Bureau the Negro population of the country numbered 10,463,131 in 1920, and it is estimated that it was 11,698,000 in 1927. About one-half of the number estimated for 1927 had reached the voting age.

New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri, are States with a comparatively large Negro population that are regarded as either doubtful or debatable in the political contest now under way. The census of 1920 showed that each of those States had enough Negro voters that year to cut quite a figure in a national election.

The census reports disclose that in 1920 there were 5,522,274 Negroes of both sexes who had reached the voting age out of a total colored population in excess of 10,000,000. From 1920 to 1927 the number of Negroes increased to over 11,689,000, with a corresponding increase in the number of voters of that race.

In 1920 the snsus showed Negro voters in the States named as follows:

New York, 142,544; New Jersey, 75,671, Pennsylvania 191,226; Illinois, 128,090; Indiana, 53,935; Ohio 126,940; Tennessee, 245,395; Kentucky, 143,881; Missouri, 121,328, and Maryland, 141,991.

Of the total of 5,522,524 Negro voters in 1920, 2,792,006 were men and 2,730,274 women.

There are other States where the Negro is by no means a negligible factor in politics. For example there was a colored population of more than 149,000 in Oklahoma in 1920, and of these more than 76,000 had attained the voting age.

Kansas had 79,725 Negroes within her borders in 1920, and of the number 37,000 were entitled to vote. In New England the population of Negroes was: Massachusetts, 45,466; Connecticut, 21,046; Rhode Island, 10,036 Vermont, 572; New Hampshire, 621 and Maine 1,310.

Race Republican Bolters Uniting

Argus Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 8.—That organization of Race bolters from the Republican party is proceeding on a national basis somewhat faster than expected was indicated by a display of correspondence from various parts of the country received by J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, in response to his call for a meeting of the Negro Voters League in Chicago, August 24.

Dr. S. P. W. Drew, evangelist, who was named for the vice presidential office on an interracial ticket headed by Jacob S. Coxey, of Massilon, Ohio, also announced notification ceremonies in Philadelphia on Labor Day.

The Coxey movement in Ohio had joined with the movement to elect Harry C. Smith, editor, as governor of Ohio. The Coxey notification will be made in Ohio by J. P. Green of Cleveland, on the same day as the Drew notification in Philadelphia. Smith as an Ohio candidate for various offices has polled normally 50,000 votes.

It was also stated by Dr. Drew that the notification address, in Philadelphia, would be made by Dr. Willis J. Winston, president of the Northern Baptist University. Mrs. D. F. Jackson of Selena, Mo. has been named by the United Woman's Political League to organize colored women. The movement headed by Wilson plans a Race party organization in all doubtful states.

HOOVER URGES EQUALITY FOR ALL PERSONS

Says All Men Should Have Equal Opportunity Regardless of Race or Color

STRESSES SQUARE DEAL BEFORE LAW

Over 75,000 Hear Acceptance Address Of Republican Standard Bearer

Stanford, University Stadium, California.—Herbert Hoover, nominee for the presidency of the United States by the Republican Party, urged an equal opportunity for all regardless of faith or color in his formal acceptance of the nomination before over 75,000 persons who were gathered in the stadium Saturday.

He said the "founder of our republic propounded the revolutionary doctrine that all men are created equal and all should have equality before the law." He further stated that:

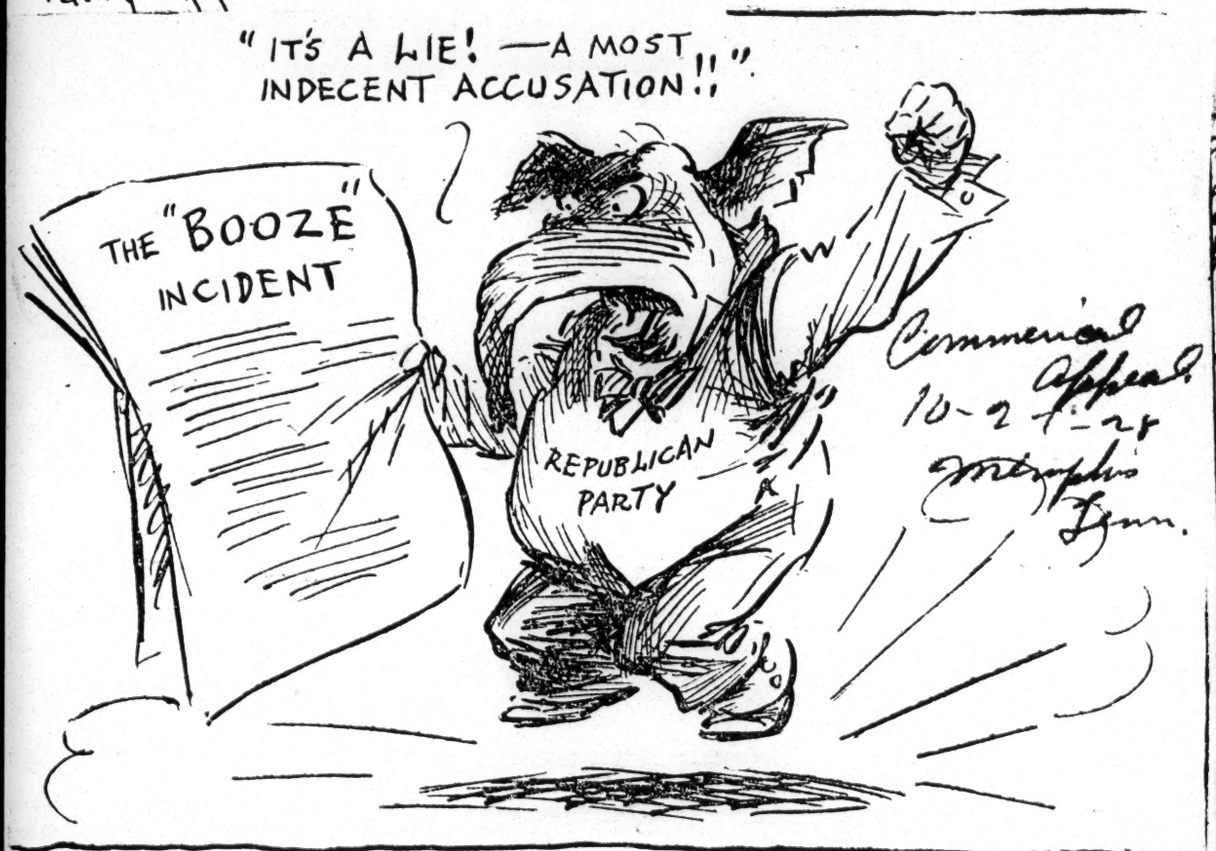
Urges Equality

Equality of opportunity is the right of every American—rich or poor, foreign or native-born, irrespective of faith or color. It is the right of every individual to attain that position in life to which his ability and character entitles him. By its maintenance we will alone hold open the door of opportunity to every new generation, to every boy and girl. It tolerates no privileged classes or castes or groups who would hold opportunity as their prerogative. Only from confidence that this right will be upheld can flow that unbounded courage and hope which stimulates each individual man and woman to endeavor and to achievement. The sum of their achievement is the gigantic harvest of national progress.

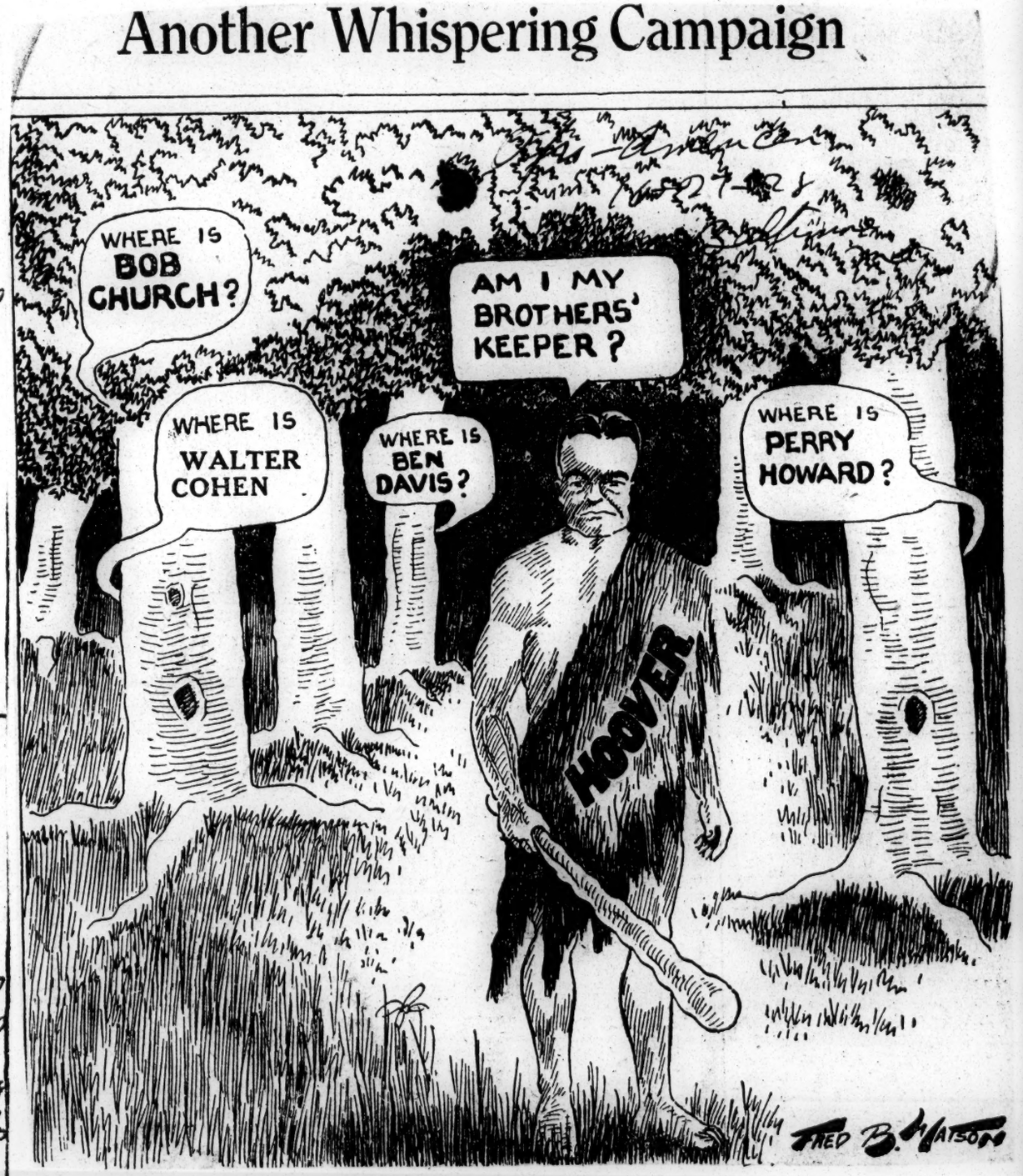
Political — 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.



TEE-TOTALER IN THE SOUTH, BUT HE'S "ALL WET" IN THE EAST!



Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

JUSTICE NOT PERSECUTION

Oscar DePriest, regular Republican candidate for Congress from the first congressional district of Illinois, has been indicted on charges implying election frauds. It has been virtually conceded that Mr. DePriest would have been elected if the present unforseen contingencies had not arisen. He would have been the first black man to have been elected to congress within the last twenty-seven years. He had the support and endorsement of the regular Republican organization within the congressional district and it has been freely predicted that he would be elected. The indictment returned against him by the special grand jury of Cook county investigating election frauds has raised a question in the minds of the black people all over the nation. Is DePriest the victim of persecution?

It seems strange that a scrutinizing and searching light has been turned upon the activities of our political leaders within the last few months. Davis of Georgia has been accused, Howard of Mississippi has been indicted and now DePriest of Illinois has been charged and branded. Are these men guilty as charged? We do not know.

If Mr. DePriest is guilty as charged we do not believe that the better class of black citizens of Illinois would countenance his perfidy and be inclined to white-wash his wrong-doing. But Mr.DePriest has not been proven guilty and under the law he is entitled to a reasonable doubt.

It has also been asked why the special grand jury has confined and limited its activities to the black and Jewish belts. Why have there not been investigations in other wards of Chicago. What caused the special grand jury to overlook the notorious First ward? It is admitted by all that vice and corruption has not confined itself to black and Yiddish wards. The public is primarily concerned in cleaning up the entire city of Chicago and the concentration upon certain districts in our opinion has not smacked of sincerity or good faith but rather of sinister political motives.

We hold no brief or defense for vice, gambling or vote frauds and this newspaper takes pride in the fact that it inaugurated the fight on these conditions some years ago. We admit that there is gambling, policy-playing, crap shooting and various iniquities existing in the ward. They are wrong and stultify the growth of our people but we do not desire to see our leaders made the goats and be made martyrs for so-called political purity when the real motive is political design.

We do not know that DePriest is guilty, his guilt under the law is not even presumed. He should be accorded every reasonable doubt until convicted and sentenced. We believe that we are justified in the light of all the facts in presuming him innocent. The trial will tell and if it develops that he is the victim of political persecution the hearts of the black electorate will be embittered. We want justice and a square deal. We are tired of discrimnatory tactics and even if DePriest is guilty as charged we want the entire city of Chicago purged of its filth and corruption.

We are not unmindful of the other indictments returned against black men but the case of DePriest is of national interest and vital momentum because he is making history in seeking a seat in congress. We want justice not persecution.

The Ludicrous Attempt to Create a Jim Crow Republican Party.

Commercial Appeal

The attempt of the Press-Scimitar and a little group of willful white Republicans to eliminate Bob Church from direction of the Hoover campaign is one of our local political absurdities.

If Church does not direct the campaign in Memphis, it will be because he is engaged in political matters of more consequence.

10-6-28

If Church does not personally conduct the Hoover campaign in Shelby County it will be conducted by one of his lieutenants.

Memphis Press

It is surprising that anyone should question his authority. He won over the lily white faction in the August primary.

He and his faction were recognized in Kansas City. His delegation was seated in the temporary organization. He won the contest before the credentials committee.

No federal appointment is made in Memphis and Shelby County under a Republican administration without his endorsement.

Federal office-holders and applicants for federal favor not only admit his authority, but seek his favor.

His part in Republican affairs was recognized by appointment on the committee that notified Hoover of his nomination.

The present controversy smacks of ingratitude. Church is a Republican year in and year out. He is high in the councils of his party.

It is rank hypocrisy to ask him to efface himself to make way for Democratic recruits who find the color line an obstacle to complete conversion to Republicanism.

Church is modest and unassuming. He never projects himself into the spotlight of local politics. His work is done in his Beale Street office in Memphis and in the White House in Washington.

He might consent to the appointment of a titular leader locally, but he would not surrender his power and prestige with the national Republican organization. There is no call on him to do so.

The lily white Republicans and the lily pure Democrats who support Hoover might as well make up their minds that there is no such thing as a Jim Crow Republican organization.

The demand that Church and other negro Republicans make way for disaffected Democrats who want to ride with the Republican party for this trip only is a striking bit of audacity.

It is one of the traditions of the south that the Democratic party is the white man's party, and the Republican party is the negro party. It is not only a tradition of the past, but a fact of the present.

We have insisted that white persons only should vote in a Democratic primary in Tennessee. We have insisted on the right of the negro to vote in a Republican primary and as he pleases in a general election.

To exclude the negro from the Republican party to make place for white Klansmen would deprive him of his natural party affiliation and of the right of franchise.

We believe in being fair and honest in politics as in other things. Subterfuge and deception are reprehensible.

Church is the head of the Republican party in this county. He ranks higher than J. Will Taylor in the state.

His influence in the Republican party is more extensive in the south than any man, white or black.

Why muddy the water? Why attempt to deceive anybody? If the Republican party continues in control, Church will continue to be head of the party in Tennessee.

An Open Letter To The Hon. John R. Slater, Chairman Democratic Campaign Committee

Dear Sir:

It comes to our attention, that you photographed last week, the first page of the Atlanta Independent, dated September 20, 1928; and from said photostat copy, you printed and circulated thousands of circulars imitating the first page of the Independent and mailed these imitations out to white folks only; with the ulterior motive of conveying to the Anti-Smith Democrats the idea that a Negro had called them "bastards." You knew well at the time you printed, uttered and circulated said propaganda, that Ben Davis did not have Smith Democrats, nor Anti-Smith Democrats in mind, when he wrote the article. He wrote the article as a rebuke and description of that aggregation of white men who called themselves Republicans but are designated by the regulars as "lily-whites."

Col. Slater did not, and could not have misunderstood our meaning, or misinterpreted our purpose, unless he is of a very low degree of mentality; and everybody knows that the Colonel is mentally bright though he may be lacking in political experience and acumen. But possibly Mr. Slater is following the well established rule of the Democratic party, to mislead, misrepresent, and becloud the issue in order to hide its lack of a cause.

The Negro World in discussing the political outlook as it effects the Negro made this remark: "The present political editorial policy of the Independent is one of the mysteries of the ages. It is a safe guess that there is not a Negro in the country, with the possible exception of Mr. Davis, who can advance one good reason why the Atlanta Independent is today one hundred per cent Republican. The Republican party has given the editor of the Atlanta Independent one of the worst snubs ever delivered a national Negro leader."

In answering we said, that the "Independent is one hundred per cent Republican because it cannot be bought by Democrats money, or bulldozed out of the party by lily-white bastard Republicans and commercialized Negro grafters, who would sell their wives and daughters into political slavery and economic ruin, for pelf and plunder"

Mark you, we said nothing at all about Democrats of any kind except to say, we could not be bought by them, and when we said "bastards" we had wholly and solely in mind the lily-white element who argue to the Republicans north, that the only thing that keeps the south solid is the Negro, and if the Negro is disfranchised and denied his constitutional rights, the solidity of the south will disappear like a snow ball before the sun.

But the particular thing that we want to call Mr. Slater's attention to, is the question of common every day fairness. He used our article without our consent or authority; and he used it for the purpose of placing us in a false light before the public. Not for the purpose, primarily of doing us personal injury, but as a means of shaming and brow beating the Anti-Smith Democrats back into the regular Democratic organization, and to divert the Anti-Smith Democrats attention from the real issues, by holding up the menace of white supremacy and Negro domination. Now, since we have explained our position we call on Mr. Slater to correct his errors by photographing the front page of this issue, and printing thousands of this weeks front page in circular form and mail them out to white folks only that they may see that he is fair and honest in his dealings with the public. This is not asking any more than what is just and right. If a man misleads the people and imposes upon them misrepresentations, or propaganda contrary to the facts, it is the duty of the individual to correct his error by enlightening the public as soon as he finds out the truth.

The Anti-Smith Democrats is a separate and distinct political organization from either the Democratic or Republican party. It is not helping Mr. Hoover as Republicans, but as Democrats choosing between two evils and are accepting the lesser of the two. These people will return to the Democratic party, or will set themselves up as the party just as soon as the Slaters, and the Smiths return to the democracy of Jefferson and Jackson. These men standing for principles and not for policies, or whatever is expedient, moral or immoral, will not be frightened from what they conceive to be their plain duty by the falsehood and misrepresentation, that a Negro has called them "bastards."

Mr. Slater must think that the Anti-Smith Democrats can not read english and construe it for themselves, or he would not spend thousands of dollars printing imitations of the front page of the Atlanta Independent, trying to convince the Anti-Smith Democrats that a Negro has called them illegitimate political heirs; which is sufficient cause to make them vote for liquor and Tammany Hall corruption. Come clean Mr. Chairman since you have the truth and nothing but the truth, from the man who wrote the article, and knows what was in his heart and mind, and the moral courage to express it, photograph this page, print it in circular form and distribute it among the white people of Georgia, as an evidence that you love the truth better than error. You published an imitation of our front page last week without our knowledge, consent, or authority, but now we give you authority and authorize you to photograph and publish this front page, that you may have the opportunity to tell the truth and set your self free.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

Birmingham, Ala., News
Wednesday, October 3, 1928

POLITICAL CHAOS THREATENS SOUTH

Mississippi Veteran Points To Danger If "White Man's Party Unseated"

MERIDIAN, Miss., Oct. 3—B. F. Quarles, adjutant of the Walthall Camp, United Confederate Veterans, issues the following warning to the voters of Mississippi and the South:

"Place Mississippi in the Republican column and you inaugurate political chaos. I suppose I'm an old sinner. Probably if my memory were not so acute I might be in sympathy with these brethren who are engaged in proclaiming Hoover from their pulpits and proclaiming his temperance. It seems to me that just a moderate exercise of political sanity would be sufficient to demonstrate to any son or daughter of the men who died for a principle that to place our state in the clutches of the repugnant Republican party would be the reincarnation of the same reprehensible situation that menaced the state during our reconstruction days from 1865 to 1878, in which I actively participated.

"The negro of today differs materially from the negro of the reconstruction days and will be a more formidable foe of the Democratic party. He will necessarily be heard from in his aspirations politically and socially, he will aspire to representation in our Legislature; he will exact representation in Congress, he will demand the doing away of all segregation laws. Can we protest? No! The negroes of our state can now comply with the requirements of the constitution as to his qualifications and you cannot bar them from participation in all the privileges accorded any American citizen.

"During the period in which the negro participated in the exercise of political aspirations, he met success. The following negroes were secretaries of state: James Lynch, H. R. Levels, H. C. Carter, James Hill. A. K. Davis was lieutenant governor; T W. Carooze was superintendent of education; J. D. Worles was state librarian; James R. Lynch was speaker of the House; I. D. Shodd was also speaker.

"I question whether many of our citizens realize that such a situation existed in our state. If not, they should inform themselves before they engage in a crusade to encourage further desertion from the Democratic party.

"From my viewpoint, I regard Hoover and Smith as about equal as to their 'wetness,' in fact, they approach being 'prohibition twins' and I am persuaded neither of them would object to a little occasionally just for their stomach's sake—more to follow later—and while some of our ministers are praying for Hoover, I shall pray for the continuance of Democracy in Mississippi."

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
Sunday, September 30, 1928

Thousands

WILD CHEERS GREET THRUST AT REPUBS

Dothan Democrat Points To Achievements; Henry Steagall Joins Campaign

DOTHAN, ALA., Sept. 29.—(Special)—Over 1,000 people packed and jammed into the courthouse, blocking the aisles and occupying all available standing room and equally as large a number crowded about the front of the building unable to gain entrance, to hear Tom Espy of Dothan and Henry B. Steagall, congressman from the Third District, speak this afternoon in support of the Democratic nominee for the presidency.

Probably no more enthusiastic audience ever received a political speech in Dothan. From the moment Tom Espy began his speech with the reciting of "Don't you hear those beels go ting a ling a ling? Don't you hear those angels sweetly sing. There will be a hot time in the old town tonight." Until the climax of Congressman Steagall's speech, when he informed the audience that he had no apology to make for campaigning for the election of Al Smith, deafening applause literally shook the rafters.

Turning back the pages of time to other years when presidential elections in the South were taken seriously, the local artillery band played and marched about the downtown streets, led by banner carriers, ending the parade on the courthouse grounds. Shouts of "Hurrah for Al Smith" added color to the setting.

John W. Rish, chairman of the Houston County Democratic campaign committee, presided at the meeting this afternoon, introducing the speakers. His short talk, during which he read excerpts from the Atlanta Independent, published by Ben Davis, Georgia negro Republican leader, was also roundly applauded.

"I was born in Henry County," declared Tom Espy, the first speaker on the program, "my ancestors came from North Carolina to Barbour County to live. Their forefathers were Irish, and like Al Smith, Irish blood runs in my veins."

Mr. Espy related how his people had taken part in every war fought by America, citing the fact that one of his ancestors, Capt. Sam Espy won victory for his country and fame for himself in the revolution; that his father and three uncles left their homes and loved ones to fight in the Civil War and that his uncles were killed in battle; that two brothers entered the Spanish-American war and one was killed, and that his own son died in the World War. "Me and my people have always remained true to our country and to the Southland," he said.

Mr. Espy was enthusiastically applauded when he related how the enfranchised negro in reconstruction days were defeated at the polls and when he emphatically declared that the efforts of the Republicans to break the solid South would be in vain.

Mr. Steagall, who followed Mr. Espy on the platform, declared that he fought the nomination of Smith, but since he was selected by the two-thirds majority rule in convention he would stand by his party. He reviewed the Republican corruption during the past eight years and stressed the efforts of the Democratic party to obtain the development of Muscle Shoals declaring that if Smith was elected this work, for the benefit of the farmer, would go forward.

Milton, Fla., Gazette
Thursday, September 4, 1928

NEGRO LOSES SUIT TO GET VOTING RIGHT

Judge Holds Democrats Can Bar Anyone From Primaries

Circuit Judge Thomas F. West ruled yesterday that the Democratic committee can legally prevent negroes from voting in a white Democratic primary.

His decision in the case of H. D. Goode, negro, against three election inspectors is based on the fact that a primary election does not come under the jurisdiction of the fifteenth amendment which has been interpreted to give negroes the right of franchise.

Primary Different

In the case of a primary election, however, Judge West has ruled that the party executive committee has the right to restrict the electors in almost any way it chooses.

Republican.

When he brought suit for $5,000 damages against Thomas A. Johnson, C. J. Bell and Paul F. Riera because he was not allowed to vote in the city primary, Goode based his declaration on the fact that his rights under the constitution had been abridged.

Texas Case

Pointing out that this was not his interpretation of the fifteenth amendment when primary elections were cnocerned. Judge West quoted a Texas decision, upheld by the United States supreme court, in which the right of political party organizations to establish their own qualifications for voters, is set forth.

Judge West's decision was handed down on a demurrer to the answer to Goode's suit which was overruled. It is believed this will cause the damage suit to be withdrawn.

Goode's briefs in the case were filed by Attorney Fred W. Marsh, while the inspectors were represented by J. B. Jones, city attorney.—Pensacola Journal.

Call Asl

NEGROES ASKED NOT TO VOTE IN RECALL ELECTION

Cutter and Bolick Sign Appeal With Progress Club

The following statement by Commissioner Cutter was issued last night. Today it has been signed by Commissioner Bolick and the president of the Progress Club. We feel sure that it will be signed by Commissioner Hough as soon as he arrives in the city. Commissioner Starnes this morning said that he would rather wait until it had been presented to all the commissioners before he signed it.

Fort Myers, Florida
September 21, 1928

To the Editor of the Fort Myers Tropical News:

In an editorial in this morning's paper you charge the adherants of both factions in the recall campaign with the "responsibile business" of registering negroes. After admitting that you did not know who started it, you stated "but there is evidence that the major blame can be traced to a group which is on at least speaking terms with the Republican committee." You further stated, "This is not the time to discuss voting by negroes," and also, "It is too late to do anything about the registration, but the votes have not been cast."

Attached hereto is a communication addressed to the negro voters of the City of Fort Myers, and an agreement bearing my signature which I request the Progress Club, the Business Men's League of Fort Myers, and the other four commissioners named in the recall petition, to sign.

My action in this matter is prompted by a desire that the differences existing between the different factions in the coming recall election will be settled at the polls in a manner which will be satisfactory to all concerned.

In behalf of good government, I am,

Yours very truly,
A. B. CUTTER.

To the Negro Voters of the City of Fort Myers:

We, the undersigned, request that you do not vote in the recall election to be held October 2, 1928.

IT IS MUTUALLY AGREED by the undersigned that they will not, nor allow anyone in their behalf to, or any of their adherants to, insofar as it is within their power and control, solicit in any manner the vote of any negro for or against the recall, to transport any negro voter to or from the polls at the coming recall election, but, on the other hand, they will themselves exert all their influence and power, within legal limitations, to the end that the coming recall election shall be of the nature of a white primary.

The undersigned hereby ask the co-operation of every citizen, both black and white, so that in the coming recall election there shall be no ballots cast by negroes.

A. B. CUTTER,
Commissioner of Fort Myers.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
Monday, October 1, 1928

Even Republicans Admit Smith Will Get Big Vote In Hoover's Home State

By D. FIELD BRITTLE,
Associated Press Staff Writer.

LOS ANGLES, Sept. 30—(AP)—Heaping portions of Hoover and Smith sentiment, spiced with prohibition and tariff, flavored with grapes, raisins and beans and the whole stirred "round in Colorado River Bouldier Dam water"—such is the political potpourri that California is brewing for tasting in November.

Those items and many more stand as the reasons why Californians will vote as they will, and they gave testimony also that this state that sent forth its adopted son as Republican color bearer is not necessarily unanimously for him, just as New York is not an indivisable unit behind its own Governor Smith.

It is a queer paradox in this season of paradoxes that certain elements of Hoover's own California have found more reasons that they believe to be sound for voting against him than have opposing groups in perhaps any other state. The verity of the unique situation is attested by Republican campaign leaders, but they declare the discordant forces to be small and misunderstanding minorities. The Hoover managers are not alarmed; they speak of winning majorities ranging from 300,000 to half a million votes, and they say so with an air of certainty and finality. At headquarters both here and in San Francisco spokesmen have a practice of saying that almost any calamity could befall the campaign and still not bring defeat. At the same time they concede Governor Smith is likely to poll a surprisingly large vote in this state.

Smith Victory Forecast.

The latter expression is the keynote of the Democratic campaign, a campaign that is singularly marked by perhaps more determination and resolution than by airy optimism. For publication the Smith managers speak of majorities of 50,000 votes or smaller, a forecast that admits that a Smith victory must be accomplished with Republican votes, for the Golden Poppy State is habitually Republican.

It is to a variety of sources that the Democrats look for Republican support. One of them dates back to the post-war days when the California bean grower suddenly found himself with a bumper crop and no market, a situation laid by some at the door of Herbert Hoover, who then was food administrator, dealing in food stuffs on a world-wide scale for the relief of the allies. The contentiton there, voiced also in Democratic circles, is that Hoover encouraged the bean growers to plant a record crop and then bought beans abroad instead of here.

Republican headquarters at San Francisco has taken cognizance of the circulating story by publishing a pamphlet entitled "How the California bean story became a political tear bomb." It sets forth that Hoover obtained options on Oriental beans only when it appeared that rainy weather was about to destroy the California crop. The weather then turned favorable, the pamphlet recites, and when the situation was about to straighten itself out, the armistice was signed and Europe laid down an embargo against food importations, eliminating California's needed market.

Hoover Uses Negro Labor.

The bean story is not the only one floating about the state in use against Hoover. Another concerns charges that the candidate had refused to employ white labor on his 1,300 acre farm at Wasco, in the southern part of the state. Republican headquarters sent a committee to investigate, and its report, also published in pamphlet form, declares that white labor was employed for the task it preferred, and that employment was on the basis of 50 per cent American, 25 per cent negro and the remainder Mexican.

Still, a third story, termed "fantastic" by Republicans, concerns the California grape and raisin, suddenly grown to political proportions. As detailed by both Democratic and Republican partisans, the trouble there is that the market is very unfavorable and by some process of reasoning not quite clear, the fault is charged to Mr. Hoover. His headquarters here now is preparing another pamphlet to show that Hoover is not to blame.

Combatting these cross currents has taken considerable of the Hoover managers' time and how well they succeed in retaining the farmer vote in the fertile California valleys awaits election day. Some Republican observers agree that Smith will run well among the farmers, not only on the farm relief issue but also on prohibition. Tariff enters into the picture as well, both Democrats and Republicans asserting that fruit and nut growers in particular need more protection and asserting their intentions to provide it.

GIBBONS INST. HEAD WON'T AID G. O. P.

Victor Daniels Returns Publicity To Mrs. Helen Cardoza State Leader

MABEL WILLEBR'NDT TOO

Fewer G. O. P. Heroines, Less Will Have To Blush For

RIDGE, Md.—Belief that many race voters are merely adhering to the Republican party because of their belief that the more effectual way of fighting the party's shortcomings is from within, was expressed by C. E. H. Daniel, head of Gibbons Institute, here, this week when he refused to lend his support to the present G. O. P. campaign.

Cites Willebrandt.

Returning to Mrs. Edith Cardozo, Baltimore, some Republican publicity matter that she had sent him, Mr. Daniel pointed out that no race voter could seriously believe the statements set forth in the appeal for support. Reviewing the unsavory conditions within the ranks of the G. O. P., Mr. Daniel said: "After the spectacle of Mrs. Willebrandt walking uninvited into the meeting of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, and actually addressing it, contrary, as they claim, to the wishes of its officers, and the more important spectacle from a national point of view of her entering into religious bigotry as a means of securing support, and her further indiscretions with regard to the enforcement of the Volstead Act — all these without challenge or rebuke — I certainly could not lend my little influence, which is most insignificant anyway, to furthering the Republican campaign.

"I have no illusions about either party, but at least I am forced into a certain respect for that party which has at least the courage of its convictions, even tho I may disagree with many of those convictions.

May Have To Blush

"As to the Republican campaign to date, it seems to me that the fewer heroics used as Negro make over it, the less we shall have to blush for."

Negro Cars With Smith Banners Touring South For G. O. P., Is Belief

Watch out for negroes in automobiles placarded with Al Smith banners!

This Democrats message is sent out to Democrats in the various counties from Birmingham. The reason for it is information obtained that the Republican national campaign bosses have equipped scores of such automobiles and loaded them down with negroes and Al Smith banners and sent them into southern states.

The object of the "negro invasion" is to prejudice the white voters in the rural sections against the Democratic national ticket and Gov. Al Smith. Report has it that the Republicans have become desperate over the plastering of the black man's label on the party and are attempting to overcome the handicap by the "negro invasion." Democrats are warned to look out for these negroes and report to their county chairman.

Silent Hoover

The more silence from G. O. P. Candidate Herbert Hoover, the more blatant becomes Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, Senator Thomas Heflin and the Ku Klux Klan.

All three of them make so much noise that Mr. Hoover is not only drowned out, but we doubt if he is saying anything at all. So palpable is this that Mr. Heywood Broun remarks in the current issue of the "Nation."

"Herbert Clark, Hoover is not running for anything, he's being run."

"Not one word has he uttered to offend the klan and all its kleagles. They may not be his men, but he is their's. Fanatics, trimmers, rascals have joined the train of Herbert Hoover, and nothing has come from the great humanitarian to discourage their support."

The Willebrandts, Ku Klux and Heflins are noising abroad in the land promising what Mr. Hoover will do to Negroes, Catholics and foreigners if elected, and the candidate in order to get the votes keeps his mouth shut tight.

In his acceptance speech, Mr. Hoover promised if elected to carry out the policies of Mr. Coolidge. He makes good at the start so far as the Coolidge policy of silence is concerned.

By contrast Candidate Alfred Smith tours the country defining and explaining his views on campaign issues. Other democrats are aiding him in the campaign but to date Mr. Smith is exhibit A.

Out of the campaign two questions must occur naturally to the voters.

If elected, will Mr. Hoover find his tongue, or will the Willebrandts, ku klux and Hefflins continue to speak for him?

Secondly—Is Mr. Hoover's silence based on hypocrisy, strategy or plain fear to meet in public debate a militant speaker like Mr. Smith.

Think these things over since its inevitable that Mr. Smith or Mr. Hoover will be the next president.

While you are thinking, try to imagine Abraham Linclon or Theodore Roosevelt permitting "Aunt" Mabel and Uncle "Tom" do their talking.

Jack Johnson Bolts Party

HARTFORD, Conn. — Jack Johnson, who has been a staunch Democrat, got off the Donkey this week and crawled up on the Hoover bandwagon.

Because Chairman Raskob denied the heavyweight's affiliation with the Democrats, the former withdrew from the party.

NANNIE BURROUGHS URGES SUPPORT OF HOOVER & CURTIS

Warns Negro Not To Vote For Man Who Would Alter Constitution

Washington, D. C.—In a printed statement, Miss Nannie Burroughs, founder and principal of the National Training School, located here, and one of the most prominent colored women in America, urged colored voters, throughout the country, to support the Hoover-Curtis ticket in the national election on November 6.

She warned them "not to vote any man in power who proposes to tamper with the Constitution of the United States," referring to Gov. Smith.

"The test in this campaign is a test of the strength of the Amendments to the Constitution. If the Eighteenth Amendment is not strong enough to stand—if we vote men into office who sanction its modification or annulment—we might as well sign the death certificates of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments," said Miss Burroughs.

"Do not vote any man into power who proposes to tamper with the Constitution of the United States and do not forget that the party which Governor Smith represents did not help to write your rights into the Constitution and it should not therefore be given an opportunity to tamper with them. No chain is stronger than its weakest link. If you vote to weaken the eighteenth link, you weaken or jeopardize all of the links."

Political - 1928.

Party Affiliation.

NO NEGROES WANTED—UNTIL ELECTION DAY

Bob Church Must Take the Back Seat.

SHORTLE'S HAND FORCED

Memphis Lily Whites Afraid of Church's Effect Upon the White Dissentients, Will Have Separate Headquarters.

Bob Church and his negro Republican organization can name federal officials in Memphis, get mixed up with post office scandals, and even do what they can to corral negro votes along Beale Street or in Chicago, but he must sneak in the back door when he undertakes to sit in with the Republican organization now charged with the Hoover campaign in Shelby County.

The fuming and stewing among the lily-whites and the black and tans came to a sort of showdown yesterday. J. S. Shortle, the Republican county manager, after much capoling, some threats and considerable high-hatting, reductantly announced that Bod Church would not be named one of his vice chairmen.

"I am informed that his duties with the national Republican committee are such that he can not until election," said Mr. Shortle in a formal statement, "will be required for the work among the negroes in Chicago and New York."

And besides, Mr. Shortle continued, "the Memphis negroes have effected their own organization and they will have their own headquarters.

Commercial Appeal 10-5-28

Memphis Tenn.

Press-Scimitar Takes a Hand.

Of course. Mr. Shortle does not mean to state that his decision affects Bod Church's standing with Congressman J. Will Taylor, the patronage referee. Mr. Taylor a few days ago repudiated the report that any effort was being made higher up to give Church the air. Neither does Mr. Shortle undertake to state that the Republican national headqaurters will cease to look to Church for the conduct of the Hoover campjaign in this neck of the woods.

It does appear, however, that for the moment, at least, Church must stick around in the back yard, and not get out on the front porch.

Some credit for Mr. Shortle's reluctant decision must be given to T. E. Sharp, editor of the Memphis Press-Scimitar, a supporter of the Republican ticket. The Press-Scimitar during the last week has printed some pointed news items rather taking the side of the lily-whites who did not want to rub elbows with Church in public. The lily-whites themselves, without saying it publicly, nevertheless argued that the presence of Church as a Shelby County manager would prevent some of the Memphis lumbermen from lining up with Hoover and what is more important, would prevent a general shakedown for campaign funds.

Mr. Sharp got busy yesterday and sent the following telegram to George Akerson, Mr. Hoover's chief personal aid and secretary:

"It is reported that R. R. Church, negro political boss, is to be named vice chairman of Shelby County committee. If true, this means the alienation of thousands of Democrats who have made up their minds to vote for Hoover and will undoubtedly swing Tennessee to Smith, and probably also other doubtful southern states. As editor of a Scripps-Howard paper supporting Hoover and wishing him to win, I protest."

Church Still for Hoover.

In spite of the effort to give Church the run-around, he is not to be dismayed. He will do what he can for Hoover.

"I have not read the Shortle statement," Church told The Commercial Appeal last night. It was read to him by a reporter.

"Well," he said, "I am for Hoover and Mr. Shortle is for Hoover. I am going to do what I can for Hoover. My work in the campaign will take me pretty generally throughout the country. I will be active wherever I can do some good."

The Shortle statement follows:

"There has been some delay in the appointment of my vice chairmen and executive committee, on account of not being able to confer with several of the gentlemen whom I wish to serve, owing to their absence from the city. I have appointed as vice chairmen Mr. John Q. Eaton and Mr. Lindsay Phillips; secretary, Mr. Ross Matthews. As executive committee in charge of downtown Republican headquarters, I have appointed Messrs. Jim Quinn, Louis N. Goldert, C. H. King and Lindsay Phillips and John Q. Eaton, ex officio.

"The colored people have effected their own organization, and Dr. L. A. West, the head of Mercy Hospital, will be in charge of their activities. They will have headquarters on Beale Street.

"I desire to correct the evidently unintentional misstatements of the connection of R. R. Church with this committee. R. R. Church has not at any time, either directly or indirectly, communicated with me or made any offers or suggestions towards the appointments of either the vice chairmen or the executive committee. It was suggested by some of his friends that he be appointed on executive committee in charge of the colored activities, owing to his acquaintance and influence with his race. I am informed that his duties with the national committee are such that his time from now on until election will be required for the work with his people in Chicago and New York.

"Republican headquarters will be open in a few days at 70 Madison Avenue."

CONSTITUTION
ATLANTA, GA.
SEP 29 1928

G. O. P. 'LILY WHITE' ELEMENT FLAYED BY NEGRO EDITOR

Ben Davis, Hold-Over Negro Republican National Committeeman, Raises Flag of Revolt.

Evidence of a serious split in the republican organization in Georgia is seen in front page editorials carried in the two most recent issues of "The Atlanta Independent," the weekly negro paper published by Ben J. Davis, hold over republican national committeeman from this state.

The first of these editorials, in the issue of September 20, has been reproduced by the state democratic campaign committee, John R. Slater, chairman, and several thousand copies have been sent to all sections of the state, incontrovertibly showing the situation within the state organization of the party into which Georgians are being tempted to come, under the misleading label of "Hoover democrats."

In the opening paragraph of this editorial, Davis attacks another negro publication, the Negro World, which is edited by Marcus Garvey, of New York, who has spent several years in the federal prison here. Replying to this The Independent says:

"The Negro World, edited by Marcus Garvey but published in New York, was out in a long, disjointed, illogical editorial last week, taking the Atlanta Independent to task for being 100 per cent republican and giving Editor Davis a scathing rebuke for his continued loyalty to the party in the teeth of the party's treachery to him."

After enlarging upon this, the editorial continues:

"We answer that the Independent is 100 per cent republican because it cannot be bought by the democrats' money or be bulldozed out of the party by lily-white bastard republicans and commercialized negro grafters, who would sell their wives and daughters into political slavery and economical ruin, for pelf and plunder."

Republican

Further, it says:

"We are republicans and offer no apology for our faith. The Independent has the same right to go along with the republican organization that the World has to trail the democratic party outside of the ranks, with the hope of receiving a few crumbs from the hands of Heflin, Blease and Pat Harrison. We are not going to get out of the ship into the sea. We are republicans and no man inside the party, black or white, can make us forsake its principles because of real or imaginary grievances. Let come what may, our houses and we are going to fight it out aboard the republican ship.

In closing this editorial, Davis declares:

"Editor Davis is not a political victim of the republican party, but of a combination of lily-whites and mercenary negroes who would sell heaven

that she did not think it had said anything about saving the land from being Romanized. She explained that it was her habit to outline letters to her secretary, leaving to the latter the actual phraseology.

The letter, the Post story says, was sent to Mrs. Lyon under the incorrect assumption that she had accepted the post of vice chairman of the republican committee for her precinct.

The Post quoted Mrs. Caldwell as saying that only two or three copies of the letter were distributed. The letter, as given to the Post by Mrs. Lyon, is as follows:

"Dear Madam: I am pleased to know that you have been named vice chairman of your precinct. I feel sure you are anxious to do all in your power to elect the splendid ticket, 'Hoover and Curtis,' which our party is so fortunate as to have in the field.

"Mr. Hoover, himself, and the national committee are depending on the women to save our country in this hour of very vital moral religious crisis. We must save the United States from being Romanized and run-ridden (correct) and the call is to the women to do so."

"Will you not please try to get a list of every republican woman and every Hoover democratic woman who votes at your precinct? The men will help you, and, if necessary, I think you would be willing to make a house-to-house canvass, distributing literature and finding out how the women feel in this section—would you not?

"We are sending you some cards, will send more literature, if you wish it.

"Will appreciate a reply, giving us an idea as to how your precinct stands—also a list of Hoover women at your precinct to whom we might send literature."

Herbert Hoover tonight flatly repudiated the letter published by the Washington Post.

The statement of the republican presidential candidate which was his first pronouncement on the religious issue in the campaign since his acceptance speech declared: "Whether this letter is authentic or a forgery, it does violence to every instinct that I possess. I resent and repudiate it.

"Such an attitude is entirely opposed to every principle of the republican party. I made my position clear in my acceptance speech when I said:

"'In this land, dedicated to tolerance, we still find outbreaks of intolerance. I come of Quaker stock. My ancestors were persecuted for their beliefs. Here they sought and found religious freedom. By blood and conviction I stand for religious tolerance both in act and in spirit. The glory of our American ideals is the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.'

"I meant that then and I mean it now."

SOUTH BEND
INDIANA
OCT 3 1928

MANION TALKS TO COLORED VOTERS

Two Hundred Listen to Speech in Democratic Headquarters.

The Democratic party of St. Joseph county, Tuesday night opened an intensive campaign to enlist the colored voting strength of South Bend, Mishawaka and the outlying districts.

The first all-colored meeting of the campaign was held at Democratic headquarters, Tuesday evening, with nearly 200 colored men and women of South Bend jammed into the limited capacity of Democratic headquarters, and pledging their support to the entire Democratic ticket while Clarence Manion, the gifted orator of Notre Dame spoke from the platform.

Tuesday night's colored meeting was the first of a series of such meetings that will be held almost three times a week in various colored gathering places on the west side of the city.

Challenge Influence.

Democratic leaders, Wednesday challenged the influence of the Republican party in this county to control the colored vote. Republican headquarters have made preparations to win the colored support through the appointment of colored leaders and workers, but other influential figures in the colored residential sections declare that the Republican organization has been unable to get a foothold among colored voters.

Manion told his colored audience Tuesday night that the Republicans offered nothing to the colored voter, and he reviewed the issues of the Democratic state and national campaign, pointing out to his listeners that the issues were such as to deserve the support of the colored electorate.

Complete Supremacy.

Democratic leaders expressed the belief Wednesday, that the racial pride of the colored residents of the United States would be deeply wounded by the developments of the Republican campaign in the South, when the Republicans have promised to strike colored organizations and leaders out of politics and public office and insure the white race of complete supremacy south of the Ohio river.

WEST RESENTS REPUBLICAN PARTY PROGRAM FOR RACE

Voters Line Up For Reprisals In Doubtful States. Negro Voter Handed His Hat.

Chicago, Oct. 10—The largest and most enthusiastic meeting ever held in Chicago's history by Negroes on behalf of Democratic candidates was held in the auditorium of Wendell Phillips High School, Thirty-ninth Street and Prairie Avenue, when two thousand men and women packed the hall and lustily cheered the name of Alfred E. Smith. The name of Herbert Hoover was received in silence.

The big meeting reflected the mood of hundreds of colored voters on the South Side. The indictment of Oscar DePriest, running on the Republican ticket for Congress, and the publication of an article in the Chicago Tribune telling of the G. O. P. program to eliminate the Negro from a commanding position in politics, are the chief contributing factors in bringing about a new and unusual situation which is giving the G. O. P. leaders much concern.

Arthur Sears Henning, writing in the Chicago Tribune, says in part: "The politically dry, anti-Catholic southern Democrats cannot affiliate with the Democratic party so long as it is dominated by Gov. Smith, a wet Roman Catholic, who will be its titular head for four years at least, whether elected or defeated, and by John J. Raskob, a wet knight of the Romish Church, who is Democratic National Chairman.

"In the G. O. P. these Southerners find a party committed to the preservation of National prohibition, a party dominated by Protestants. To them the G. O. P. now opens its arms with the assurance that they have nothing to fear by joining up permanently. Their ground for distrust, fear and hatred of 'black Republicans' is being removed. The G. O. P. is handing the Negro his hat and is prepared to be as 'Lily White' as the most exacting Southern shouter for white supremacy can demand.

"The plan to build a white Republican Party in the South received the approval of Hoover early in the campaign, according to somewhat varying versions obtained from Southern Republican leaders. Some say that the program was mapped out prior to the Kansas City convention, when Hoover organization had contracted for the delivery of certain Negro delegates from the South, but promised rival 'Lily White' delegations to recognize them in the party reorganization after the convention.

"According to another version, the project did not actually take form until shortly before Hoover's acceptance speech when a number of Southern Republicans headed by Col. Jennings C. Wise of Richmond, Va., visited the candidate at Palo Alto. They explained to Hoover the opportunity of annexing the anti-Smith Democrats permanently to the Republican Party if he would authorize the elimination of the Negro and the reorganization of the Southern G. O. P. as a white man's institution.

"This movement, according to the universal understanding here, has the entire approval of Herbert Hoover, who is reputed to regard the generation of the Republican Party in the South on a white basis as one of the principal reforms he expects to carry out if elected to the Presidency."

NEGROES DENY SIGNING PLEA FOR HOOVER

Charge "Race Equality" Petition Published Here Is Fake

ONLY FOUR ON LIST FOUND

ALL REPUDIATE ALLEGED APPEAL TO CHICAGO VOTERS

(From Birmingham Post)

Charging that the petition printed in the Age-Herald of October 2 purporting to be an appeal from Alabama Negroes to Cook County, Illinois, Negroes to vote for Herbert Hoover was a misrepresentation, Anti-Smith Democratic headquarters announced Wednesday that it had affidavits from four Alabama Negroes whose names were attached to the published petition denying that they had signed such a document.

The affidavits denied that the men had signed a petition referring to "social and political equality" for the race in the South.

After the publication of the alleged petition, the Post endeavored to locate the Birmingham Negroes whose names were printed and found that none of the names was in the city directory.

Charge Names Fictitious

Anti-Smith headquarters charged that these names were fictitious.

The affidavits denying the alleged petiiton were from three Gadsden and one Alabama City colored man. They admitted having been approached by a Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Hughes, but all denied that the petition presented to them was the same as the one published in the Age-Herald.

One of the men, John H. Redrick of Gadsden, stated in his affidavit that he had signed a petition asking Northern Negroes not to vote wet and asking them to stand by Southern prohibitionists. He said that he had "since been informed that this man (the circulator of the petition) works for the Al Smith campaign committee."

Says Petition Changed

J. W. Means, another Gadsden colored man, said that the petition he signed and the petition printed were entirely different.

E. F. Barnes, the third of the Gadsden men, said that he had never tried to vote, and had not signed any petition referring to social or political equality for the Negroes.

Toney E. Johnes, Alabama City Negro, signed an affidavit saying he was but 17 years old and had not signed the statement appearing in the Age-Herald over his name.

The petition as printed in the Age-Herald, included the following passages, which were specifically denied by the colored men in their affidavits:

"The level-headed leads in Alabama agree that it is not wise to claim equality with the white race. But looking ahead, Mr. Hoover's election will pave the way for that very thing.

"If this can be done, I am sure that in four years, all Negroes in Alabama will be permitted to vote. . .

"When our people are permitted to vote, that fact will mean that we will havce political equality with the whites."

None of these passages was in the petition presented to the colored men, according to the affidavits.

NEW YORK
EVE. TELEGRAM
OCT 9 1928

NEGROES' VOTE PRESENTS NEW CAMPAIGN CARE

Party Heads Realize It May Prove Decisive in Several States.

INCALCULABLE AS YET

Strength Lies on Southern Border, in Middle West and Northwest.

By RAY TUCKER,
New York Telegram Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 9.—Governor Smith's invasion of the border States on the heels of Herbert Hoover's trip to Tennessee has centred attention on a factor which furnishes a disturbing and incalculable element in the Presidential campaign—the negro vote.

In Tennessee and Kentucky, as well as other States, including possibly Illinois, their vote may prove decisive. The present concern over their position is felt chiefly by the Republicans, who have had the support of negro voters in the past. But this year there are assertions that a good part of it will go to Smith, as it has in New York for many years.

Vote Exceeds Republican Majorities.

Should a large part of this group in Tennessee and Kentucky vote for the Democratic nominee, it would enhance his chance of carrying those States. The number of negroes there who can vote is greater than the majorities by which the Republican party carried them in 1924 and 1928.

The same element has a large voting population in the four Middle Western States Smith will visit—Missouri, Indiana, Ohio and Illinos, Their total is put at 300,000 in Ohio alone, and at perhaps more in Illino.i.

In Northeastern territory, too, the negroes have great influence, notably in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. It is no secret that the Democrats expect to corral some of these hitherto Republican voters, while the Republicans are working equally hard to keep them in line.

Anti-Hoover Movement Fails.

A threatened rebellion against Hoover on the ground that he sponsored the recent "Lily White" movement in the South has been suppressed. Representatives of the race met at Chicago late in August, with intentions of putting up a candidate of their own merely to punish the two major parties, but nothing came of it except speeches and resolutions denouncing political neglect of the negro.

The two negro leaders credited with stifling the movement are Roscoe Simmons, Chicago, and "Bob" Church, Memphis.

Smith is said to have won many negro voters to his standard during his recent campaigns in New York. His wet views, together with the Tammany organization's defense of the five-cent fare, appealed to the negro population.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliations.

Republican.

LAST MINUTE NEWS

WALNUT STREETERS KICKING—CLAIM REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION TRYING TO FREEZE OUT COLORED OWNERS FOR WHITES POINT TO ALLIE WARE

Well, well, well! So they are kicking on Walnut Street about the Republican organization trying to force Colored pool-room owners out of the good places and let white ones in. What you know about that? And there's good old Ollie Ware. Right after the Republicans went in power, Ollie took over Billy Walker's place, and being popular with gang began to do a big business—"everybody" hung out at Ollie's place. But suddenly—so they say—Ollie received mysterious word he would have to move. It seems his business was killing a white man's business in the same block. Well, Ollie, so they say, didn't like that a little bit. So he hastened up to Republican headuarters to register a kick. They say Ollie was told the bosses had nothing against him, but he was renting from William Walker and Walker is a Democrat! And they, the bosses, did not want Walker to make any money, if they could help it. Ollie argued that Walter Simons, his competitor, had rented from Walker at one time. But the thumbs were turned down—Ollie has to move.

Politics is politics, and it is a good clean game, so the Mayor said the other night. And treating Ollie so rough would not be so bad, perhaps if Ollie wasn't such a good Republican worker. News

Ollie has worked hard for the party. He tried to get everybody to be for the Republicans right or wrong. He spent an hour one day during the campaign trying to get the Editor of The News to change his mind. So it is pretty tough on Ollie to be handed this rough stuff, after sticking and fighting so hard for the party. 1-28-28

But The News doesn't mean to meddle. It fought the party and so has no kick coming. And even though Ollie Ware and others disagreed with it, The News is sorry to see them handed a package. Most Colored people will agree that since pool-rooms have to exist in Negro neighborhoods they ought to be run by Colored men.

Jacksonville, Fla.

SENATOR SWANSON DEFENDS DISFRANCHISEMENT BY DENYING IT

Senator Swanson, of Virginia, backed by that eminent Republican from Idaho, Senator Borah in a 15,000-word speech defends the disfranchisement of Negroes in the South by denying that they are disfranchised.

According to Senator Swanson the Negroes of Virginia and all the other former seceding States except Tennessee are given the full privilege of the suffrage but are too ignorant or otherwise incapable of qualifying for the exercise of the privilege. Chicago Commercial News 1-28-28

Senator Swanson and the whole array of Southern politicians know that the suffrage laws as applied to Negroes in the disfranchising States are unconstitutional. They know that the provisions of the Constitution are flagrantly and openly violated regardless of whether the State Constitutional provisions and laws thereunder are worded so as to evade the Federal Constitutional provisions. Baltimore, Md.

There is a gentleman's understanding between Republicans and Democrats that Negro disfranchisement shall not be interferred with so long as public sentiment is apathetic in regard to it. The gentlemen who run the so-called Republican organizations in all the disfranchising States except Georgia and Mississippi are satisfied with conditions as they are as the smaller the number of voters the easier and less expensive it is to manipulate the machine and get delegates to National Conventions which has been the sole and sum of the political labors of those estimable Republican gentlemen. Carrying an election or polling a large or full vote at election time is never once entertained by them; their duties and labors cease after the last delegate is elected and their entire attention is then directed to the patronage to be dispensed by them under the next Administration.

These men together with Southern Democrats, poison the minds (which of course, are exceedingly susceptible to poison against the Negro) of Northern Republicans, hence the gentleman's understanding.

Negroes are not deceived or hoodwinked over the attitude of the party to which they have clung since they were given to vote. That party is their best bet and they take it knowing what they are taking and why; they know that when disfranchisement becomes a political issue through force of public sentiment aroused against it it will end and believe that the Prohibition Amendment and enforcement agitation will further their cause, and Dr. Swanson's 15,000-word speech in defense of disfranchisement was produced because of that fear.

Dr. W. G. Alexander Delegate-at-Large

Selected by New Jersey State Republican Committee

TRENTON, Jan. 16.—At a maeting of the Republican State Committee held here last Friday, Dr. Walter G. Alexander of Orange was selected as one of the seven delegates-at-large to the Republican National convention in Kansas City, and Mrs. Bessie B. Mention of Princeton was chosen one of the alternates-at-large. Amsterdam News

Dr. Alexander is a former Assemblyman from Essex County, and in 1924 was an alternate-at-large to the Republican convention in Cleveland. In the election he ran far ahead of his ticket. 1-19-28

Mrs. Mention has been active for several years in Republican politics among women. She has been for a long while president of the Colored Republican Women's Conference of New Jersey, and has maintained a strong and aggressive organization among the women. New York, N.Y.

The selection of Dr. Alexander and Mrs. Mention is of particular significance because of their independent attitude in the party in the past.

There will be added importance to the position of Dr. Alexander because of the avowed candidacy of Senator Walter E. Edge for the Vice-Presidential nomination.

George E. Bates, grand secretary of the Elks, was an aspirant for the place allotted to Dr. Alexander. Bates was supported by Isaac Nutter of Atlantic City, who was at one time a powerful political factor in Atlantic City. Dr. Alxeander was supported by Oliver Randolph, assistant district attorney, who is also a member of the State Republican Advisory Committee.

NEGROES AND THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

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The announcement comes that local Negroes will be named who will provide entertainment for Negroes who come to the Republican national convention. If this means they will be associated with the whites already appointed to provide for entertaining visitors, Negroes along with the rest, well and good. But if this is a "Jim-Crow" committee to provide "Jim-Crow" entertainment, then Kansas City will have committed a breach of hospitality, and we too, if we make such a committee, will be guilty of hurting our brethren's feelings.

Race prejudice is a fact. But entertaining the convention is a wish which arose from Kansas City, not a favor asked of it. It should not set the conditions of entertainment, but should diligently study how it can give the Republicans what they have received in Cleveland, Chicago and elsewhere.

Let us not have here in Kansas City at the national convention of the Republican party social barriers erected to keep Negroes segregated as undesirables, after the fashion that the "lily-white" Republican leaders of the South take control, by holding sessions in white hotels. By all means let Negroes be on the entertainment committee, but not to take Negro visitors off to themselves.

Political Comedy

THE KINGS County Colored Republican organization has taken a stand against the importation of men from the South to run the presidential campaign in New York. They have been joined in their protest by prominent Republicans of Harlem. The contention of the New Yorkers is that they should be led in presidential and other campaigns by men of New York or its vicinity, and that the men who come here to lead them hail from states where the Negro has no vote.

BRINGING in men who have no vote to lead men who have a vote is something worthy of comic opera; it could not happen to any race but the Negro. The reason for it is plain: these imported men deliver large blocks of Negro delegates at Republican national conventions and campaign leadership is their reward. But the citizens of New York have a right to protest. What would the white Republicans of New York say if men were sent from Oregon and put over their heads to run the New York end of a presidential campaign? Sauce for the white Republican is sauce for the Negro Republican.

NEGRO LEADERS OPPOSE EFFORT OF LILY-WHITES

Little Rock, Ark.—(ANP)—Negro Republican leaders here and throughout the state are looking askance at the proposed program of the "lily-white" faction of the party "to perfect plans for the organization of a Republican State Club in which Negro and white members would cooperate."

According to the projected program, county units would be formed, and these would send delegates to the state conventions. The Negro members of the club "would be permitted to participate in the conventions and councils, which is in direct opposition to the avowed policy of the lily-white wing, and for this reason the colored people are a bit apprehensive about the plan, which they consider "sop." They have been excluded from the state conventions.

The effort to pacify the Negro members of the party is thought to have grown out of the almost solid front presented by the Negro Republicans, headed by Judge Scipio Jones, against the appointment of Wallace Townsend as federal judge in the eastern district of Arkansas. Judge Jones and his followers contend that Townsend was responsible for the exclusion of Negroes from several county conventions during his term as chairman of the Pulaski County Republican central committee.

Judge Jones further points out that Townsend had for twelve years worked diligently and assiduously against the Negro taking any part in politics in Arkansas, and that his appointment on the state interracial committee was not enough to wipe out his past record.

Whites Seek "Me-Too Bossers"

Following the usual plan in the South, it is reported that those who are supporting Townsend's candidacy are seeking the cooperation of those "Negro leaders" who are always willing to serve the white man's purpose, even to the hindrance of themselves and the interests of their race. The effort to swing this plan around Dr. G. W. Layman by electing him to the state central committee, Thursday, failed Friday when Dr. Hayman offered his resignation, declaring that protests on the part of his race had forced him to tender his resignation.

Judge Jones is fighting the candidacy of Townsend in his characteristic fashion, which has stamped him as a real fighter and champion of the Negro's cause in these parts. He has solicited the aid of those who exert national influence in the Republican party, and it is said that Benjaman J. Davis, national Republican committeeman from Georgia, and Perry W. Howard of Mississippi are lending their support to Judge Jones' efforts.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

JAN 22 1928

COHEN WHIPS THE LILY-WHITES.

The man whom President Harding picked in 1923 to be Controller of Customs at the Port of New Orleans, the negro, Walter L. Cohen, is turning out to be a pretty good politician. In the Louisiana Republican primaries he has whipped the Lily-Whites to a frazzle, and will control the Republican machine in the State, which doesn't amount to much, and the delegation to the National Republican Convention, which may mean a good deal. In the thirteen wards of New Orleans Cohen had thirteen candidates for the State Central Committee, only one a white man, and in every ward he won easily. Also the voting was heavy, for there's no check by Caucasianism on Republican primaries.

Cohen's nomination to a Federal place was hotly antagonized by Southern Democrats in the Senate, and on the first test they succeeded through Senatorial courtesy in preventing a confirmation. President Harding promptly gave Cohen a recess nomination and confirmation was arranged later. In August, 1925, "conspiracy to violate the Volstead Law" was charged against Cohen and he was indicted. But the proceedings came to nothing and the negro leader always laid the attack to Lily-White plotters. He kept his place.

The attitude of Harding, like the attitude of President Coolidge, toward the Lily-White movement was a bit mixed. It was friendly toward the movement in Virginia where C. Bascom Slemp, later secretary to Coolidge, was a leading Lily-White. But Harding balked at attacking the Johnson negro machine in Georgia, and denying patronage to colored men in cotton States was not his policy, nor has it been that of his successor. In Louisiana the blacks are an overwhelming majority of the Republicans, and no legislation to keep them out of primaries is likely. The white Democrats are very well satisfied with the status quo.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

Star.

JAN 1928

Wheeler.

A NEGRO G. O. P. COMMITTEE.

Leaders Will Look After Convention Delegates of Their Race.

Committees will be selected to look after the entertainment of Negro delegates to the Republican national convention here in June, Conrad H. Mann, general chairman in charge of arrangements here, and Robert H. Tschudy, Republican county chairman, announced today.

The committees will be chosen soon from among Negro leaders in Greater Kansas City.

Political 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Republicans Not Confident

Negro Situation Source Of Worry To G. O. P.

By RUSSELL KENT.
(Staff Correspondent.)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4.—As the national campaign, swings into its final weeks the sharp division which has existed among the Republican leaders over how to handle the negro situation is becoming more emphasized. It is apparent that a majority of the G. O. P. strategists have lost confidence, if indeed they ever possessed any, that the "solid South" can be broken. Nevertheless, there persists a minority which is urging that something be done to demonstrate that Hoover is not overly friendly with the colored race.

This minority group believes that if the effects of the anti-segration order by which blacks were placed alongside whites in the census bureau last Spring in order to benefit Hoover's candidacy for the Republican nomination could be overcome there might be at least a fighting chance to get white votes in the South.

10-5-28

The other group believes the whole Southern campaign from the Republican standpoint, insofar as obtaining a single electoral vote for Hoover and Curtis, is merely a dream. They believe the chief result of the campaign in the South will be to increase the popular vote without increasing the electoral vote. In support of their position they point out that 10 Confederate states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia have a total population of 25,415,000 and yet in 1924 they cast fewer popular votes for Coolidge than he received in the single state of Iowa.

It is also thought by this same group that while there is opposition in certain parts of the South to Governor Smith, the ground that would have to be made up to carry any of the Southern states is too great in a campaign where every dollar that can be raised and every bit of work that can be done is needed to save normally Republican territory.

Negro Danger Forseen.

Another danger forseen by this group is that were the negro element eliminated from the Republican party organization a white Republican party in several of the states would begin its career under the dominance of the Ku Klux Klan sentiment and influence, due to the fact that the klan in many places is leading the campaign against Smith. Such a condition might result in many of the negroes in Northern states where their vote is needed for Republican success, remaining from the polls. Republican leaders do not believe many negroes will vote the Democratic ticket. But if the negroes remained away from the polls in large numbers the result might be fatal to the G. O. P., regardless of any other influence.

The fact is that it is impossible for Hoover, even if he so desired, to jar loose negro leaders in some of the Southern states where they are in power, due to the fact that most of them were pre-convention supporters of Hoover. Of the 60 negro delegates to the Republican national convention at Kansas City last June only one, Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, was pledged to any candidate other than Hoover and Cohen was for Curtis for the presidential nomination. It was the negro delegates lined up by Perry Howard of Mississippi and Ben C. Davis of Georgia, who formed a nucleus around which the Hoover strength grew at the convention at Kansas City. Therefore for the present at least, the negroes cannot be displaced by the Hoover advisers.

Patronage Probe Cited.

Since the Kansas City convention, Perry W. Howard, the Mississippi Republican national committeeman who managed the Hoover pre-convention activities among the members of his race, has been indicted on charges in connection with the distribution of Federal patronage in Mississippi. Howard claims a frame-up against him by elements desiring a "lily white" party in the South. But his associate on the Republican national committee from Mississippi, Mary C. Booze, a negress, is actively working as republican national committeewoman to get out the negro vote for the Republican ticket.

Ben C. Davis, the Georgia negro leader, apparently is back in command in that state, although he has not been formally declared seated as Republican national committeeman for another term owing to the contest which was brought to the Kansas City convention where 12 of the 16 Georgia delegates were negroes. Georgia publications recently placed in the field a full slate of white electors, including two former Democrats who were delegates to the Democratic national convention at Houston. Davis, through his paper, "The Independent" is whooping it up for the Republican ticket in Georgia.

In a recent issue of Davis's paper there is an editorial which contains the following:

"Sometimes we may vote for a Democrat because of the man, but we can never vote for the Democratic party, so long as it stands for ignorance, meanness and race hatred as exemplified in Memphis, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic party.

"Al Smith is no better than the Democratic party. His record does not disclose a single favor that he has done for the negroes in New York. He (the negro) knows the Democratic party is his sworn enemy.

"As infamous and as wrong and as cowardly as lily whiteism is, it is no worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic party against the American negro."

VANN PUBLICITY CHIEF OF G. O. P. SAYS COOLIDGE COLDNESS HURTS

R. L. Vann Cites Lack of Negro Enthusiasm.

In a recent interview in the Washington Post, Robert L. Vann, Director of Publicity of the Negro Division of the Republican campaign, notes that there is a significant lack of interest and enthusiasm on the part of the Negro towards the Republican cause.

"The coldness of Calvin Coolidge toward the Negro throughout his presidential career, especially his failure to say anything in his official capacity to indicate an interest in the Negro and his problems, Mr. Vann cited as a cause for an unusually slow development of enthusiasm among Negroes for the Republican cause at this time. This coldness had developed, he believed, through a mistaken notion of the President's that the Negro masses were concerned more about their government jobs than improvement of their status as citizens.

"It was the opinion of the Director of Publicity that the Negro, old and young, was thinking more along different lines than at any other era."

EX-SERVICE MEN LAUNCH DRIVE TO ELECT HOOVER

Washington, D. C., Oct. 4—With the memory yet fresh in their minds of the hardships which they suffered under the Democratic administration, during the great World War, colored ex-service men are organizing thruout the country to do their bit to elect the Hoover-Curtis ticket in the national election, according to an announcement made by Lieutenant Colonel West Hamilton who has just returned to Washington after a swing around the country.

"Just as we organized for battle during the war," said the Colonel, "we are now marshalling our forces to bring about a great peace-time victory over the Democratic party, which segregated us even when we were offering our lives for the honor of the United States; the party which designed the insulting questionnaire with which every veteran is familiar; the party that crowded our boys in Labor outfits, and the party which denied them the opportunity to advance in rank according to their merit. Our objective in this campaign is to defeat that party in the coming election, and as we did our best on the battle fields of France, so are we going to put forth our best efforts to give the Hoover-Curtis ticket an unprecedented majority on November 6."

The ex-service men's organization, under Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton in the East and Lieutenant George W. Lee in the West has been completed with the following veterans as chairmen of the state organizations of the Eastern Division:

Connecticut, Howard P. Drew, Hartford; Delaware, Dr. Oscar N. Smith, Wilmington; Maryland, Phillip Handy, Baltimore; Massachusetts, Major L. F. Hewitt, Boston; New Jersey, Howard W. Brown, Camden; New York, Floyd G. Snelson, New York City; Pennsylvania, Otto Briggs, Philadelphia; Rhode Island, James M. Stockett, Jr., Providence; West Virginia, John W. Love, Montgomery; and Virginia, Rayford W. Logan, Richmond.

Negro Baptist Convention Endorses Repub Platform

SHREVEPORT, LA., Sept. 8.—(AP)—Resolutions endorsing the platform of the Republican party "as representing the best interests of the race and the country," were adopted here today at the 48th annual session of the National Baptist Convention of America, composed of negroes.

9-9-28

The resolutions said "there are great moral and religious questions involved in the present political campaign" and declared "that our convictions are the most nearly expressed in the platform of the Republican party."

There was no discussion.

G. O. P. FACTIONS IN GEORGIA.

In a recent issue of the newspaper edited by the hold-over negro national committeeman, Ben J. Davis, a vicious attack was made on what is known as the "lilly white" element of the republican party in Georgia.

Especial reference was made to Charles Adamson, of Cedartown, who is a life-long republican who believes in the faith of that party.

There is no better citizen of Georgia, nor one who has been a greater constructive force for the state's economic development.

Mr. Adamson has always believed that two parties serve the best interest of any state. We have taken the same position time and again,

and have been outspoken in the view.

10-3-28

There are a number of leading white citizens of Georgia who are out and out republicans. They are not ashamed of their party nor of their national candidates. It was the earnest hope of J. L. Philips, of Thomasville; Josiah T. Rose, collector of customs; Louis Crawford, marshal; Edward Large, Atlanta postmaster; Clinton Hager, district attorney; Harry G. Hastings, and scores of others—highly representative citizens all—to build a strong white republican party in Georgia, and their efforts ought to have succeeded. They would have done so had republican leaders in other sections of the country not been afraid, from the viewpoint of party expediency, to offer offense to negro leaders who persisted in the control of the state's party machinery.

It is courageous for any republican to say so, and to vote the ticket. It is reprehensible, however, for democrats to attempt to scuttle their party ship this year, destroy their own party by insurrection, and then add that they "remain democrats."

Men of the type we have mentioned, men of great industrial interests like Mr. Adamson, are too firmly entrenched in the esteem of their fellow citizens to be affected by the attacks of negro political leaders.

Atlanta, Ga.

TIMES

Fairmont, W. Va.

SEP 27 1928

G.O.P. ARRANGES NEGRO MEETING

Senator Ira Smith Plans Mass Event At Courthouse

State Senator Ira L. Smith, chairman of the Republican county speakers' bureau, has arranged for a mass meeting for the colored voters to be held at the court house Friday night, October 5.

This is to be the first of a series of mass meetings to be held at the courthouse on each Friday evening in October and on Saturday night before the election. T. G. Nutter, of Charleston and Arthur G. Froe, or Professor W. W. Sanders will be the speakers at the first meeting.

County Chairman John Guy Prichard and Senator Smith in conference agreed upon the staff of county speakers' bureau consisting of Carter D. Jones, Howard Wadsworth, J. Worley Powell, William Lehman, R. W. Putnam, Lorentz Steele, Joseph G. Conley, Jameson Meredith, Russell Furbee and Richard W. Tompkins. A meeting of the staff was held last night.

Meetings will be held in as many of the precincts as possible before election day. Members of the staff will be subject to call at any time where it is thought that a speech is needed. The forensic force may be augmented by older Republican members of the bar.

Senator Smith will confer with officers of the Republican Women's Club with a view of arranging joint meetings. Speakers available from the State Speakers' Bureau will be requisitioned for the bigger gatherings.

Mrs. Linnie M. Fisher, county vice chairman, is continuing her work among the women. She went to Worthington last night and will visit Millersville and Fairview this afternoon and this evening. Barrackville is on her schedule for Friday. Tuesday evening the women of Union district will meet at the home of Mrs. E. L. Gilhart in Fairfax street. The Rivesville meeting is billed for Tuesday evening.

EXPONENT
CLARKSBURG, W. VA.

SEP 29 1928

FORM HOOVER CLUB

A group of colored women met recently at the Harrison county Republican headquarters and organized a colored Hoover-Curtis club. These women have called a meeting for Tuesday at the colored headquarters.

Columbus, Ga., Enquirer-Sun
Saturday, September 29, 1928

HOOVER'S NEGRO ORDER
(From Valdosta, Ga., Times.)

It seems that Secretary Hoover, of the Department of Commerce, *not only issued the order abolishing the segregation system for Negro employes*, but that when he was hemmed up by Senator Stephens, of Mississippi, *he denied that such an order had been passed.* Senator Stephens also applied to Drector Haskins, of Mr. Hoover's department, and got from him a denial that the order was passed.

Senator Stephens then went to the *Congressional Record* and to the newspapers in Washington City and found where they made reference to the order under date of March 31. It is reported that the negroes in the department objected to the order almost as much as the white people did, as there was no feeling of sympathy or companionship between them and both races preferred to work separately from the other.

When Senator Stephens wrote Mr. Hoover protesting against the order he received a noncommital letter of four or five lines in reply to which he said thta "the articles which you mention are in a large degree foolish untruths". He also adds that if any action was taken against the interest of either white or colored employes "*they have a full right to present the matter to me, and I have had no complaint from either group.*"

Senator Stephens wrote Mr. Hoover another letter in which he told him employes had lost their jobs by protesting against actions of officials higher up, and because there had been no protest was no reason to assume that the white employes were not angry over the order. The effect of the order was to put the negro men, negro women, white men and white women all together. The negro women and the white women are supposed to use the same accommodations and work side by side, after they have been separated for a great many years.

It would not have been so bad *if Mr. Hoover had faced it like a man and admitted doing it*, but he makes a half-way denial and seeks to create the impression that it was not an important change. It was all done to please negro politicians of Ohio. Another thing that might be remembered by those alleged Democrats who are supporting Hoover is that in every contesting delegation from the South at the Kansas City convention, the negro delegates were seated and the whites were thrown overboard. *Mr. Hoover has been playing politics with the negroes from start to finish.*

To one and all: Whether you are for Smith or Hoover, wet or dry, Catholic or Protestant, vegetarian or meat-eater, don't forget to be a true AMERICAN, loyal to the highest ideals of this country that is on the verge of electing to the Presidency one of the greatest Democrats the nation has produced since Thomas Jefferson.

TAMPA, FLA.

Times

SEP 27 1928

SPEAKING OF NEGROES.

Every now and then wonder arises if ever there was a political campaign into which so much blatant bunk and manifest misstatement of fact crept as there has into the present one for the presidency. The revelation of Herbert Hoover's part in making white and negro clerks in the census bureau work together and use the same toilets, when they had not done so before, has been specially prolific in this respect.

In the Public Pulse of last Friday, for instance, "A Southern Hoover Democrat" told of "high salaried negroes owing their appointment to Governor Smith when he was mayor of New York city." Inasmuch as the undeniable record is that Alfred E. Smith has never been mayor of New York city it is difficult to classify such a statement—to say whether it is ludicrous or pitiable. If it was made to deceive informed people it is the former. If it was made by one who believed it, it is the latter.

More amazing still is a declaration which has been made that "in New York city alone there are more negroes in lucrative offices (276 draw over $1,800 per year) than Uncle Sam has in the whole nation." Only a few days ago there came out of Washington a news dispatch which thoroughly refutes that statement. It follows:

> Washington, Sept. 21.—The secretary of labor has just completed a report showing that the number of negro employes of the government increased from 22,540 in 1910 to 51,882 on June 30, 1928. The total salaries paid jumped from $12,456,760 in 1910 to $64,483,133 this year.
>
> This, in the words of the statement from the secretary's office, "is the story of the negro workers who are at this time being carried on Uncle Sam's payroll, as efficient and well-paid servants of the public trust of government service."
>
> During the interim, at the close of the fiscal 1923, the negro civil service personnel of the federal government was surveyed and found to number 51,805 workers, with a total annual earning capacity of $52,655,959.
>
> The summary continued
>
> "The tremendous gain of 29,265 workers and the lump total salary sum of $40,199,199, caused by the increase from 22,540 workers and $12,456,760 in yearly salaries in 1910 to 51,805 workers and $52,655,959 in 1923, is no more remarkable than the salary total of $64,483,133 for the fiscal year 1928, a gain of $11,827,174 over that of 1923, a year which represented the close of an era in the rapid recovery of prosperity from the economic ravages of the World war. The personnel totals of 51,805 for 1923 and 51,882 for 1928, while varying but little, following the return to normalcy after reductions of war-time personnels, clearly show, when considered in connection with the monetary gain in annual salaries of the army of negro civil service employes, that this efficient group of governmental workers made a large per capita gain in income as well as a significant gain in numbers and occupations."

The secrtary of labor, a member of the Coolidge cabinet, no doubt knows much better about the number of negroes employed by the United States than does the maker of the statement relative to such employes in the city of New York and by Uncle Sam which has been quoted above. The latter speaks of 276 negroes employed in New York city. Secretary of Labor Davis tells of 51,882 of them employed by the United States on June 30, 1928, and of the "tremendous gain of 29,265 workers—(negro)—and the lump total salary sum of $40,199,199, caused by the increase from 22,540 workers and $12,456,760 in yearly salaries." Beside that, 276 negro employes in New York city who draw more than $1,800 a year are as a drop of water to a bucketful of water.

There is no need, unless it is one born of political necessity and bearing witness to disreputable politics, for misstatements of facts in regard to negroes who may be employed in public capacities. It is much better to be fair about the whole business.

Political — 1928

Party Affiliation.

Cofer-Watson-Pickett Injunction Dismissed In Fulton Superior Court

The Negro Year Book

Attorney F. A. Doughman, of Plaintiff Counsel, Withdraws Suit Against Regular Republicans to Escape Dismissal by Court.

When the bolters came to their senses, they found they had been caught in a trap by their own injunction, and slipped back to the courthouse Saturday, the 28th, after Attorney Doughman had stood up in open court, and said he was physically unable to try his case, and had his injunction dismissed, so far as it referred to Pickett, Watson and Mrs. George S. Williams. Mr. Doughman made this statement in open court Tuesday, before he withdrew his suit, to escape dismissal by the court on the grounds that there was no merit in his bill. When the bolters woke up, they found themselves in this predicament, that they were enjoining and restraining the Republican party, directly, from putting out Hoover and Curtis electors; that if they insisted upon their position the national authorities would see them fighting and blocking the success of the ticket nationally.

So, later in the day, after the attorney for the plaintiff had plead sick, he sneaked back to the courthouse and got an order dismissing the suit against Watson, Pickett and Mrs. Williams, so Pickett could issue a call. Of course Pickett and Watson were just as much parties to the suit as was Mr. Cofer, but they found themselves in a trap and the only way out of it was to dismiss all of the defendants. So when the case came along to be heard Tuesday and the defendants announced through their attorneys, Messrs. O. M. Duke, C. W. Hager and Paul E. Etheridge, that they were ready, attorney for the plaintiff rose in his place and said he desired to dismiss his suit, without prejudice. Of course, there was no alternative and the court dismissed the suit. Had Mr. Cofer not dismissed his suit against ex-Chairman Pickett he would have been in contempt of court, and could not have issued his call.

Attorney Doughman is in the habit of bringing political suits in court, and when called to be heard he is usually sick at the first call and dismisses his case on the second call. So, in the Cofer case, he was following his usual custom.

The trap the bolters found themselves in was, they could not fight the state organization without fighting Hoover and Curtis.

Mr. Benjamin Davis
Mr. Perry Howard

Republican

(The Knoxville Herald.)

Ben Davis and Perry Howard are Negro Republican National Committeemen from the States of Georgia and Mississippi. They are not ignorant scalawags, but they are educated, respectable citizens, and as representative citizens of their respective states as the rank and file of other people living there.

The only offense that may be chargeable to either of these men is that they are at the head of the Republican organization of their states. Because of this there is a class of small white men and still smaller colored men who are seeking to discredit their leadership. These men have recently been under investigation upon the charge of bartering offices in Georgia and Mississippi. No one that knows these men will for a moment believe these charges. To do so would not only be to discredit and discountenance the character of the men involved, but it would be placing a small estimate upon their intelligence as well. Messrs. Davis and Howard have known that as Negroes that it has been far more necessary that they act circumspectly in the discharge of the positions that they hold than if they were white men holding the same positions.

These allegations are but an effort to confirm the slander that has so often been made that the Negro is the corrupting influence in Southern politics, and that with the Negro eliminated that white men will be attracted to the Republican party in the South. Those making this claim do not believe it. It is a significant fact that in the Southern States where the Negro vote is smallest, or is a practical nullity, that the Democratic vote and majorities are the largest.

Ben Davis is an old-time Republican who has seen little good outside of his party. He has been honest and sincere in his dealing with fellow white and Negro Republicans who have betrayed him when they found that it was to their interest to do so. It is the same old story of ingratitude and false pretended friendship that one meets with so often in life. If the Republican party lends its aid to crush Ben Davis and Perry Howard in order to make the way clear for white politicians in Georgia and Mississippi, it will cost them many Negro votes in the coming Presidential election.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

"All Political Roads Lead On To Washington," But Race Leaders Are Finding Scant Hope For The Future

Chairman Work's Absence In Far Wisconsin Causing Mumbling and Grumbling Among Disgruntled Waiters In Hot Washington

By RIENZI B. LEMUS

Washington, D. C.—Main Republican National Committee headquarters have been established here. Deemocratic headquarters are expected to be set up here. Hence all roads, politically, lead to Washington. Therefore, at Washington all shades, kinds and sorts of political opinions and reactions are available.

And, strange as it may seem, hitherto orthodox Afric Republicans are one in mumbling and grumbling about the obvious slant the fight for Hoover among Negroes takes.

Invited To Go Home.

A casual group encountered one evening recently was "beefing" about being forced to lay around hot Washington awaiting National Committee Chairman Work's return from cool Brule, Wisconsin, whither he had gone to tender his resignation as Secretary of the Interior to President Coolidge.

A somewhat inebriated localite staggered up and wanted to know who invited them to come to hot Washington, anyway. He, (the bedrammed one) didn't; and he was just as satisfied that "Pres'dent Works" didn't.

"Me 'n Pres'dent Works don' need yer; we can run d—m campaign 'thout you. Gwan home 'an look after yer precinct," the drunk half-hiccoughed, as he staggered on his way.

Many of the brethren seem to feel that the drunk expressed sober Chairman Work's thought. For it already is quite evident that the Afric Repub is going to have plenty of non-Afric supervision in all of his greatest campaign activities this year. Others nevertheless, find no complaint on this score, and contend that "jim crow" headquarters always was unbecoming to a Republican National Committee in a Presidential campaign, anyway.

Old Appeal No Good.

Many are as pessimistic as the heat beefers interrupted by the drunk; while others are outspoken about methods to be probably pursued. For instance, an out-of-towner from a voting and numerous constituency went on to argue that the Republicans cannot get away with this old stuff appeal t Afric voters anymore, because ther is too much going on that will b used by Afric Democrats on th stump to counteract it.

He said it is all right for R pubs to talk about a wire-boun segregated cage for colored folk Houston; such was to be expect in Texas. But certainly not fro Republicans, in the War Depar ment, for instance.

And he noted the refusal of th Republican Secretary of War the Coolidge Cabinet to admit co ored soldiers to training-camp this summer, because there was n provision made to finance segrega ed Negro camps. And these aroun him agreed or acquiesced.

No Negro On Loan Board.

Another pointed out that th ratio of Negro farmers to the to tal of all farmers is 50 per cen greater than the ratio of the Negro to the total population of the country; that the Negro farmers investments in farm properties approximates two billion dollars that practically all Negro farmers are forced to borrow money a usurious interest rates, plus bonuses, instead of from the Federa Farm Loan Board—solely becaus the Negro is without representa tion in the Farm Loan Board per sonnel. He stressed the fact tha President Coolidge has resisted th most potent influences seeking ap pointment of an excellently quali fied Negro to the Board, whic President Harding had decided t do, as he was leaving on the tri from which he never returned.

All of which is true!

It was also stressed that the ap pointment of a Negro to the Farm Loan Board would mean race recognition of the most practicable kind, and of more import than appointments of all Negroes now holding big-time Federal positions

All in close proximity to the talker agreed, or nodded approval.

"Booing" The Platforms.

And when a member of the group brought up the platforms of the parties having reference to the Negro, there was a chorus of boos and guffaws. The concensus of opinion was that the less said of both platforms the better. Neither offers voters of any race anything for that matter, they agreed. Let's talk about the men. Being Republicans, Hoover met their approval, but not what the campaign promises to be among Negroes on the part of his managers.

The bellicose young Negro—of both sees—must be appealed to on different grounds than was heretofore true of Republican Presidential campaigns—to say nothing of the disgruntled elders—is the general trend of opinion among most of those who have followed the route that leads to Washington because the headquarters of the campaign managers are located here.

Republican

MR. DAVIS CORRECTS THE AFRO-AMERICAN

Atlanta, Ga., July 30, 1928.

To the Editor
The Afro-American,
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Sir:

In your editorial, entitled "What Ben Got," you conveyed an idea not according to the facts. I am being misrepresented so much by irresponsible newspapers, I think it important that I give you the facts about the matter you write.

"Ninety-five per cent of my recommendations were submitted to Senators George and Harris before being made and they approved them by moving their confirmation when they came along before the Senate to be heard. It matters not what their attitude was here last week before the Senate investigating committee, they have approved my stewardship and have cooperated with me, and many of our twelve congressmen have done the same thing."

The above excerpt, carried in your last issue, is correct as it appeared in my open letter to the Atlanta Constitution, but it does not carry the facts. I did not say "Ninety-five per cent of my recommendations were submitted to Senators George and Harris before being made," but said, "After they were made." I do not blame you for the error. I want to correct it by explaining just what I meant to say; I meant to say that I submitted 95 per cent of my recommendations to the Georgia senators, after I had mailed them to the Postmaster General. When I was elected national committeeman, the Georgia senators requested me to send the names of applicants for postmasterships to them when I recommended them to the Postmaster General, and at the same time write the applicants to write them to take care of their confirmation when they came along before the Senate for confirmation. They did not request that I do it before, but afterwards. They did not desire to take any part in their nomination, but were interested in their confirmation. So, usually, the day following the day I would recommend to the department I would write the senators and the applicants, because I thought it would help them get confirmed.

Our senators never did try to dictate Republican appointments, but desired to hold themselves near enough to them to use them in the white primaries.

I never consulted either senator as to whom I must recommend, but did not hesitate to ask their influence in getting my recommendations confirmed. I want the public to know that I was not a sycophant, or a tool, but functioned for myself.

You made the following statement, which is not according to facts:

"To summarize: Mr. Davis' job was pulling Republican plums for others under the supervision of the Democrats. For this self-sacrificing service he assessed the officeholders sufficient to pay himself $250.00 a month."

You say in the above excerpt that I assessed the officeholders sufficient to pay myself $250.00 per month. This is an error. I assessed them nothing, and collected nothing from them. It was just last week that you carried an article, "Ben Davis Exonerated." To reverse yourself so soon, especially when you do your brother a wrong, must have been, at least, inadvertently done. I know you too well to believe that you would intentionally place me in a position before the public that would prejudice my usefulness, or good name.

Hence, I call your attention to the facts and ask for space in your columns to set out my position clearly and beyond cavil.

Very respectfully,
B. J. DAVIS.

BISHOPS AND BOOTLEGGERS

THAT "politics makes of a man strange bedfellows" is being demonstrated beyond question in the present national political campaign is evident, according to published and grapevine reports. It is reported that Bishop Cannon and four other bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are leading a revolt of the bishops of his faith and the clergy into the dry Republican camp, via the prohibition party, as some remain neutral and while the majority of bishops and ministers cast their lots in the wet camp of democracy.

The latest press reports indicate that bootleggers, to a man, have decided to back the dry ticket to the limit because of the fear of loss of their occupations. At least one of the eastern bishops of our group has publicly declared himself in favor of Governor Al Smith and his wet proposals.

Prohibition, religion and the race question are the paramount issues in the coming presidential campaign. Of the three grave questions, prohibition is beyond question the most outstanding issue of the three, overshadowing farm relief, the tariff, immigration and other important questions of the moment. Prohibition has been for centuries the much mooted moral issue of the Protestant churches of the United States and has always been supported by its bishops, clergy and laymen solidly and persistently. The Catholic, Episcipal and Lutheran churches have favored, more universally, a temperance stand rather than one of total abstinence and continue to maintain that attitude. But in spite of the reaction in the great American Metropilitan centers against prohibition the evangelical churches have waged relentless wars against wet propaganda, against the repeal of the Volstead Act or the modification of the 18th Amendment and have vigorously resisted every attempt to tamper with either of them.

It is interesting to note, then, the deflection of the white Protestant clergy and laymen of the south to the wet cause of democracy. "Not that they love Caesar less, but that they love Rome more"—not that they feel that they are deserting their cause celibre, but because these Christian leaders think and hope they will keep the colored brother out of his political rights in the south by supporting the wet Democratic ticket. Thus are they found in the camp of their friendly enemies.

The anomaly of bootleggers north and south voting for the dry Republican candidate furnishes a queer complex in comparision with the dry bishops aligned with the wets on one hand and the former distillers, brewers and saloon-keepers, the latter in the days of the open saloon fighting tooth and nail against the prohibition forces. Although there is a difference between the attitudes of the present day bootleggers and the former whiskey men on lending aid to their dry enemies, they are of the same mind when it comes to fighting to keep their own residential districts clear of booze of either ancient or modern vintage.

In the old days, the brewers, distillers and grogshop keepers lived with their families in the local option or dry districts of Chicago such as Hyde Park, Woodlawn, Rogers Park, Ravenswood, Englewood or the temperate suburbs such as Evanston and other dry towns of the North Shore, and fought shoulder to shoulder with the temperance and prohibition forces to keep those districts dry where they and their loved ones lived, while fighting with the wets of the saloon districts to keep them wet. Arthur Burrage Farwell, for upward of 40 years director of the Hyde Park Protective Association numbered among his best backers, it is alleged, wealthy liquor men of Chicago who liberally contributed to the support of his organization to keep Hyde Park where they lived clean morally as well as dry.

Our present day bootleggers, it is reported, are more active than are some our of bishops in trying to keep the neighborhoods in which they live clean of boot-legging boot-leggers. They are the Federal Government's best informers, it is understood, on those who would defame the exclusive apartment buildings where they reside or invade the sacred precincts of their respective neighborhoods vending the brew of the gods.

Be that as it may, the churchmen and bootleggers seemed to have crossed each others deadlines, invaded as it were the other's territory. It will be odd if the bootleggers should defeat our southern white brethren and their wet ticket, without a care of thought or the moral issue involved. It looks likely .

As far as our colored churches are concerned, distinctly racial, separate or mixed, we have heard no loud detonations emanating from them in support of either the wet or dry stand, not even a ripple has denoted their least interest in this public question. We are only interested in the racial issue. So it appears that our bishops, clergy and laymen, except Kelley Miller, the sage of Howard who has wisely expressed himself in no uncertain terms on this score, are neutral.

Al Smith for Negro Slavery.

A very interesting situation is created in the contest of the Republican and Democratic parties for electoral votes in the Southern states and the effect of this upon the rotten Babbit-bourgeoisie of the South. The democratic party is busy, from Raskob's office down, persuading the southern ruling class that if it does not accept Wall Street's Tammany candidate, as against Wall Street's Republican candidate, the masses of agricultural laborers and other workers whose faces are black may slip into possession of some of the rights of citizenship.

Smith headquarters at Atlanta, Ga., has given out a very illuminating piece of propaganda from the pen of old Richard Cannon Watts, chief justice of South Carolina, who says:

> **"If the Negro is brought into politics, the Negro will be the sufferer. Those who are endeavoring to do this very thing now do not realize the gravity of their deeds. It is like spreading gasoline over the whole South from the Patomac to the Rio Grande."**

Of course when the 75-year old chief judicial representative of the law and order in South Carolina says "the Negro will be the sufferer," it means a threat of lynching or other armed violence against the Negro masses in the event the latter should attempt to claim the right to vote or other political or citizenship rights, which he points out have not been exercised in the South generally for fifty years.

The nightmare that is conjured up in the mind of the old man by the idea of letting masses of black workers and farmers vote, is indicated by the following words of the statement:

> **"To any man who lived through the dark days of reconstruction in the South after the end of the war between the States any thought or suggestion of bolting the Democratic ticket is unthinkable and inconceivable.**
>
> **"To these men the whole period of reconstruction was like a hideous nightmare, when men and boys went to bed with shotguns, and when mothers, wives, sisters and daughters cowered in their homes with hearts torn with fear as forests of bayonets swayed before their eyes."**

The old reactionary continued:

> **"What can a Southern man mean when he talks of bolting the Democratic party? For a Southern man to think of such a think is traitorous to the South and all the traditions of the South. I have voted the Democratic ticket from the time the Republicans forced Negro office holders on the people of my State and I shall vote this ticket until I die.**
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> **"I shall vote the entire ticket, from Governor Smith down and if the true Southern democracy stands by the party true democracy will win its most sweeping victory since the days of reconstruction."**

But of course the fear that the Republican party will really do anything to let the masses of Negro slaves loosen their chains is only an instrument for Tammany politicians to use on the stagnant minds of the Southern Babbit-bourgeoisie. On the other hand the Republican party is busy proving by actions which speak louder than words that it wishes to ingratiate itself with the same Southern Babbit-bourgeoisie and will do absolutely nothing that would tend to give elbow-room to the enslaved labor of the South. The Republican party is completely and absolutely through with the Negro, as far as furthering his political rights are concerned, as was dramatically announced as early as 1920 by no less person than Warren G. Harding. Would the textile barons and other Northern capitalists that are now moving into the almost virgin labor field of the South with their mills and factories to take advantage of the cheap labor conditions—would they do anything to disturb that peculiar condition of enslavement which is facilitated by the "Jim Crow" division of the working class?

No! Anything that disturbs the Jim Crow line in the South would tend toward Bolshevism. The spreading of that sort of "gasoline from the Potomac to the Rio Grande" is not going to be done by a capitalist party. The political party that will in fact "spread gasoline" over the whole social institution of race suppression in the South must be a party seeking to overthrow the whole system of exploitation of man by man. There is such a party—the Workers (Communist) Party.

The party is in this national election-campaign for the first time getting on the ballot in many Southern states. The Negro workers and the class-conscious white lot will have their first chance in years to show their desire to destroy the institutions of labor-enslavement by voting the Communist ticket.

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Political-1928

Republican.

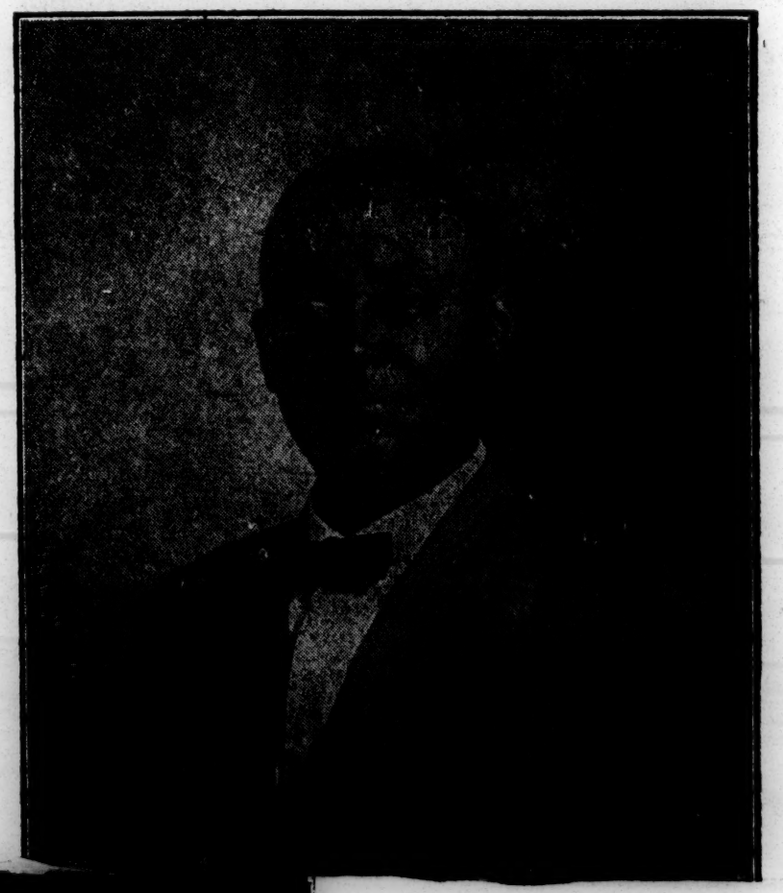
Party Affiliation

Statewide Conference Demands Full Rights; Hoover Cause Boosted

Nearly 200 Leading Texans Counsel At Dallas Parley—Negro Democrats Favor Smith—Conference Passed Harmony Resolution—Hoover Forces Claim Victory

Special to The Informer.

Dallas, Texas.—The most epochal political meeting in the recent history of Texas Negroes, attended by 193 representatives from 98 different towns and cities of the state, was held here at the Pythian Temple, 2549 Elm Street, last Saturday, under auspices of the Independent Colored Voters' League of Texas. Included in the personnel present were several heads of fraternal organizations, leading ministers of the various denominations, heads of denominational organizations, business men, educators, insurance men, farmers, doctors, dentists, pharmacists—in fact, every walk of life was represented.



HON. W. S. WILLIS, Dallas, grand chancellor Colored Knight of Pythias of Texas and endorsed as delegate-at-large from Texas to Republican National Convention at recent statewide conference.

Prof. John W. Rice, editor the Dallas Express, welcomed the delegates to the statewide conference, outlining briefly the issues confronting the colored electorate of Texas at this time. Judge R. D. Evans of Waco, president and co-founder of the league, responded and had his auditors to know that he, personally, was a Democrat of 10 years standing; that he favored full participation in all partisan elections and conventions, whether Republican or Democratic; that he favors Governor Al Smith of New York for presidential nomination by the Democrats at the Houston convention. "We need some friends at home as well as in Washington, D. C.," the speaker asserted, "and I am of the opinion that the time has arrived in Texas when we should divide our support, and not remain hog-tied to one particular party."

The following were appointed on the enrollment committee: Judge A. G. Perkins, Galveston, chairman; H. L. Mims of Houston, H. L. Price of Cuney, Virgil G. Goree of Texarkana, Colonel L. D. Lyons of Austin, Dr. B. E. Howell of Dallas and Nathan Johnson of Fort Worth.

Chisum, Former Texan, Introduced

While the enrollment committee was making up the temporary roll of the convention, several outstanding men were called upon to deliver short addresses, the first being Hon. Melvin J. Chisum of Chicago, former resident of Dallas and one of the lieutenants in the Lowden camp, pushing the claims of the former Illinois governor for the Republican presidential nomination. He counselled the delegates to organize their forces and get out a large vote at the Republican precinct conventions, which will be held in Texas on Saturday, May 5, 1928.

Other speakers were: Rev. W. L. Dickson of Dallas-Gilmer, another black Democrat and Al Smith supporter; Hon. W. S. Willis of Dallas, grand chancellor Colored Knights of Pythias of Texas; Rev. E. L. Harrison of Houston, pastor Antioch Baptist Church; H. M. Tarver of San Antonio; Dr. D. W. Porter of Sherman and Alex Bell of Palestine.

The report of the enrollment committee, submitting temporary roll, having been made permanent, the president appointed a congressional committee composed of the following persons: H. L. Price of Cuney, chairman; H. M. Tarver of San Antonio, Dr. D. W. Porter of Sherman, Prof. G. W. Jackson of Corsicana and N. Dudley, Jr., of Houston.

Congressional Heads Named

The report of the congressional committee submitted the following persons as chairmen of their respective congressional districts:

First, V. G. Goree of Texarkana; second, H. L. Price of Cuney; third, G. H. Henry of Tyler; fourth, W. J. Durham of Sherman; fifth, R. L. H. Rice of Dallas; sixth, Rev. R. T. Pardee of Corsicana; seventh, A. G. Perkins of Galveston; eighth, H. P. Carter of Houston; ninth, Newt Jones of Gonzales; tenth, L. D. Lyons of Austin; eleventh, Sam Rose of Waco; twelfth, Nathan Johnson of Fort Worth; thirteenth, A. E. Holland of Wichita Falls; fourteenth, Rev. G. F. C. Curry of San Antonio; fifteenth, H. E. Kimble of Kingsville; sixteenth, Dr. A. L. Nixon of El Paso; seventeenth, R. A. Hester of Brownwood; eighteenth, M. C. Johnson of Amarillo.

3-31-28

League's Policy Outlined

Editor C. F. Richardson of Houston, secretary-treasurer of the organization and the moving spirit in the conference, then read the following resolution outlining the policy of the league, which was unanimously adopted:

Houston, Texas

"The occasion which brings us together today to counsel and lay definite and well-defined plans for the future political action and partisan activities of the vast horde of black voters in the Lone Star State commonwealth, is indeed epochal and truly laden with many possibilities and potentialities; and, since whatever action we take here in convention assembled, whether of a positive or negative, definite or equivocal nature, will largely determine the immediate political future of fully 200,000 electors and possibly 575,000 other residents of the state, whose representatives we are on this auspicious occasion, let us act wisely and judiciously.

"In view of the fact that we have been partisan outcasts and political orphans in Texas for the last several quadrenniums; and, in view of the fact that this is presidential election year, when the American voters will be called upon both to nominate and elect candidates to the office of president and vice-president of this democratic republic, it is incumbent upon us to so deliberate and act as to make possible the regaining of some of the political ground and vantage we have lost during the past years.

"The Independent Colored Voters' League of Texas, being an independent and non-partisan organization, should not permit this fact to actuate us to straddle the fence on any issue or matter of vital concern and interest to the electorate of Texas and the nation.

"The question of transcendent importance at this hour to the Negroes of Texas is not office seeking, domination of any partisan organization, neither waving the bloody flag nor fanning the fires of racial antipathy, but active participation and deserving representation in partisan affairs..

"Be it the sense of this organization, in convention assembled, that the Negroes of Texas should organize their forces and actively participate in the Republican precinct conventions to be held in Texas on Saturday, May 5, 1928; that we frown upon and repudiate the holding of partisan caucuses, conventions and elections in and at places where all the Republican voters can not enter or attend; that we hold tenaciously to the constitutional stipulation and provision that the right to vote in any and all conventions and elections, and to even participate in partisan caucuses, shall not be denied to any man or woman because of color, creed or previous condition of servitude; that we are irrevocably opposed to the abridgement of these inalienable and sacred rights and warranties; that the voters of the various precincts exercise their constitutional prerogatives by holding such precinct conventions where no official call has been issued for same in advance, designating the place and time as required by civil statutes of Texas; that at these precinct conventions, as well as at those properly called, all the qualified voters of said voting precincts be instructed

and urged to attend same and elect delegates to county conventions who will stand hard by Republican principles, practices, customs and usages; that we see to it that none but genuine, true and tried Republicans are elected as delegates to any and all conventions: county, state, congressional and national; that funds be raised at this conference for financing such an educational campaign, and that towards the consummation of this program a finance committee be appointed with plenary power to raise the money necessary for the accomplishment of this objective; that the voters be urged and advised not to become active or interested in the factional fight now going merrily apace in Texas, but to contend and labor with might and main for a party OF THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE AND BY THE PEOPLE.

"Further, be it the sense of this convention that the voters of Texas resort to whatever procedure is necessary to enjoy and exercise their constitutional rights, even if it becomes imperative to resort to legal tribunals for mandatory writs and restraining orders; that we denounce 'political manipulators,' who would thwart and retard the healthy growth of the party organization in this state.

"Also, that the Negroes of Texas will not 'hog-tie' their cause to parties, but rather that we shall support and vote for principles instead of parties as such, and for men in lieu of measures."

Resolution Starts Fireworks

A resolution which H. P. Carter of Houston had introduced in the morning session of the conference, but which was ruled out of order due to the fact that the temporary roll had not even been made up at the time, was resubmitted in the afternoon by C. F. Richardson of Houston. The resolution, which made a plea for Republican party harmony in Texas and submitted eight names as delegates-at-large from Texas to the Republican National Convention, was both vigorously opposed and ably defended by its opponents and proponents. The chief opponents were H. M. Tarver of San Antonio, Rev. M. M. Haynes of Austin, Nathan Johnson and L. E. Bryant of Ft. Worth, W. L. Davis of Houston, H. L. Price of Cuney and others. Chief among the resolution's supporters were L. D. Lyons of Austin, J. T. Ewing and H. P. Carter of Houston, A. G. Perkins and Rev. R. C. Barbour of Galveston, and C. F. Richardson, whose final remarks on the measure really softened the opposition and resulted in a 61-36 victory for the resolution.

Mixed Delegation Is Urged

The full text of the resolution follows:

"Realizing that a tug-of-war, in either athletic contests or intra-partisan fights might be fine exercise and create a great furore and excitement, but gets the participants nowhere; and, in view of the fact that the success of the Republican party in Texas depends wholly and solely upon harmony, teamwork, group action, unselfish public spirit and subordination of all desires for public office, party domination and the emoluments and preferments attendant upon party control; tiring of the incessant and repeated internal bickerings of the last three quadrenniums and the resultant retardation of a healthy and consistent party growth in Texas; and, in order to bring about and maintain party harmony and build up a robust and functioning Republican party organization in Texas;

"Be it resolved that we, in convention assembled, go on record as being unalterably opposed to any movement or procedure within the ranks of the Texas Republicans calculated to retard and dwarf its growth and render inept and inert its functions and activities;

"That as a means towards party harmony and ironing out of internal differences, that the Independent Colored Voters' League of Texas take the position that the colored Republicans of Texas initiate and endorse a movement that the Republican State Convention, which meets at Dallas, Texas, May 22, 1928, elect eight (8) delegates-at-large from this state (with one-half vote each, in lieu of the customary four delegates with one vote each and their four alternates), including in said delegation the following outstanding Texas citizens and Republican electors: T. P. Lee and E. A. Peden of Houston, R. B. Creager of Brownsville, Congressman Harry M. Wurzbach of Seguin, Eugene Nolte of Seguin, W. S. Willis of Dallas, Captain John ("Jack") Elgin of San Antonio and O. P. DeWalt of Houston."

Hoover Supporters Chosen

Among the eight men named or endorsed by the conference as delegates-at-large from the state, are several supporters and backers of Honorable Herbert C. Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination, and supporters of the secretary of commerce are claiming victory for their presidential choice and preference.

Precinct Activity Emphasized

Delegates present were urged to return to their several communities and organize their forces to actively participate in the Republican precinct conventions to be held Saturday, May 5, 1928, and the chairmen of the eighteen congressional districts were given plenary power to appoint workers in every county and precinct in their districts, in order to get out a full Republican vote at said precinct conventions.

Resolutions were passed unanimously, thanking the Dallas Express, Houston Informer and all other publications for the part played thus far by these newspapers in the cause of the league and race along political lines, and to express the league's gratitude to the grand chancellor and Colored Knights of Pythias of Texas for use of the temple's auditorium for said gathering.

The benediction was pronounced by Rev. E. L. Harrison of Houston, after W. L. Davis had led in singing, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again;" while Rev. R. C. Barbour led in singing the opening song, "America," with invocation by Dr. E. Arlington Wilson, pastor Macedonia Baptist Church and president Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of Texas.

Davis On Publicity Job

Through the instrumentality of J. A. Davis, member of the Dallas Express staff, who served as publicity director of the conference, the four Dallas daily newspapers—Times-Herald, Dallas Morning News, Evening Journal and Dispatch—carried full and lengthy reports of the conference doings, the first named newspaper devoting considerable space to the parley and dispatching one of their reporters to cover same. Its Sunday edition, on the front page, played up the meeting.

It is the consensus of opinion that this was the greatest, most far-reaching and representative meeting of its kind ever held in the state by Negroes, and the daily newspapers of the city and state have devoted many columns to the league's deliberations while in session in the North Texas metropolis.

NEGROES OF VA. AND FLA. FOLLOW WAY OF THOSE OF LA. AND MISS.

Race Citizens of Richmond Turn to Court in Demand of Right to Vote in Primaries

MAKE DETERMINED STAND FOR JUSTICE LONG DENIED

Negroes of Pensacola Defy Threats and Boldly Come Out and Stand Ground in Move

(Special)

RICHMOND, Va., Mar., 28. — A bomb-shell was thrown into the ranks of the G. O. P. "Lily Whites" as well as the Democrats here Monday when colored political leaders announced that they would apply in the Federal Court for a writ to compel the city Democratic committee to allow them to vote in the city Democratic primary April 3 for the election of a mayor.

Legal Battle Promised

The action was taken at a meeting of Nonpartisan Voters' League attended by about 2000 citizens and addressed by both colored and white lawyers. The legal fight it was announced would be headed by Atty. J. R. Pollard prominent Race leader here and director of the league.

(Special)

PENSACOLA, Fla., Mar. 28. — Following the example of their fellow citizens in the neighboring states of Mississippi and Louisiana, the colored voters of Florida have come out in open defiance of disfranchisement tendencies that have long overshadowed states of the South.

Make Bold Stand

Monday the Race Voters league of this city astounded white politicians when they issued a statement to the effect that Negro voters in this city intended to vote in the coming primaries and general election, come what will or may.

In the statement made public the league says it does not want any race riot, but says it is determined to take in the city election, voting for any candidate it chooses. It declared it would carry the fight for this right to the highest tribunal of the United States if necessary.

The statement points to the lack of representation in the administration of city affairs and financing. It states openly that Negroes in the city have not been taken care of properly, and that the league intends to retify this at the polls.

Show Determination

Painting to the fact that its members are taxpayers and otherwise eligible to vote as they choose the league says, "we want justice is all that we ask for."

In spite of the fact that the State Attorney General issued an opinion that Negroes who registered to vote in the city primary could be held for perjury, several hundred colored voters have already registered in the city.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican.

REPUBLICAN SITUATION IN TEXAS

The Houston Informer, an original supporter of Herbert C. Hoover back in the fall of 1919, when the field was full of presidential "hopes," aspirants and possibilities, finds itself in a rather incongruous position, to-wit: While favorable to and supporting the same presidential candidate that the Creager-Nolte Republican regime in Texas is supposed to be supporting, this paper also finds itself unalterably opposed to this same state partisan administration.

As between Creager-Nolte & Co., Inc., distributors de luxe of federal pie and plums in this state and supposed occupants of the Hoover band-wagon in Texas, and the Wurzbach-Littleton-Scobey-Rogers combine, the anti-Creager faction and advocates of an uninstructed delegation from this state to the National Republican Convention, which meets at Kansas City, Mo., June 12, 1928, The Informer has no other alternative and no other method of maintaining its self-respect than to assume the attitude that it is to the best interests of the so-called Republican party in this state to repudiate the present partisan administration in Texas, and supplant same with men who ring true and stand firm on the fundamental principles of republicanism and democracy (popular rule).

Notwithstanding this apparent paradoxical situation in which The Informer finds itself, we still believe that Mr. Hoover is the logical man for the Rpublican nomination; and, while this paper is for Mr. Hoover and wants to see him nominated and elected; and, in view of the fact that the anti-Creager forces are not opposed or antagonistic to Hoover's candidacy, per se, we would rather see Texas Republicans send up an uninstructed delegation to the national gathering of the party, headed by such men as Congressman Wurzbach and other outstanding Republicans, than to honor the Creager-Nolte regime in this respect, and thereby maintain the party organization in this state in the vest pockets of a handful of political manipulators.

For the last eight years The Informer has contended that the Republicans of Texas needed to engage in a partisan housecleaning, as it relates to those in control of party affairs in this state; that the party should be restored to the people, and that earnest and well-defined efforts should be initiated and conducted to really build up the party numerically, not merely during presidential election years, but at every biennial election, congressional, state and county.

Though a staunch Hoover adherent and supporter, The Informer is dubious and suspicious of certain alleged Hoover supporters in the Creager-Nolte camp, and we also have a hunch that all this reported and supposed pre-convention activity on the part of the Creager regime for Mr. Hoover, is nothing more nor less than a nice scheme being foisted upon the Texas voters of Republican persuasion, as well as independent and Democratic electors favorable to Mr. Hoover's presidential candidacy, to further entrench the present state Republican regime in absolute control and full charge of the Texas partisan organization.

The Informer agrees with the Dallas Express, which stated, editorially, last week, that Republican electors of Texas should manifest more than passing interest in the internal party fight to "unhorse" the Creager administration; that this issue is of infinitely more importance to Texas Republicans just now than any presidential aspirant and possibility.

However, there is only one way in which the Republican voters can give honest expression to their wishes in this and other respects, and that is to organize their forces and begin at the precinct conventions, which will be held Saturday, May 5, 1928, by electing delegates who are not in accord and harmony with the Creager administration and its strictly "exclusive" policy and unrepublican program.

While both the Creager-Nolte and Wurzbach-Littleton forces have held their statewide conferences and decided upon their courses of action, no meeting has been held, neither has there been an expression of the sentiment of the vast majority of Republican voters in Texas, touching either upon the presidential race or the factional fight now going merrily apace in this state.

These American citizens and Republican electors should hold a statewide conference and decide what course they will pursue and what attitude they will take in the present Republican situation in Texas; for, if the present party regime maintains control of party affairs in this state, its future is anything but roseate.

As for the Hoover candidacy and the pre-convention support of certain Texas Republicans, The Informer, though a Hoover supporter, would rather see an uninstructed anti-Creager delegation from Texas than to see a pro-Creager delegation from the state instructed for Mr. Hoover; for it is currently rumored over the state that several of those already slated for delegateship on the Creager ticket, who are whooping it up now for Mr. Hoover, and for an instructed Hoover delegation from Texas, are merely engaging in such tactics this early in the game to attain their objectives as delegates; and, that when they have been elected, there will be some collective bargaining as was done in 1920.

Candidly and frankly, knowing the political situation in Texas as well as we do, and having observed, during the past, the peculiar pranks and queer didoes of some of the "big" Republicans now supposed to be boosting and supporting the secretary of commerce, The Informer believes that the Hoover forces should not commit nor entrust their candidate's entire political fortune, as far as Texas is concerned, in the hands of the present party leaders!

Call for the Republican National Convention of 1928

To the Republican Voters of the United States:

In compliance with the rules adopted by the Republican National Convention of 1924, the Republican National Committee directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican Party be held at Kansas City, Missouri, at 11 o'clock A. M., on Tuesday, June 12, 1928, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice President, to be voted for at the presidential election on Tuesday, November 6, 1928, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it. The voters of the several states and of Alaska,

this call by sending a copy thereof to the two members of the National Committee from each state, territory, territorial possession and the District of Columbia, and to inclose therewith copies of the call for the Chairman and Secretary, respectively, of the State Central Committee or governing committee of the party therein to be forwarded to said Chairman and Secretary, respectively, by the members of the National Committee in and for said state. In case of a vacancy in membership of the Republican National Committee, copies of the call shall be forwarded directly by the secretary of the Republican National Committee to the Chairman and Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee or governing committee of the party in said state, territory, territorial possession or district.

Political - 1/28

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(over)

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this call by sending a copy thereof to the two members of the National Committee from each state, territory, territorial possession and the District of Columbia, and to inclose therewith copies of the call for the Chairman and Secretary, respectively, of the State Central Committee or governing committee of the party therein to be forwarded to said Chairman and Secretary, respectively by the members of the National Committee in and for said state. In case of a vacancy in membership of the Republican National Committee, copies of the call shall be forwarded directly by the secretary of the Republican National Committee to the Chairman and Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee or governing committee of the party in said state, territory, territorial possession or district.

Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the District of Columbia who are in accord with the principles of the Republican Party, believe in its declaration of policies, and are in sympathy with its aims and purposes, are invited to unite under this call in the selection of delegates to said convention.

Said National Convention shall consist of

(a) DELEGATES AT LARGE

1. Four delegates-at-large from each state.

2. Two additional delegates-at-large for each representative-at-large in Congress from each state.

3. Two delegates-at-large each for Alaska, District of Columbia, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands.

4. Three additional delegates-at-large from each state casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding presidential election.

(b) DISTRICT DELEGATES

1. One district delegate from each congressional district.

2. One additional district delegate from each congressional district casting 10,000 votes or more for any Republican elector in the last preceding presidential election or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding congressional election.

(c) ALTERNATE DELEGATES

One alternate delegate to each delegate to the National Convention.

DELEGATES SHALL BE ELECTED UNDER THE FOLLOWING RULES:

First—Only legal and qualified voters shall participate in a Republican primary, caucus, mass meeting or mass convention held for the purpose of selecting delegates to be elected as delegates to county, district or state conventions, and only such legal and qualified voters shall be elected as delegates to county, district and state conventions.

Second—State and district conventions shall be composed of delegates who are legal and qualified voters. Such delegates shall be apportioned among the counties, parishes and cities of the state or district. having regard to the Republican vote therein.

Third—Delegates and alternates to the National Convention shall be duly qualified voters of their respective states and territories, and in the case of the District of Columbia, residents therein.

Delegates-at-large and their alternates, and delegates from congressional districts and their alternates, shall be elected in the following manner:

(1) By primary election, in accordance with the laws of the state in which the election occurs, in such states as require by law the election of delegates to National Conventions of political parties by direct primaries; provided that in any state in which Republican representation upon the board and judges or inspectors of elections for such primary election is denied by law, delegates and alternates shall be elected as hereinafter provided.

(2) By the Republican State Committee or governing committee in any state in which the law of such state specifically authorizes the election of delegates in such manner.

(3) By congressional or state conventions, as the case may be, to be called by the congressional, state or governing committees, respectively, Notice of the call for any such convention shall be published in a newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the district or state, as the case may be, not less than fifteen days prior to date of said convention.

(4) Provided, however, that in selecting delegates and alternates to the National Convention, no state law shall be observed which hinders, abridges or denies to any citizen of the United States eligible under the United States Constitution to the office of President or Vice President the right or privilege of being a candidate under such state law for the nomination for President or Vice President; or which authorizes the election of a number of delegates or alternates from any state to the National Convention different from that fixed in this call.

In a congressional district where there is no Republican congressional committee, the Republican State Committee shall issue the call and make said publication.

All delegates from any state may, however, be chosen from the state-at-large, in the event that the laws of the state in which the election occurs so provide.

Alternate delegates shall be elected to said National Convention for each unit of representation equal in number to the number of delegates elected therein and shall be chosen in the same manner and at the same time the delegates are chosen; provided, however, that if the law of any state shall prescribe the method of choosing alternates, they shall be chosen in accordance with the provisions of the law of the state in which the election occurs.

Election of delegates shall be certified in every case where they are elected by conventions, by the chairman and secretary of such conventions, respectively; and in case of election by primary, they shall be certified to by the proper official, and all certificates shall be forwarded by said duly elected delegates and alternates in the manner herein provided.

The delegates and alternates from Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the District of Columbia shall be selected in such manner and under such rules as may be adopted by the respective recognized Republican Central Committee, or governing committee by whatever name known, in and for the respective units of representation.

That such respective recognized committees are hereby authorized to designate the time and place for the selection or election of the delegates and alternates to the next Republican Convention from such units of representation, not inconsistent with the rules adopted by the National Convention.

That the said respective committees, through their respective chairmen and secretaries are authorized to issue the necessary certificate of election.

All delegates or alternates shall be elected not later than thirty days before the date of the meeting of said Republican National Convention unless otherwise provided by the laws of the state in which the election occurs.

No delegates or alternates shall be deemed eligible to participate in any convention to elect delegates to said National Convention, who were elected prior to the date of this call.

The credentials of each delegate and alternate elected must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee at the office of the National Committee, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C., at least twenty days before the 12th of June, 1928, for use in making up the temporary roll of the convention; except in the case of delegates or alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the state in which the election occurs, rendering impossible the filing of credentials within the time above specified.

All notices of contests shall be forwarded in the same manner and within the same time limit. When more than the authorized number of delegates or alternates from any state, territory or territorial possession are reported to the Secretary of the National Committee, a contest shall be deemed to exist and the Secretary shall notify the several claimants so reported and shall submit all such credentials and claims to the whole Committee for decision as to which claimants reported shall be placed on the temporary roll of the Convention; provided, however, that the names of the delegates and alternates presenting certificates of election from the canvassing board or officer created or designated by the law of the state in which the election occurs, to canvass the returns and issue certificates of election to delegates to National Conventions of political parties in a primary election. shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the convention by the National Committee.

All notices of contests shall be in writing, accompanied by a printed statement setting forth the ground of the contests, and must be filed with the Secretary of the National Committee at least twenty days prior to the meeting of the National Convention, except in the case of delegates or alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the state in which the election occurs, rendering impossible the filing of notices of contests within the time above specified.

The secretary of the Republican National Committee is directed to promulgate

Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the District of Columbia who are in accord with the principles of the Republican Party, believe in its declaration of policies, and are in sympathy with its aims and purposes, are invited to unite under this call in the selection of delegates to said convention.

Said National Convention shall consist of

(a) DELEGATES AT LARGE

1. Four delegates-at-large from each state.

2. Two additional delegates-at-large for each representative-at-large in Congress from each state.

3. Two delegates-at-large each for Alaska, District of Columbia, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands.

4. Three additional delegates-at-large from each state casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding presidential election.

(b) DISTRICT DELEGATES

1. One district delegate from each congressional district.

2. One additional district delegate from each congressional district casting 10,000 votes or more for any Republican elector in the last preceding presidential election or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding congressional election.

(c) ALTERNATE DELEGATES

One alternate delegate to each delegate to the National Convention.

DELEGATES SHALL BE ELECTED UNDER THE FOLLOWING RULES:

First—Only legal and qualified voters shall participate in a Republican primary, caucus, mass meeting or mass convention held for the purpose of selecting delegates to be elected as delegates to county, district or state conventions, and only such legal and qualified voters shall be elected as delegates to county, district and state conventions.

Second—State and district conventions shall be composed of delegates who are legal and qualified voters. Such delegates shall be apportioned among the counties, parishes and cities of the state or district. having regard to the Republican vote therein.

Third—Delegates and alternates to the National Convention shall be duly qualified voters of their respective states and territories, and in the case of the District of Columbia, residents therein.

Delegates-at-large and their alternates, and delegates from congressional districts and their alternates, shall be elected in the following manner:

(1) By primary election, in accordance with the laws of the state in which the election occurs, in such states as require by law the election of delegates to National Conventions of political parties by direct primaries; provided that in any state in which Republican representation upon the board and judges or inspectors of elections for such primary election is denied by law, delegates and alternates shall be elected as hereinafter provided.

(2) By the Republican State Committee or governing committee in any state in which the law of such state specifically authorizes the election of delegates in such manner.

(3) By congressional or state conventions, as the case may be, to be called by the congressional, state or governing committees, respectively, Notice of the call for any such convention shall be published in a newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the district or state, as the case may be, not less than fifteen days prior to date of said convention.

(4) Provided, however, that in selecting delegates and alternates to the National Convention, no state law shall be observed which hinders, abridges or denies to any citizen of the United States eligible under the United States Constitution to the office of President or Vice President the right or privilege of being a candidate under such state law for the nomination for President or Vice President; or which authorizes the election of a number of delegates or alternates from any state to the National Convention different from that fixed in this call.

In a congressional district where there is no Republican congressional committee, the Republican State Committee shall issue the call and make said publication.

All delegates from any state may, however, be chosen from the state-at-large, in the event that the laws of the state in which the election occurs so provide.

Alternate delegates shall be elected to said National Convention for each unit of representation equal in number to the number of delegates elected therein and shall be chosen in the same manner and at the same time the delegates are chosen; provided, however, that if the law of any state shall prescribe the method of choosing alternates, they shall be chosen in accordance with the provisions of the law of the state in which the election occurs.

Election of delegates shall be certified in every case where they are elected by conventions, by the chairman and secretary of such conventions, respectively; and in case of election by primary, they shall be certified to by the proper official, and all certificates shall be forwarded by said duly elected delegates and alternates in the manner herein provided.

The delegates and alternates from Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the District of Columbia shall be selected in such manner and under such rules as may be adopted by the respective recognized Republican Central Committee, or governing committee by whatever name known, in and for the respective units of representation.

That such respective recognized committees are hereby authorized to designate the time and place for the selection or election of the delegates and alternates to the next Republican Convention from such units of representation, not inconsistent with the rules adopted by the National Convention.

That the said respective committees, through their respective chairmen and secretaries are authorized to issue the necessary certificate of election.

All delegates or alternates shall be elected not later than thirty days before the date of the meeting of said Republican National Convention unless otherwise provided by the laws of the state in which the election occurs.

No delegates or alternates shall be deemed eligible to participate in any convention to elect delegates to said National Convention, who were elected prior to the date of this call.

The credentials of each delegate and alternate elected must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee at the office of the National Committee, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C., at least twenty days before the 12th of June, 1928, for use in making up the temporary roll of the convention; except in the case of delegates or alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the state in which the election occurs, rendering impossible the filing of credentials within the time above specified.

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The secretary of the Republican National Committee is directed to promulgate

continued on front

Political - 1928

Republican.

Party Affiliation

Cordele, Ga., Reporter
Friday, July 6, 1928

HOOVER AND SOCIAL EQUALITY

Shortly before the Republican presidential primary in Ohio, Secretary of Commerce Hoover, now the nominee of the Republican party for president, issued an order doing away with the separation of the white and negro races in the census bureau. As one of the results of that order, he carried Ohio in the primary. On April 2, 1928, United States Senator Stephens of Mississippi wrote Mr. Hoover a letter of protest against the order, and quoted from two Washington newspapers to show that Hoover issued the order and that it was issued for political reasons. To this letter Mr. Hoover replied as follows:

"The Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D. C. April 7, 1928.—Hon. H. D. Stephens, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.—My dear Mr. Senator:—I have your letter of April 2. The articles which you mention are in large degree foolish untruths. If such action as was taken is against the interest of either the white or colored employees, they have a full right to present the matter to me. I have received no complaint from either group.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER.

To this letter Senator Stephens made the following reply:

"United States Senate, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1928.—Hon. Herbert Hoover, secretary of Commerce, Washington, D. C.—My dear Mr. Secretary: Answering my letter making protest against your recent order by which there is no longer a segregation of races in the Bureau of the Census, you wrote me as follows: (Hoover letter of April 7 quoted in full.) This is the full text of your letter. I note that you say, "The articles which you mention are in a large degree foolish untruths." This is a very general statement. You do not specify the foolish untruths contained in the articles. Of course, you do not designate as a foolish untruth the statement that you issued the order referred to. That is beyond denial.

You may refer to the activities of the heads of certain negro organizations, the pressure that they are said to have brought to bear on you, and the interest displayed by a negro who is running as a Hoover delegate in Ohio. Those statements may not be exactly accurate. I do not know. However, I am informed that at least one of the negroes referred to in the articles appeared in the room where the negro employees had been assigned to places by the side of white men and women, and that he was all grins and congratulated them on the recognition that had been given them.

But their accuracy is a matter not of the slightest importance. What I am interested in—what every decent white person in and out of the bureau is interested in—is the fact that the order was made. The order may not have been made for political purposes. But it occurs to me that it would be more to your credit to assign the issuance of the order to political reasons than to assign it to any other.

You say, if such action as was taken is against the interest of either the white or colored employees, they have a full right to present the matter to me. "I have received no complaint from either group." This begs the question. It is rather a disingenuous statement. "A full right" to complain! Of course, any person who can write or talk can voice a protest. But what would be the result? It is so easy to separate one from the service. A good position has often been lost for a smaller offense than protesting the action of a superior. So, Mr. Secretary, you should not offer as a defense for your action the fact that you have received no complaint.

I am informed that members of both races, under present conditions as inaugurated by you, are compelled to use the same necessary accommodations provided them. White women and negro women are forced to use the same wash rooms and toilets. You may have received "no complaint"; but your knowledge of human nature and your sense of decency and propriety must cause you to know that the breasts of many of the employees in the bureau are seething with unuttered protests against the condition that you have brought about. You can not justify your action by saying that no complaint has been made by either group of employees.

This criticism is not a political one. It is made in the interest of decency and of the welfare of the Government. History can not be trifled with. Whenever there has been a step toward social equality between the races, dire results have followed, and both races have suffered. I can look upon this action of yours only as a step toward social equality, and I can only fear the results that may ensue.

Again I protest this order, and again I appeal to you to rescind it. If you should do so, every true friend of the negro, every white person loyal to the white race, will approve of your change of mind and action in this regard.

Very respectfully,
H. D. Stephens, U. S. Senator."

When Hoover was passing through Georgia a month or two ago, the negro woman down in South Georgia who is the Republican national committee-woman for Georgia was the only person in Georgia he looked up. The whole sordid affair places Mr. Hoover in a position few people would care to occupy. His order compelling social equality in the census bureau was the lowest politics ever played in this country, and his answer to the Stephens letter displays the petulance of a spoiled child. His election as president would be a national calamity.

Cordele, Ga., Dispatch
Tuesday, July 24, 1928

LET THEM DO THEIR OWN VOTING

The Dispatch is going to dispose of one lone ballot at the November election—but it reserves the right to cast that ballot as it pleases—and we want it understood that we are for an unfettered choice for all other voters in the same manner. And with that ballot we expect to keep in cool, good humor. We want the other fellow to remain cool and stay in good humor. But we sincerely hope nothing gets in the way of the voters of Georgia and the south to keep them from voting as they please. We are ready now—will be ready then— to accept the results if we can but know the voter has been allowed to make his own choice and cast his own ballot according to his own convictions.

But we reserve the right to tell our readers that the republican party—since it fell into the hands of Herbert Hoover's friends at the Kansas City convention—has removed every negro from office in Georgia. It is cleaning up with southern negro patronage peddlers and will continue to do so till respectable white people who care about federal administration of office in the south will have as clear a way to vote conscientiously for principle and leadership—and vote the republican ticket—as will the democrats.

We also reserve the right to tell the white voters we can reach that the Al Smith soda pop brigade in Georgia is deliberately continuing to shove under the noses of southern white people the stench of the negro republican politician when there is no such thing any further in the way. We reserve the right to go further and say that Herbert Hoover has given the order that has made possible the sweeping changes which have already been made in clearing the republican party machinery in Georgia and the south of negro objectionables. The white voter who has stood aloof because of the negro in the south no longer has the bugaboo to face. We cannot vouch for the future, but we have this consolation—the Georgian and the southern white voter who has remained democratic because of the negro no longer faces that objection.

There will be an upstanding republican set of white electors in the November election—they will be offered because Herbert Hoover wants to give the southern white voter an opportunity to vote his convictions unhampered by the age old bugaboo of the negro. That thing has already been done with human, sympathetic care for the southern white voter. It has been done with promptness—was one of the very first things Herbert Hoover did after he was nominated.

We do not expect to apologize at all for telling southern white democrats who are not going to vote for Al Smith these things. We have an idea that everything this side of hades will be done by the Al Smith forces in Georgia to keep the revolting democracy from knowing that this is so. We have an idea that the most disconcerting thing Herbert Hoover has done since he became the republican nominee—in the southern Al Smith camps—is the fact that he has cleared the republican party machinery in Georgia of every trace of the negro. It is something startling—appalling. You could not force an acknowledgement of these facts from the Georgia Al Smith supporters with sawed off shot guns.

But these facts—and [illegible] more things done to open the way for revolting democrats in Georgia to vote their convictions for the best man for the office—will be known in plenty of time. They will be made so clear that every democrat who wants to take care of the democratic nominees for state and local offices and for congress may do so and still have a free hand as between the Al Smith and the Herbrt Hoover electors on the November ballot—to vote as they please.

Our own chairman of the state democratic committee has told us that we may exercise our own choice in these matters. That, he says, is noth-

ing new. We have done that already which we pleased—and it was one of the things the late Tom Watson forced upon the unwilling democratic leaders for years ago. Ed Maddox was fair enough to tell Georgians this has been a custom a few time—to vote as we please for a presidential nominee.

We are willing to beg the censure that will be heaped upon us for telling our readers that it is so. We do not mind saying to all who want to know it—we are not going to cast a ballot now or at any other time for Al Smith and the Tammany leadership now imposed upon the democratic party. If we have enough of good company among our own people not to have to go it alone and without them in the November election, our ballot will be cast for Herbert Hoover for president—and the entire republican electoral ticket.

We do not expect to apologize anywhere for it. If we had any shame or embarrassment coming out of it, we would not do it. We have no fear either now or in the future that we will not be able to offer high ground for it—principle. If we knew the democracy at all, it isn't any part of the Tammany ticket. That offers us Romanism and the open saloon and grog shop with all their interminable vices. That is not the democracy our fathers taught us. To that democracy we intend to remain loyal—and in supporting candidates for office in Georgia and our own local contests, we still intend to vote for the candidates for office in Georgia and our own local contests, we still intend to vote for the candidate who best will uphold representative government—will defend the right of the voter at the ballot box by a clean administration of public office. That's democracy as we see it—and it ought to be the same in the national elections as in the state and local contests. We can best remain loyal to that type of democracy by voting against Al Smith and Tammany—we think that way about it just now.

NEWS
CHARLESTON, S. C.

JUL 22 1928

What Hoover Might Do

Every Democrat knows, The News and Courier can guarantee, that if Smith and Robinson be elected no negroes will be appointed federal prohibition enforcing agents in the South. No one can say that in a Hoover administration negro enforcement agents would not be appointed. Indeed, Mr. Hoover might say that he could not be loyal to his negro supporters and refuse them a share of these offices. In this he would be egregiously wrong, but Mr. Hoover has been coquetting with the negro voters of the North, rather more than Harding or Coolidge had to do.

Negro postmasters would be less annoying than negro prohibition enforcers. Of course national prohibition implies that soon or late a Republican administration in Washington will appoint negro prohibition enforcers.

The more federal offices we have the more negro officeholders we shall have.

HOOVER AND NEGRO EQUALITY.

The democratic party in Georgia, and all other southern states, believe in negro equality before the law, that is that under the law they have equal rights, privileges and protection to their persons and property, and they get it, but not to equal social rights, and that they neither ask nor want.

The northern republican party, however, stands for the political and social equality of the two races, not because the white members of it actually believe in such a situation, but for the fact that the negro leaders demand it, and there is hardly a republican state in which they do not have the balance of power, and their defection would make democratic victories assured, both locally and nationally, and it is that which makes them so cuddle southern negroes, and put them in official positions over white women and men wherever possible.

But there are many white men in the republican states who believe in absolute social equality of negroes and whites, and one of these is Secretary Herbert Hoover, the republican nominee for president.

In the office of the Interstate Commerce department, at Washington, of which he is the head, over twenty negro men and women are working side by side with an equal number of white men and women, the women having the same toilet and rest room, and the men theirs together.

Only a short time ago, while traveling through Georgia on a train made up of dining and sleeping cars bringing back delegates from the Kansas City convention, made a short stop at Savannah, and some of his political friends sent for him to step to the platform, which he declined to do, saying he was dinwith a lady, and that "lady" was a negro woman, who was a delegate to the Kansas City Convention.

During the world war, when then claiming to be a democrat, he was food commissioner, during Woodrow Wilson's administration, he brought the negroes and whites together in his numerous division headquarters and office rooms in Washington, fed them foom the same table and using the same rest room, but when Wilson learned the situation he immediately issued an order seggregating the races.

We do not believe tat Secretary Hoover did these things for political expediency, but for the reason that he favors the absolute social equality of the races, which he has the unquestioned right to do, just as we have to abhor such a situation.

Such social equality as he believes in means the misecenation, or intermarriage of the Anglo Saxon and the African, which is going on, to a very small extent, in some eastern and western states, where there are no statutes preventing such marriages, but, in the southern states it is inhibited by law.

White supremacy is the main issue in Georgia, and it is a thousand times more important than prohibition and religious creeds, neither of which will be, in the slightest degree, affected by the election of Governor Elfred E. Smith to the presidency, a great man, and an honest one, and the only democrat in the nation who would have the ghost of a chance of election.

Every white woman and man in Georgia who votes for Hoover directly indorses negro social equality and miscenegation, although all of them are bitterly opposed to both, but that act is the most, and only effective one they can possibly perform to give real force and effect to this monstrous principle.

Any person who cannot conscientiously support the national democratic ticket is not legally, nor morally bound to vote for any presidential candidate, but can scratch that, and support candidates for all state and county offices, and congressmen.

EXPONENT
CLARKSBURG, W. VA.

JUL 28 1928

THE NEGRO VOTE

A long press release was sent out the other day, evidently from the state Republican headquarters, and its purpose was to show that colored voters would by no means desert the Republican standard this year. This sort of tonic is usually held for later in the campaign, but this year things seem to be different.

Already there is a defection of Negro votes from the Hoover banner, and it is led by Neval H. Thomas, head of the Washington branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

If you would know the truth about the stuff which has been sent out in this state lauding the Negro and telling how well the Grand Old Party has cared for its colored people, you will find that it is an effort to off-set a movement of Negroes from the party which is the most unusual in American politics.

The post-office scandals in the South and the persecution of Perry W. Howard has aroused colored citizens throughout the country.

Neval Thomas has written to Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, telling her that her activities in Mississippi are not aimed solely at Howard and his political associates, but at "the great Negro race."

"Perhaps you think you have deceived the colored people by your tactics at Kansas City and your entry into Mississippi to save it for white supremacy," said Thomas's letter. "This whole scheme against Perry W. Howard was concocted right here in Washington by the servants of Mr. Hoover to take from the colored people the last vestige of influence and prestige in a degenerate political party that has lived on the Negro for years."

Thomas warns Mrs. Willebrandt that the Negro voter will turn from the Republican party.

"We shall meet the faithless party at the polls," he said. "Every Negro newspaper in the country is railing out against the outrage, informing our millions of this last assault upon their liberties."

This is why our friends on the other side are up so early in the campaign trying to placate the Negro voter. Be not misled.

Political - 1928.
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Lily White Events Come In With Hoover Control

Picture 1. With Hoover in control, Ben Davis and Emil Kuntz lost out in the Kansas City National Republican Convention Contests.

Picture 2. Headquarters for the white has been opened in Munsey Building in Washington, D. C. under Colonel Mann, (white.)

Picture 3. The Hoover crowd is also back of the fraud accusations against Perry Howard, (Miss.) who was ousted from his D. C. office.

Picture 4. G. O. P. has agreed to work with Senator Tom Heflin, (Democrat) and the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama and Georgia.

Picture 5. Mrs. Mary Booze Miss. National Committeewoman, was barred from the official banquet in D. C.

Leaders of Democracy May Select Negro To Oppose Race Nominee

First Illinois District May Witness Hectic Race For Madden's Seat In Congress—DePriest's Forces Ready For Battle—Victory Seen For Colored Congressional Candidate In November.

Chicago, Ill.—(ANP)—If the right man can be found, Oscar DePriest, out-in-front Republican candidate for congress from the First Illinois District, may shortly find himself staunchly opposed by a Negro Democrat. Conferences with white Democratic leaders have disclosed their willingness and, in some cases, their desire, to further their party interests in the November election by placing a Negro Democrat on their ticket in an effort to beat DePriest.

These white Democrats are now seeking to learn what will be the possible attitude of the Chicago Negro toward the Democratic county ticket at election time. They have the precedent of the mayoralty election of 1923, when Negroes voted large majorities for William E. Dever, the Democratic victor, to indicate to them that situations can be arranged to bring about a reversal of the normal Republican Negro vote. Can what was done in 1923 be repeated in 1928, is the question.

Two phenomena that have interested Democrats have been the results of certain straw votes for Hoover and Smith, and the reported wavering and insecurity of the colored Republican leaders.

Straw votes gathered in the Negro district have so far given Herbert Hoover a lead of less than ten per cent over his Democratic rival, Al Smith. This is significant in view of the fact that straw votes in previous presidential years have revealed the Democratic nominee picking up only the crumbs from the table. John W. Davis in 1924 received between eight and ten per cent, as against forty and forty-five for Smith today. It is apparent that these straw votes disclose an unprecedented amount of good will for Smith that ought to be nursed and used to good effect for the Democratic state and county tickets.

Democratic Leaders Lay Plans

White Democratic leaders are also considering what is going to be the strength and position of such men as Dan Jackson, committeeman of the Second Ward; Oscar DePriest, congressional candidate and committeeman of the Third Ward, and Bishop A. J. Carey, civil service commissioner, who dominates the Fourth Ward. They and other Negro office-holders have heretofore gathered the Negro vote for William Hale Thompson, the mayor. But will they be able to repeat?

It is admitted that the Negro is for Thompson and Thompson's ticket when it is winning, but in the last primary the Thompson ticket was overwhelmed. The Republicans whose names come before the voters in November are principally from another faction—the Deneen group, which has always played a sort of cat-and-mouse game with Negro political bargain hunters. The Deneen leaders are mostly Swedes, that despite what may have been steered the Negro's way by Fred Lundin, a Swede, Negroes generally feel that the Deneenites are a cold bunch. They lack passion, zeal, and spirit. They are too meticulous. They have never been able to fire the imagination of the Negro. They don't look like winners. Thus it is that voters in the colored district, realizing that Thompson was beaten in the April primary by the Deneenites, are sure that these latter will be whipped in November by the Democrats. Politics is a cold-blooded, practical business. With the feeling prevailing among the voters that the local Democrats are going to win, are Jackson, DePriest, Carey, and others going to refrain from

making bargains with the Democrats? The voters themselves feel that these leaders will take advantage of the prevailing sentiment to keep themselves entrenched in power with the victors after election.

No Inter-Party Deal Seen

DePriest probably would not make a deal now, such as he is reported to have made with the Democrats in 1923, due to the position he is running for, and any lack of support the Democratic ticket might suffer from him, would be made up for in the support that would come to the Democratic ticket if a Negro were placed upon it as the nominee for congress from the First District.

In this connection, two problems are presented: the first is of finding the Negro who might be more acceptable to Negroes than DePriest; the second is that of getting the white man who is now the Democratic nominee to withdraw. Both problems are difficult.

About twenty per cent of the vote in the district is normally Democratic. It is believed the percentage will be much greater this year. The white candidate is aware of the dissension that now exists in the Negro Republican ranks, and expects the Republican vote to be split up between two or three candidates, two perhaps running independently. With the normal Democratic vote and what will accrue to it because of the popularity of this year's ticket, the white Democratic candidate believes he has an excellent chance to be elected, and has so far declined to consider withdrawing. He holds the key to a situation which is of the utmost interest to the leaders of the Democratic party in Cook County.

WORK ORGANIZES COLORED VOTERS DIVISION OF G. O. P.

Washington, August 1.—(AP)—Organization of a "colored voters' division" of the republican national committee was announced today by Chairman Work. The division will direct the republican campaign among the negroes.

John R. Hawkins, of this city, was named chairman of the executive committee of the division, and Albon L. Holsey, secretary of Tuskegee institute, secretary.

DES MOINES
IOWA
JUL 16 1928

Negro Republicans

BY CHARLES P. HOWARD IN THE BYSTANDER.

It was my good fortune to perhaps be in on every conference of Negroes of any importance in Kansas City and this one sentiment prevailed each of the conferences, "We are fundamentally republicans, but we are thoroughly dissatisfied with the republicans. We hope that our differences may be adjusted with the republican party, but unless the republican party shows an inclination to improve upon its attitude in Kansas City, Negroes are going to do one of two things; vote the democratic ticket or organize their own independent party and run a Negro for president and vice president," and what's more the men behind the idea have the money and intelligence to do it. In a presidential election the Negro is the balance of power in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri and New Jersey. Herbert Hoover cannot lose those states plus the states that he is going to lose anyway and win over Al Smith.

A coalition between the agricultural middlewest and the Negro in these pivotal states will result in both groups receiving greater recognition. I believe a constructive one here rather than a destructive one to be advantageous, but the republican party is facing a fight without question. Personally, however, I am of the opinion that our best interest may be served by fighting it out within the party.

This was indeed a gathering of the elite of the Negro republicans of America. After attending this convention I have reached the conclusion:

First, that the political leadership among Negroes has fallen into new and younger hands.

Second, that control of the republican party in the south is gradually slipping from the hands of the Negroes, and that it is only being retained where that leadership is superbly intelligent and financially independent.

Third, that southern Negro delegates are a high class intelligent group.

Fourth, that although our power in the south is diminishing it is becoming greater in the north.

Fifth, that Negroes are beginning to realize their political potency and are accordingly beginning to assert themselves.

After attending this convention I am convinced that the demands of Negroes will never be heeded until we organize ourselves into a national political organization, independent of any party and active the year round.

HOOVER LEADERS IN STATE NAMED

Committee of 21 To Meet Wednesday in Atlanta; Opposing Factions To Meet Saturday.

Appointed Saturday in a conference between republican leaders and H. G. Hastings, chairman of the Hoover campaign committee for Georgia, 21 members of an enlarged committee have been called to meet at 10 o'clock Wednesday morning at the Ansley hotel, it was announced.

The personnel of the committee will not be announced until acceptances of the members are received, but the original committee included Mr. Hastings, O. M. Duke, of Flovilla; Clint W. Hage, United States district attorney for the northern district of Georgia; M. O. Dunning, collector of customs, Savannah, and G. F. Flanders, of Swainsboro. Dunning was in Atlanta Saturday conferring with party leaders relative to the campaign.

Plans are being formed for a vigorous two-party presidential campaign in Georgia for the first time since the Roosevelt movement in 1912, developments Saturday showed. Hastings said that the drive would be directed chiefly through Hoover-for-President clubs which are being formed "all over Georgia in a spontaneous movement."

Headquarters to be Named.

Headquarters for the Hoover committee will be chosen the latter part of the week in Atlanta, Hastings said. The committee counts on adding to the normal republican vote the ballots of all democrats who do not wish to vote for Governor Smith, he said. Hastings added that "the Hoover-for-President clubs are enlisting thousands of the best men and women in Georgia, the movement showing beyond question the deep resentment against the sale of the national democratic nomination and organization to Tammany Hall at Houston."

Georgia has not been out of the democratic column since reconstruction days. Cox, the democratic nominee, received 107,162 votes to 43,720 for Harding in 1920; and in 1924, Davis was given 123,200 to 30,300 for Coolidge.

Meanwhile, plans were being laid by rival factions of the state central committee for meetings at Atlanta and Macon next Saturday in a contest for control of the committee. Roscoe Pickett, of Jasper, whom Ben J. Davis, negro, secretary of the committee, claims to have ousted from the chairmanship, has called a meeting for Macon, while G. F. Flanders, of Swainsboro, who claims the chairmanship of the committee as successor to Pickett, has called a session for Atlanta.

Considerable speculation has been caused by the announcement Thursday night by Louis H. Crawford, United States marshal, that republican leaders in Washington had appointed a campaign committee in Georgia composed of H. P. Meikleham, of Lindale, chairman, a neutral in the central committee fight; Crawford and T. N. Hendricks, of Edison, of the Pickett faction, and J. T. Rose and Clint W. Hager, of the Flanders faction.

Chairmanship Accepted.

On the heels of Crawford's announcement, Hastings announced Friday that he had accepted the chairmanship of the campaign committee and was proceeding with the organization of the Hoover clubs.

Crawford announced Thursday night that a meeting of the committee headed by Meikleham had been called for Friday morning. Reports were that Meikleham, Crawford and Hendricks did meet Friday, and that Rose and Hager did not meet with the others.

Pickett said over the telephone from Jasper that he had not been notified of the appointment of a Hoover campaign committee for Georgia, and that appointment of such a committee would not change his plans for a meeting of the central committee at Macon next Saturday. In making his announcement Crawford indicated that the committee, composed of two men from both factions and a neutral member, would endeavor to iron out differences in the party in Georgia.

THE REPUBLICAN MEETINGS AUGUST 11

Two Republicans meetings are called for August 11; one meets in Atlanta, the other in Macon. One headed by Mr. Flanders, the other by Mr. Pickett.

We believe that the large majority of Negro and white members of the State Central Committee will come to Atlanta and offer their rebuke to the dissenting faction.

Some of us were visitors at the Republican convention held in the Fulton County court house. While we had no vote or voice, we were interested in state affairs.

Among other things, we witnessed the unanimous endorsement of Honorable B. J. Davis as National Committeeman. We feel that the State of Georgia is, morally and by every decent rule of party decorum and regard for our word and vote, bound to stand by Honorable B. J. Davis.

It does not matter what the reservations were even at the time of the convention endorsement, the truth is: the delegates were instructed to vote for Davis at Kansas City. Why should these men be allowed to violate their obligation without a protest from the public at large? This is our first reason for feeling that the faction meeting in Macon should be rebuked.

Second, Mr. Davis, as editor of the Independent, has a steady record of more than twenty years of solid courage when it comes to the matter of speaking out for "racial rights and oppressed humanity" at large. Living as he has in the heart of the South, the Hon. B. J. Davis has talked to his white neighbors of their wrongs against the black people (the needy group) without reservation or bodily fear.

The race of real men, men who suffer common oppression, cannot afford to sacrifice B. J. Davis and the great cause he so manfully champions.

How often have his editorials, bristling as they do with manly courage, served as a living spring in the desert for that powerless group of Negroes who have a few papers and few men of courage who dare to say and do the manly?

We are confidenced that the manly men, colored and white, will stand by the party cause and the great principles involved.

Signed:

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

Who'll Get The Drumstick ?

By ALBON L. HOLSEY

I attended the Republican National Convention as an onlooker of parliamentary procedure, but the doings of our folks left me somewhat disturbed in mind as to the exact status of the Negro in the Republican Party set-up.

The principal headquarters for Hoover, Lowden, Curtis and Watson were all located in the Baltimore Hotel, and it was interesting to stand in the hallways and note the contrast in apparent purpose as between the whites and the Negroes. The whites were busy hustling from one room to another, conferring with each other, exchanging cordial greetings, or pausing momentarily to show a telegram or or some mysterious something on a sheet of paper to "Ogden" or "Charley" or "Roy." They were evidently doing something which seemed to have an object.

On the other hand our folks stood around in small groups talking in low, monotone whispers, or walked around aimlessly casting inquisitive glances at some white man or trying to overhear some passing remark of the white people.

Always our people appeared to be just out on the fringe of things. On numerous occasions I saw men of our group—and some of their political leaders—address a white man and heard the white man say, impatiently and fretfully, "Sorry, can't see you now. You will have to see me later," and then he was gone. One "brother" came up to me as I stood in the hallway of the Hoover headquarters and whispered, "Say, who's handling the money up here?"

And Much Parleying

Down at the Street Hotel, where the Negroes stopped, there was much parleying and boastings of "inside information" or how the nomination was going. Also there was no end of discussion about LilyWhiteism and lack of organization among Negroes. The main topic of conversation, however, was "Who will head the Negro division of the Republican campaign? A dozen caucuses were called by as many candidates and each in turn hoped to secure for himself this plum of questionable fatness.

For several days after leaving Kansas City, this gloomy picture of the Negroes' position in politics tormented me and kept on suggesting some memory of the dim and musty past. Finally it came to me.

When I was a small boy, it was customary among colored folks in my town to have their "big cats" on Sundays and frequently the minister or some other friend was in to dinner on that day and when company came the children always waited to be served later, and usually on such occasions we had fried chicken, and invariably—especially if the minister was there—there would be nothing left on the platter but the drum-sticks, neck, and perhaps a gizard and liver.

A Hard Task

Now consider if you please the frame of mind of four hungry growing boys who had to divide these remnants and then wash the dishes before going to play. It was, therefore, no easy task but we met it with real courage, and the most ingenious schemes. Even before the guests left the table we were deciding the grave questions as to who would get the drum-stick, and frequently there was actual trading for this choice piece, as for instance, one brother used to say, "You had the drum-stick Sunday before last, and if you let me have it today, I'll bring in wood for you tomorrow." The drum-stick caucuses at the Street Hotel should be placed alongside the magnificent fight of the midwestern farmers.

Is Negro's Friend

So effective were the preconvention activities of the farmers that the Resolution Committee spent many weary hours endeavoring to frame a plank for the platform which would satisfy the demands and only a gavel-strategist like Senator Moses, the convention chairman, prevented a riotous stampede for the farmers after Frank Murphy's stirring appeal for that amendment to the majority report of the committee. In Herbert Hoover, the Republican Party has a leader of unquestionable ability, and the Negro a friend who is unhampered by petty prejudices.

Boland, Fla., News
Tuesday, July 3, 1928

—o—

There are in South Florida 70,000 white Republicans and over 200,000 black ones. Suppose the negros should qualify? Suppose half of them should qualify?—Marianna Floridan. If 200,000 dark Republicans tried to vote in South Florida on general election day, Charlie, about 180,000 of them would be so busy picking buckshot out of the first 20,000 who went to the polls, they wouldn't have time —nor inclination — to do anything else. — Palm Beach Independent. Three cheers for a democrat!

The action of Chairman Wm. M. Butler of the Republican National Committee, in seating lily white delegates from Louisiana, Florida and other southern states has aroused Negro sentiment in the northern states to the extent that it is feared a reactionary effect will result, creating dissatisfaction within racial party ranks.

Many influential citizens, West and East, have wired Chairman Butler, entering strong protest against such procedure. Fred R. Moore, editor of The New York Age, on Saturday, June 9, sent the following telegram to Chairman Butler:

Hon. William M. Butler,
Chairman, National Committee,
Muehlebach Hotel, Kansas City, Mo.

We protest against action of National Committee in sending Lily White delegates from Louisiana and other Southern states as contrary to basic principles of Republicanism, which recognized neither race nor color. Any deviation from this principle will destroy confidence and lead to dissatisfaction among colored voters in Northern States. Please present this protest to Chairman Committee on Credentials and urge hearing of contests on their merits and not on color.

FRED R. MOORE,
Editor The New York Age.

EVERY EVENING
WILMINGTON, DEL.
JUL 12 1928

LINCOLN, NOT G. O. P., FREED SLAVES.

Dahiel Lyman Ridout, a Negro of this city and a man of educational attainments and freedom from the bondage of the G. O. P., makes a plea for voters of his race to think and act politically for themselves and not sell themselves to politicians for a mess of pottage and recalls what many of us have overlooked. He says:

"The Republican party—thinking in the terms of a Negro—scored a great triumph in the days of Lincoln. That was 65 years ago, and, nationally speaking, it has little to boast of since. There has been but one Roosevelt! It might be well to reflect that Lincoln would have done what he did if he had belonged to another political party."

True and well put!

While the Republicans have nursed and proclaimed the idea that they freed the African slave. Mr. Ridout puts the credit exactly where it is due.

If history is correct the leaders of the Republican party protested with all their might against the President issuing his emancipation proclamation and it was in spite of their prayers and pleas that he shook the shackles from the millions of black slaves long before the war had ended and before the Republican party came to see the humanity and justice of the greatest act of Lincoln's wonderful career.

Therefore, for the sake of truth and historical accuracy, it is well to differentiate, and to remember that it was Lincoln who liberated our Negroes from slavery and he did so against the protests of leaders of the "Grand Old Party" when it was new.

EVERY EVENING
WILMINGTON, DEL.

JUL 9 1928

The Negro and the G. O. P.

(From the Washington Eagle, a newspaper for Colored People.)

There was a time when the Republican party nominated its candidates it was looked upon as a foregone conclusion that the colored voters of the country would cast a virtually solid vote for that party's candidate. To anyone who is familiar with the thought of the present-day Negro must realize that no man walking down the street seeing a group of colored people talking can say with any degree of accuracy that they are all going to vote the straight Republican ticket.

No one at this day can say what number of colored votes will be deflected from the G. O. P. during the coming campaign. There is a strong sentiment among colored people that bodes ill for the Republican party. There is a manifest disposition on the part of many of the colored voters to break away from that party. The colored newspapers throughout the country have been advising the leaders of that party that the failure of the leaders of the G. O. P. to live up to the traditions of the party would have the effect of driving a number of the colored voters into the ranks of the Democratic party.

The Democrats have nominated a man who makes a strong appeal to the colored people in all parts of the country. The Democratic organization in New York City has done a number of fine outstanding things for the Negroes who have allied themselves with that party. We are mentioning these things at this time to indicate to those who lead the Republican hosts that if they want to hold the Negro in line they must need do some work. Many are out of line at this time. Whether they can be gotten back will depend largely on what kind of a campaign is put forth. We are stating the bald facts as they exist from reports coming to us from all sections of the country.

BAR REPUBLICANS AT DRY CONFERENCE

Bishop Cannon Declares Only Southern Men Will Attend the Asheville Meeting Today.

SOUTH FEARS NEGRO MOVE

Democratic Leaders See End of Racial Barrier if White Party Splits.

From a Staff Correspondent of The New York Times.

ASHEVILLE, N. C., July 17.—The conference of Dry Southern Democrats and Evangelical Church Workers, which is to open a two-day session at the Battery Park Hotel here tomorrow, will draw up plans with a view to defeating the election of Governor Smith as Presidnt and for the election of dry representatives and Senators from the Southern States in November, it was announced tonight by Bishop James Cannon Jr., of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

The meeting was called jointly by Bishop Cannon, whose home is in Richmond, Va., and the Rev. Dr. Arthur J. Barton, of Atlanta, head of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Up to tonight hotel reservations had been made by thirty prospective delegates from all over the South.

"I want to say emphatically that we are not meeting for the purpose of organizing a third party," said Bishop Cannon. "Neither are we meeting to promote the candidacy of any Republican, as such.

"We are meeting as dry Southern Democrats for the purpose of preserving, if we can, the integrity of our party, its ideals and its traditions. No Republicans will be present, no Northerner will be present. It is too soon to indicate what line the conference will take. Generally speaking, however, we are out to elect dry candidates for the House and Senate and dry local tickets, and we are out to defeat a wet Tammany candidate for the Presidency."

Hits at Rascob as Republican Wet.

"Does that involve delivering Democratic votes to Hoover, since there is to be no third ticket?" Bishop Cannon was asked.

"Can any one protest against any Democrat voting against Governor Smith when his own wet campaign manager voted against the Democratic ticket in 1924 and when he registers himself in Who's Who as a Republican?" he said.

"The plan we are to consider at the conference," the Bishop continued, "is one of organization—how we will organize and along what concrete lines, but I hesitate to indicate those lines. There will be more than one plan submitted. Probably I will submit one of my own. We may find it necessary to compromise as we go along. But in the end we will perfect an organization to promote the ends we are after."

"We intend to hold our first session privately in order to perfect an organization and to arrive at such compromises as may be necessary," Bishop Cannon explained. "The next meeting will be open."

The meeting open to the public will be held tomorrow night.

Democratic leaders here today admitted that the conference was "important" and said it "might have grave consequences," but they declined to be quoted personally.

At the best, they said, the movement headed by Bishop Cannon was bound to provoke dissension; at the wrost it might cause such a schism in the ranks of Southern democracy that the politically inarticulate negroes would start a concerted movement to register as voters and, with the balance of power in their hands, throw several Southern States into the Hoover column.

Apprehends Negro Activity.

One of the best-known and most responsible Democrats in this section of the South said that tomorrow's conference might bring the negro question into greater prominence than it has attained since 1900. He declared that a serious split in the hitherto solid ranks of the Democratic Party in the South would bring with it a threat of negro domination in a number of Southern States.

At present, he said, the negroes make no attempt to register as voters. They were barred from the polls by the literacy test and "grandfather clause" adopted by the Southern States.

With the vast improvement in negro schools during recent years, and the consequent increase in the number of negroes who have a common school education, large numbers would have no difficulty in passing the literacy test.

The danger of the situation to the whites, according to the views expressed by some observers, is that, seeing the Democratic Party split into two factions for the first time, the negroes will apply for registration and, holding the balance of power, assume the dominant rôle. In some Southern States they form more than half the population.

It was pointed out that in 1920, Alabama, with 1,447,000 whites, had a population of 900,000 negroes. Figures given for the other Southern States are: Arkansas, whites, 1,279,000, negroes, 47,000; Florida, whites, 638,000, negroes, 329,000; Georgia, whites, 1,700,000, negroes, 1,200,000; Louisiana, whites, 1,000,000, negroes, 700,000; Mississippi, whites, 854,000, negroes, 935,000; North Carolina, whites, 1,800,000, negroes, 763,000; South Carolina, whites, 819,000, negroes, 865,000; Texas, whites, 4,000,000; negroes, 742,000; and Virginia, whites, 1,618,000, negroes, 690,000.

North Carolina was carried by the Republicans in 1896. It is the only one of these States in which the Democratic ticket has ever been defeated.

Methodists Sponsor Movement.

The movement, which is to be launched tomorrow, is being almost entirely sponsored by Methodists. Leaders of the Baptist Church assert that, as a body, their denomination will not mix in politics.

In addition to Dr. Barton, prominent Baptists aligned against Governor Smith are the Rev. W. L. Poteat, President Emeritus of Wake Forest College, the leading Baptist educational institution in the South, and the Rev. Robert J. Bateman, pastor of the First Baptist Church here. Many Baptists are expected to become active against the Democratic nominee in a personal way but not as representing the church organization.

Methodist Bishops to Attend.

In addition to Bishop Cannon, the Methodist Church will be represented by Bishop Horace M. du Bose of Winston-Salem, N. C., President of the Anti-Saloon League of Tennessee and head of the Methodist Episcopal Conference in that State; Bishop Edward D. Mouzon of Charlotte, N. C., head of the North and South Carolina Methodist Conference, and Bishop John M. Moore of Dallas, head of the Central, Northwestern and Western Texas and the New Mexico Methodist conferences.

Hotel reservations also have been made by the Rev. John W. Perry, Home Missionary Secretary of the Southern Methodist Church, and Mrs. Perry, of Asheville, the latter Vice President Woman's Missionary Council; Mrs. W. A. Newell of Gastonia, N. C., Superintendent of Social Service Work, Woman's Missionary Council; Mrs. Luke Johnson of Atlanta, of the Inter-Racial Commission, Southern Methodist Church; E. H. Rawlings of Nashville, Secretary of Education and Promotion, Board of Missions, Southern Methodist Church; R. H. Bowden of Pocahontas, Va., and Mrs. Marvin Williams, President of the Georgia Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Deets Pickett of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and morals of the Southern Methodist Church, is among those expected; also George E. Hayes of Louisville, William L. Knight of Weldon, N. C.; James A. Anderson of Forest City, Ark.; Mrs. Howard M. Hodges of Lincoln, Va., President of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and E. J. Richardson of the Anti-Saloon League of America, Washington.

Publisher Now Supports Smith.

Fred I. Thompson, formerly Vice Chairman of the United Shipping Board and publisher of The Mobile Register, The Mobile News and Item and three other Alabama newspapers, was here today. He was one of the most bitter of Governor Smith's opponents at Houston, but his newspapers are now supporting the Democratic ticket. He was quoted here as expressing the belief that Alabama was in danger as a result of the present situation.

Bishop Cannon said that invitations to the conference were not sent to Josephus Daniels, Carter Glass nor Governor Dan W. Moody of Texas.

One of the results of the meeting, it is expected, will be the organization of a Hoover for President club among Democratic women in the South. Woman's Christian Temperance Union workers from Indiana are already speaking at dry meetings which are being held to oppose Governor Smith.

REVIEW

Rockville Centre N.Y.

JUL 13 1928

Negro Republicans To Give Support to Hoover and Curtis

The Frank Graham Republican club for colored voters of Nassau county will give its full support to the candidacies of Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis, Republican nominees for president and vice-president.

The club, which has a membership throughout the county, with headquarters at 16 Mill road, Hempstead, has adopted a resolution pledging itself to work for their election. The resolution follows:

"Whereas the people of the United States have for the past five years enjoyed a period of unparalled prosperity and peaceful intercourse with the nations of the world, under the wise and able leadership of Calvin Coolidge; and,

"Whereas the Republican party, at its convention held in Kansas City in June, has placed a stamp of unqualified approval on the leadership and policies of Calvin Coolidge, to the end that the United States will continue its leadership of the world, but bowing to the will of the president, who has refused to become a candidate for a third term, has chosen as the standard bearer of the party, that internationally known administrator and humanitarian, Herber Hoover,

"Be it resolved that the Frank Graham Republican club of Nassau county unqualifiedly approve the selection of Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis, as the standard bearers of Republicanism and pledge its unstinted effort in working for the election of these stalwart Americans.

"Frank R. Graham, president.
"Moxey A. Rigby, secretary."

With the national campaign approaching, the membership of the club is increasing rapidly, Mr. Graham reports.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation

HOOVER AND THE SOUTH.

The people of the south have good reasons to heartily appreciate the letter of President-elect Hoover to Richard H. Edmonds, editor of the Manufacturers Record, of Baltimore.

He is mistaken in believing that the recent turn-over of southern votes, heretofore democratic, by which some of the southern states gave to him their electoral units, was due to "growing sentiment in favor of the principles of the republican party. Some heretofore democrats voted republican ballots on that account, no doubt. But the majority of those in the turn-over were inspired by other reasons.

11-16-28

Equally as mistaken, in our judgment, is the democrat who believes that Mr. Hoover, as a republican president, will not be a friend of the south, and that his administration will in any way show any disposition to ignore, or to penalize the south. We hold no such view, and we accept his assurances to Mr. Edmonds at their par value.

Stating that his administration would "know no difference between north, south, east and west," but "seek to deal with absolute fairness to every section of our common country," Mr. Hoover pledged his cooperation in the development of flood control projects, an intercoastal canal system and hydroelectric power. The canal system, he said, should extend eventually from Boston to "the end of Texas."

That is a heartening statement. We would call the attention of the president-elect to the almost imperative importance of a canal between the Atlantic and the Gulf by which shipping from the Gulf ports to overseas ports may be spared the necessity of the long route around the Florida keys and through the gulf stream zone, from which grain, in particular, suffers a terrific loss.

The proposed St. Marys-St. Marks canal has been agitated for generations. It was originally surveyed by George Washington. Congress has recognized its importance. The war department engineers have made surveys. And yet no other definite progress has been made. **We are frank to assert that if this same situation had been in the north, or the west, it would have been a completed job many years ago.**

Mr. Hoover is a great engineer. Now that he has frankly placed himself on record in favor of the development of canal waterways, "to the end of Texas," let us suggest to our southern and middle western members of congress—for the entire Mississippi valley is directly and acutely interested—to push this great project at the opening of the next congress. It is hoped that Mr. Hoover, when president, may urge this in his first message.

Adequate farm relief, in providing suitable government machinery for the absorption of surplus commodities, is needed for the southern producer as much as it is needed for the western producer. Surely under Mr. Hoover's administration this matter may be disposed of to the best economic welfare of the whole country.

If there is to be a continuation of high tariff rates to protect industry, by all means let us have equal protection for farm production so that the charge of discrimination cannot be made in fairness.

We commend Mr. Hoover's viewpoints as to the south, and he will justify the heavy vote given to him in the south if he, when president, shall use his best administrative efforts to put his expressed views into execution. We shall see what we shall see!

Republican

PRESIDENT-ELECT ALSO MAKES BID FOR DIXIE BALLOTS

Letter to Baltimore Editor Voices Appreciation for Southern Support at Recent Election.

PROMISES CONTROL OF FLOOD REGIONS

Also Points to Economic Possibilities in Water Power and Canals Throughout Section.

BY RAYMOND CLAPPER,
United News Staff Correspondent.

Washington, November 14.—In a letter to the Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore, made public tonight, Herbert Hoover pledged himself to assist in the economic development of the south and also appealed to southerners to abandon their traditional democratic attitude by declaring the time had come for the south to vote in national elections on the basis of current issues rather than past conditions.

11-15-28

Hoover's letter, dated November 7, the day after election, and addressed to Richard H. Edmonds, editor of the Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore, Md., said:

Text of Letter.

"I am profoundly appreciative of the extremely heavy vote throughout the south for Mr. Curtis and myself. I accept this vote, not as a personal tribute, but as an expression of a developing sentiment throughout the south in behalf of the things for which the republican party has stood in this campaign; and while desiring to express to those who voted for Mr. Curtis and myself my profound appreciation of the honor thus done us, I want to make very emphatic that I give full credit to those who voted for my opponent for the sincerity and honesty of their convictions.

"I am not at all unmindful of the conditions which for years brought about the political solidarity of the south. I firmly believe, however, that the time has come when in all sections men and women should vote from their convictions as to conditions at the present time, and not based on things of former generations.

"The safety of this country and its continued progress toward that exalted position for which providence seems to have destined it, can in my opinion be best served by a diversity of thought and action which will cause all of the voters of this country to recognize their individual responsibility to take part in every political campaign.

Urges Citizens To Vote.

"In every community and every state, as well as in national elections, all the people should recognize their duty to express their views on local, state and national affairs through the ballot box; and in such contests all bitterness of spirit should be wiped out. However strong may be convictions or issues before the public, these political contests should be waged in a spirit of friendly, active rivalry, but not in a spirit of bitter denunciation of any one party against the other.

"I trust that it is needless for me to say to the people of the south that I am fully appreciative of the great potentialities of that section. With one-third of the nation's land area, with about three-fifths of its sea frontage, with vast resources in soil, climate and minerals, no limit can be set to the continued progress and ever increasing prosperity of the whole south.

Water Power Development.

"There are great water powers awaiting development and, as I have said before, every drop of water that unutilized runs its course idly to the sea is an economic loss.

"There are great potentialities in the extension of the intercoastal canal system which eventually should extend all the way from Boston to the end of Texas.

11-15-28

"And to the furtherance of the development of these waterways and the possibilities for hydroelectric power not yet utilized, for the fullest upbuilding of the Mississippi river valley country by adequate floor protection, I can promise to the south my heartiest cooperation.

To Avoid Sectionalism.

"I can assure the people of the south, as well as those of the entire country, that in my administration I shall know no difference between north, south, east and west, but shall seek to deal with absolute fairness and justice to every section of our common country. There are great economic issues and vast economic potentialities in every part of this country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the lakes to the gulf. It is well said that "the development of the south means the enrichment of the nation," and this is true not only in the material sense, but also in the broader sense of the development of the spirit of Americanism which will permeate the lives of the people of the entire country, rounding out to a greater extent than we have ever known before a genuine Americanism instead of a certain degree of sectionalism. It is right that every state and every section should seek its utmost advancement, but there should be no spirit of ill-will or rivalry, for there is room enough for all, and possibilities of growth and prosperity in every part of this land greater far than the world has ever yet seen.

"Again would I express to the people of the south who have in such vast numbers by their votes shown their confidence in Mr. Curtis and myself, my profound appreciation. If it is within my power to prevent it, they shall never feel that they made a [illegible]"

were printed in one of the leading Republican newspapers in the country, and in a city that, while it is the capital of the whole nation, is, nevertheless, distinctly "Yankee" in its leanings. There may be some folks in Louisiana who honestly entertain the opinion that there is nothing to worry about in the negro problem in these times; to all such The Journal commends the paragraphs quoted above.—Shreveport Journal.

THE NEGRO VOTE

A good deal of talk is heard, these days, about how Tammany Hall is supposed to control the negro vote in New York, and how the organization is preparing to vote 'em solid for Al Smith. This propaganda s being dished out by the G. O. P., of course in the hope of influencing the Southern States to give Herbert Hoover a good play—maybe an electoral vote or so.

But George Rothwell Browne, who conducts column on the front page of the Washington Post, a Republican newspaper, states the whole case in these words:

> There is only one issue in Dixie today, and that's the one that confronted it after Appomattox, when old Thad Stevens and the black Republicans sent the first carpetbaggers across the old Long Bridge. Does Miss Dixie want to see some more of 'em?
>
> Positively not! Yet every now and then we hear some good Democrat vocifering his belief that the negro, as an "isue,, is dead forevermore in the Southland. It is also said that Democrats have no right to bring a charge against the Republicans—that theirs is the black man's party—but the fact speaks for themselves. Did a Democrat ever introduce a "Force Bill" in the congress? Did a Democratic national platform ever include an "anti-lynching" plank in its platform?

The Washington Post goes a bit further into the subject by saying:

> The next time congress meets a negro will sit in the house of representatives from Illinois—the first time a member of his race has been almitted there since March 4, 1901. Twenty-seven years passed since the South sent its last black congressman to Washington—it will decide in this election whether it is willing to run the risk of resuming that custom.

We are giving space to the two items from George Rothwell Browne's column for the reason that

Eastman, Ga. Journal Aug 30, 1928

BARRY WRIGHT IS FOR HOOVER

FORCED TO LINE UP WITH REPUBLICANS EITHER WAY, HE SAYS, AND PREFERS HOOVER AND CURTIS TO TAMMANY AND THE WET DEMOCRATS.

ROME, Ga., Aug. 27.—Hon. Barry Wright, son of Judge Seaborn Wright, for many years a prominent prohibition leader of Georgia, has issued the following card defining his position in the presidential campaign:

"I shall vote for Mr. Hoover in November.

"This decision is not reached without a struggle; only after a full conviction of patriotic duty.

"I have waited to the last—till the acceptance speech — hoping against hope. In this speech I see the complete fulfillment of the open threat to the south—that the south would be ignored—flouted; that its principles would be trampled and despised; that the savage civilization of Tammany would take the place of all that the south holds most sacred.

"This speech proposes that the platform of the Democratic party be defied; that the prohibition law no longer shall be a national law; that each state shall interpret it; that at each state line a different degree of drunkenness shall be permitted; in short that law shall be abolished and anarchy shall be licensed. The constitution shall be currendered, at the dictate of the man who would be sworn to defend it, to every state that could be captured by a Tammany ized machine. We are promised a local option of open nullification.

"Thus the platform of the party promising an enforcement of the law will be shamelessly disobeyed. The party platform, the law of the land, the constitution of our country, all betrayed for the lust of office.

"Not only does Governor Smith advocate the destruction of the prohibition law, but he demands that the constitution of the United States be amended. Each state will be put in the liquor business. The good men and women will not only be made to see this great reform destroyed; but they, as citizens, will be forced to become partners in the traffic. The father will be made a partner in the business that destroys his son; the mother a contributor to the ruin of her daughter; the very churches of the Living God stockholders in legalized debauchery. Our states—supposed to be the means of good government—are to be put in the liquor business. What a glorious opportunity this will be for Tammany, and the other machines that it has educated in its particular system for government.

"Think of the shame of it; our country, instead of being the educator, instead of setting face toward the right and the good, would surrender to the criminal elements of the great cities and acknowledge defeat to enemies in its own midst when it has never met defeat of a foreign foe.

"This would-be head of our nation would not only surrender to the criminal and the lawless, but would make every man, woman and child a partner in the commerce they demand.

"Our platform stood for the preservation of the immigration law. The ignorant, vicious elements of foreign nations, it was promised, would be kept out of the country.

"But for the second time defying the promises of his party, Governor Smith will urge the change of the law, a change that will lower the type admitted, and make the scum of Europe the reservoir for us to draw from.

"I cannot vote for this betrayal of the Democratic party; this betrayal by a combination of Tammany and wet Republicans who have captured it body and soul.

"I have listened in vain for a reason. I have heard none. The crack of a party lash; insincere appeals to gratitude for the ancient past above the safety of the country today and hereafter; rabid appeals to outworn fear of the negro; these are all the reasons that are urged.

"I believe in party loyalty—but a party is simply an instrument of good government. When a party becomes an agency of corruption, when principles disappear, and lust for power take the place, then an appeal to party loyalty is an appeal to cowardice and selfishness.

"There is absolutely nothing in common between the dry Democrats of the south and the wet Republicans of the east. Governor Smith cannot bid for the wet Republicans and hold the dry Democrats. Not only is he trying to do this—not only is he trying to make us surrender to his own wet Tammany—but he is trying to force the south to line up with all the Republican Tammany Halls of the great cities of the east.

"I am forced to line up with the Republicans either way. As a southern Democrat I prefer to go with Hoover and Curtis, Coolidge and Borah, than with Raskob, Butler and Dupont, the wet Republicans, who with Tammany, have become masters of the Democratic party. I'll follow the Republican Hoover, while Mr. Howell and Governor Hardwick follow the Republican Raskob.

"Negro domination is only a false and desperate appeal by bloody shirt politicians. A million bayonets failed to put it on us. The Supreme Court of our country has utterly destroyed it. The men who preach it know it is false. The principal advocates of it today is no longer the Republican party, but this Tammany crew who dominate the Democratic party. The only negro problem that confronts the south today is the problem of keeping cheap, easily obtained and plentiful liquor away from the ignorant members of that race.

"I have heard our Protestant preachers damned and abused. Why? Because they stand for decency and good government. Because they will not surrender to forces that every newspaper in the country has denounced as forces of evil and corruption.

"I'll take my stand by the ministers of God. I'll go with them this time against Tammany and everything it stands for.

"The great cities of America are its crying shame. In them our political institutions have failed, and Tammany Hall, the owner and dictator of the Democratic party today, is known to the ends of the world as the inventor and teacher of municipal misrule.

"There is, for me, another reason. I have seen my father, from a young man to now, in his old age, give his life to fighting the liquor traffic. I have seen him surrender every personal ambition to carry on this crusade. It was not popular then. It had fighters, not lip servicers, as we see today, when the apologists for Governor Smith first assure us of their enmitp to liquor.

"My father, Seaborn Wright, led the fight a quarter of a century ago that put Georgia in front in the steady march to nation-wide prohibition. He's an old man now—and I am not going to sit idly by, and see Al Smith gamble for the presidency, gamble that the south will vote for him contrary to its convictions, at the surrender of its principles, at the sacrifice of its very civilization. I am not going to vote to sacrifice my father's life work so that America can be Tammanyized.

"BARRY WRIGHT."

A DEMOCRATIC SPEECH IN THE U. S. SENATE

Shows What Considerate Negroes Can Expect From Democratic Party If Smith Is Elected.

From time to time the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives are the scenes of deliverances by Democratic Senators and Representatives in matters pertaining to the Negro that, in the utter vileness and viciousness, the low and vulgar tone and the mean, cowardly and contemptible attack on, and insults to, millions of law abiding, taxpaying Negro citizens of the Republic are a disgrace to the Legislative Halls of the Nation and a blot on the pages of the Congressional Record.

The speeches which follow are just samples of the offal that falls from the lips of scores of Democrats who have less regard, ifpossible, for the feelings of Negroes than they have for their political and civil rights.

Colored voters who are being urged to vote for Smith and Robinson should read these speeches with care and throughly digest them and if then they can vote to put the Democratic party, controlled by such men, in power their digestion is cast iron proof against carrion however putrid and malodorous.

NORFOLK, VA.

Pilot AUG 31 1928

Colored Voters Organize League

There was a large and enthusiastic gathering in Tidewater Hall last night. The meeting was given over to completion of the organization of the Colored Voters' League. In furtherance of the Republican ticket the league designated the following committees: Executive committee, Theodore Nash, chairman; speakers' bureau, George H. Walker, chairman.

Doctor Albert O. Held, a Republican, of Baltimore, made a spirited address on the progress of the campaign in the State of Maryland. The meeting was also addressed by the Rev. O. C. Jones, G. H. Respass, J S. Webb, Frank Walker and Robert Gibson.

Tidewater Building has been designated as the headquarters of the league, and meetings will be held hereafter at 8 o'clock each Friday night until after election.

Quincy, Fla., Times Thursday, August 23, 1928

FLORIDA NEGROES QUIT THE G. O. P.

Five Hundred of Them Resent the "Lily White" Program of Their Party, Said

Gainesville, Aug. 18.—Adopting a set of resolutions deploring the present status of the republican party in Florida, 500 negroes, representing 41 of the 67 counties of the state, held a political meeting here today and aligned themselves against state candidates named by that party.

The resolutions, which denounced what was termed the "lily white" factions of the party, were ordered sent to Dr. Hubert Work, chairman of the republican national committee.

Declaring that in crucial times of the past it had been the negro who had kept the party intact in Florida, the delegates expressed their regret that the "republican party of Florida has decided to make it an exclusively white party and deprive the representive of 500,000 industrial, law-abiding and God-fearing colored voters of a representation in the party councils."

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

SEP 30 1928

SMITH FOES IN DIXIE FIND THEY TIED OWN HANDS

Solid South Likely to Stay Solid for Al.

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Louisville, Ky., Sept. 28.—[Special.]—I am concluding my survey of the political situation in the south with the feeling that Gov. Smith is not likely to lose, in that region, any state which has never given its electoral vote to a Republican candidate for President since the close of reconstruction. I here refer to the so-called "solid south" states, as contrasted with the border states.

Although the twin issues of prohibition and religion have split the Democratic party throughout Dixie, North Carolina and Florida are the only states consistently Democratic since reconstruction that Mr. Hoover stands a reasonable chance of winning. They are unquestionably doubtful states at this time, and probably will remain so right up to election day, but I think the chances are that Smith will pull through in both of them.

Two Put in Hoover Column.

Two other doubtful southern states—they might almost be called border states—are Tennessee, which Harding carried in 1920, and Kentucky, which went Republican in 1896 and again in 1924. These states, I believe, are more likely to be carried by Hoover than by Smith.

They are close states at best, and in each there's a strong Republican party, which, in this election, will be reinforced by a considerable proportion of the Democratic party. Then, too, there are few franchise restrictions such as will operate in other southern states to hold down the insurgent Democratic vote.

Revolt Is Widespread.

Such is the extent of the Democratic disaffection in the south produced by the nomination by the Democrats of a wet Roman Catholic for President, that, if the voters in that region were to register their convictions and prejudices fully and freely, Mr. Hoover would be likely, in my opinion, to carry every state south of the Potomac.

The revolt in the Republican party in 1912 against the nomination of Taft was no greater than the current revolt in the Democratic south against the nomination of Smith. But for the political conditions peculiar to the region Smith would have no more chance of holding the south than Taft had of the north and west in 1912.

If Smith is elected on Nov. 6 it will be for the south a case of chickens coming home to roost with a vengeance. The churchmen, the women, the Anti-Saloon league, the W. C. T. U., the Ku Klux Klan, and other elements of the southern opposition to the New York governor will realize how they tied their own hands by the franchise restrictions and electoral regulations adopted to eliminate Negroes from a voice in government.

Barred from Ballot Box.

With the disfranchisement of the Negroes, who virtually constitute the Republican party in the south, the general election became merely a formal Democratic ratification of the results of the white man's primary and only a fraction of the Democrats have taken sufficient interest in the general election to qualify to vote therein.

Now, tens of thousands of Democrats who would vote for Hoover find themselves barred from the ballot box by the ingenious regulations devised to prevent the Negroes from voting.

Furthermore, by virtue of the non enforcement of the fourteenth amendment to penalize abridgement of the franchise, the southern states have approximately 60 more congressmen and, therefore, 60 more electoral votes, than they would have were this constitutional amendment to be observed with the fidelity demanded by the southern drys for the eighteenth amendment.

But if there is any subject that rouses the southern drys to greater fury than a suggestion of nullifying or modifying the eighteenth amendment it is the demand, now and then voiced in the north, for enforcement of the fourteenth amendment by reducing southern representation in the national house in the proportion that the southerners have reduced their qualified electorate by the disfranchisement of the Negro.

Were the fourteenth amendment observed there would be 60 fewer electoral votes in the solid south today and the dry anti-Catholics there would not be shuddering at the possibility of the election of the New York governor. Without those 60 votes Smith would not have a Chinaman's chance.

Party Prejudice Plays Part.

Also in the interest of maintaining white supremacy, the southerners, who are now holding up their hands in holy horror at the iniquities of Tammany, have condoned, aided, and abetted for a generation the development of little Tammanies in southern states which are past masters in intimidating voters, manipulating election results, and otherwise ruling by right of the strong arm. In most of the southern states these little Tammanies and the election machinery are in the hands of the regular Democrats loyal to Smith, a circumstance which I found the anti-Smith Democrats everywhere viewing with the utmost foreboding.

Likewise the anti-Smith Democrats find the tables turned upon themselves by their share in the sedulous cultivation of prejudice against the Republican party as a menace to the perpetuation of white supremacy, as a result of which it became a disgrace in the south to be known as a Republican. So strong is this feeling in Dixie that tens of thousands of Democrats who are opposed to Smith, but unable to bring themselves to vote the Republican ticket, will either vote regular or remain away from the polls altogether.

To nominate a wet Catholic who proceeded to attack prohibition and advocate lowering the immigration bars to aliens, mostly Catholic and Jewish, was bad enough from the southern point of view, but to appoint John J. Raskob, a knight of the Catholic church, an official of the Association Against Prohibition and a representative of the "newer immigration," to manage the Smith campaign was adding insult to injury.

What Population Figures Show.

The extent to which the Smith candidacy represents the reaching out of the big cities for domination of a nation hitherto preponderantly rural also stirred the apprehensions of the south, which is as rural today as the remainder of the country was half a century ago or more.

Southern prejudice against foreigners and against urban influences is accounted for by the following population satistics:

	Population.	Per cent rural.	Foreign born.
Alabama	2,348,174	78	18,027
Arkansas	1,752,204	83	14,137
Florida	968,470	63	53,864
Georgia	2,895,832	75	16,564
Kentucky	2,416,630	74	30,906
Louisiana	1,798,509	65	46,427
Mississippi	1,790,618	87	8,408
North Carolina	2,559,123	81	7,272
South Carolina	1,683,724	82	6,382
Tennessee	2,337,885	74	15,648
Texas	4,663,228	68	363,832
Virginia	2,309,167	71	31,705

all the south, except Texas, forborn are but an infinitesimal perage of the population, whereas in the country at large the foreign born constitute nearly one-tenth of the population. The rural character of the southern states becomes more apparent when their percentages of rural population are compared with the rural percentage for the whole country, including the south, which is 48.6.

Immigration Issue Strong.

Under the present immigration restriction law, which limits the number of Europeans admitted to 2 per cent of their number domiciled in this country in 1890, European immigration is now about 165,000 annually. Gov. Smith has indicated that he would use the 1920 European born population as a basis, in which event, if the 2 per cent limitation were retained, approximately 250,000 would be admitted, and the character of the immigration would be materially altered. Fewer British, Germans and Scandinavians would be admitted, but vastly more Italians and other Mediterranean Europeans.

Next to religion and prohibition the immigration issue stirs thought most deeply. Much of the literature disseminated by the Dixie anti-Smith Democrats dwells on the theme that if Smith is elected the bars will be lowered to a horde of undesirable aliens, mostly Catholics and Jews. Former Judge Hugh A. Locke, chairman of the anti-Smith Democrats of Alabama, marshals a collection of menaces for the south in a page advertisement, which concludes:

"If Al Smith is elected it will be due to three things, the solid south, liquor and the foreign and Negro vote. If he is elected he is shrewd enough to bring foreigners here to increase the foreign vote. His plan would bring half a million a year. In ten years Tammany would as completely dominate the United States as it now dominates New York."

Negro Bogey Raised.

As to the Negro issue, few intelligent southerners really believe that Negro domination would be revived, even if Hoover were to carry the entire solid south. But the bogey is being raised by the regular Democrats to frighten ignorant and credulous anti-Smith Democrats back into line for the ticket.

And, trotting out the same bogey to fortify the courage of their own partisans and recruit "nigger haters" from the ranks of the regulars, the anti-Smith Democrats are painting Smith a "Negro lover," as Judge Locke phrases it, and dwelling on racial equality in New York and the support given Al by the colored voters of Harlem.

The Methodist and Baptist ebullition of antagonism to Smith because of his religion is merely the uncorking of a prejudice against Catholics that has been cultivated by the southern Protestant preachers for generations with never faltering zeal. To the majority of the southern preachers and their communicants it seems not only natural but righteous to oppose the election of a Catholic to office. To the average devout southern Methodist and Baptist a Catholic has horns, tail, and cloven hoofs.

Finds a Catholic Paper.

In my tour of the south I made it a practice to examine the Protestant church publications, and I have quoted columns of anti-Catholic matter directed at the defeat of Smith appearing in the Baptist and Methodist weeklies. Not until I reached New Orleans did I find a Catholic organ, the Morning Star.

The Aug. 25 issue reprints an article from the The Tablet, in which attacks on Smith by Protestant preachers are quoted. The article goes on: "Now you must recall the campaign is just starting. Wait until these people, all supposedly Christian and for separation of church and state, and for keeping religion out of politics, get under way; violence will be done the pulpits as these evangelists take the stump against Al in a lather of spiritual zeal. Intemperance will be the rule of the day. Religion will be a thing of the past."

Calls It Diabolical Malice.

In the issue of Sept. 8 appears an editorial which says:

"Many openly oppose Smith because of his religion; others, the more timid ones, claim to be against him because of his stand on the prohibition issue Behind the scenes, though, it is obvious that all the enmity arises from the fact that Smith is a Catholic. Two thousand years ago Christ predicted that the world would hate His church, and all through the centuries that prophecy has been fulfilled and is being fulfilled a hundredfold in this sweet land of liberty today.

"Very little of this opposition can be credited to crass ignorance. Only in the light of diabolical malice can it be satisfactorily explained."

Macon Telegraph
Sunday, August 28, 1928

ground.

A photograph taken from the same point 65 years ago is shown in comparison. Articles in the magazine tell of Macon industrially, educationally and civically, and are illustrated with reproductions of suitable views.

The article in the Manufacturers Record concerns the Carling Tile company, said to be one of the South's newest industries.

MOTON PRAISES HOOVER

Principal of Tuskegee Institute Replies on Acceptance

WASHINGTON, Aug. 27 (AP).—Herbert Hoover's speech accepting the Republican nomination, was commended by Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee institute, Tuskegee, Ala., in a messaget to A. L. Holsey, secretary of the colored voters division or the Republican committee, which was given out today at Republican headquarters.

Dr. Moton, successor to the late Booker T. Washington, said that he felt Hoover "was the spokesman of the first and best in American life."

DIXIE FIRST VOTERS PLEDGE AID TO HOOVER

Residents of Virginia and North Carolina who will cast their first ballots in November, with Dr. Hubert Work, chairman of Republican national committee (left) and Herbert Hoover in Washington. The new voters pledged themselves to support Hoover. [Pacific and Atlantic Photo.]

Dublin, Ga., Press
Thursday, August 30, 1928

SEGREGATION

The Telegraph has this letter:

Please put a little piece in your paper telling the truth about Hoover's Negro segregation stunt. "Anti-Smiths" say he separated them, but Coolidge ordered them back among the white workers as it was illegal to do otherwise.

When William J. Harris, senior senator from Georgia, became director of the census in the department of commerce under Woodrow Wilson, he discovered white and negro workers occupying desks alongside each other and using the same rest rooms. He was resopnsible for the segregation order in the department of commerce.

That order remained in effect during all of Wilson's administration and for the first seven and a half years of the Harding and Coolidge administrations, more than 15 years, altogether. If it was illegal, nobody found it out.

When the Ohio Republican primary campaign was on in which Mr. Hoover was bitterly opposed by Senator Willis, Finley Wilson, the president of the Negro Elks, visited the department of commerce and is reported to have told Mr. Hoover that segregation of negroes was hurting him in Ohio. Within a few hours after Wilson's visit, the order abolishing segregation went into effect and white and negro workers are together, using the same rest rooms. That is the simple truth about segregation. Mr. Hoover abolished the existing order to win support in the Ohio primary.— Ma

Booneville, Miss., Banner
Friday, August 31, 1928

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.

It is just a little amusing to note that the Republicans in their desperation, are actually accusing the Democrats of bringing the negro into politics.

Some of our good so-called Democrats, who say they can't swallow Smith, are echoing his sentiment.

This brings up the question as to who is responsible for the negro in politics.

Did the Democrats do it?

Not on your life.

Nor is the negro responsible for being the foot ball of designing politicians.

When let alone he is a good fellow and naturally friendly to his Southern white folks.

This is fully borne out by his conduct in the past.

During the dark days in the war between the states, the writer, a mere boy, lived in a community where there were a thousand negroes, and the only white people consisted of women and children—the white men were in the Confederate Army. And yet, instead of being a menace, these negroes were a protection. Nobody ever heard of a negro rapist until the Republicans put the notion of race equality into his head.

But who put him in politics?

The matter lies at the door-step of the Republican party.

That party passed or attempted to pass, the 14th and 15th amendments to the federal constitution, the object being to clothe the negro with the right of suffrage and elevate him to the dignity of citizenship.

The purpose of this move was two fold. One was to give the Republicans political control of the South and thus enthrone the carpet-baggers. The other was to further humiliate the South by putting, as they expressed it, "black heels on white necks," and the poor negro has been the foot-ball of the G. O. P. ever since.

The next question is, who is responsible for the negro being brought forward in this campaign?

Are the Democrats the sinners?

No. A thousand times, NO.

Is Governor Smith responsible? No.

Who then, did it.

His name is Herbert Hoover, the present Republican standard bearer, who, as Secretary of Commerce, repealed the segregation order and put whites and blacks together to work, side by side, to use together the lavatories, wash rooms, and other conveniences, of his, (Hoover's) department. In many cases he put negro men over white men and women.

This was the red flag in the bull's face that brought the negro in.

The South resented it as a gesture of social equality and the negro became to some extent an issue.

Did Mr. Hoover do this because of his love for the negro? Not much. He cares for the race only so far as he can use it as a political asset. In the doubtful states of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, the negro hold the balance of power, and no doubt, thought that his action would make safe the Republican cause.

Fortunately the negro is growing in political wisdom and is learning that the Southern white man is his real friend and some of them have Democratic learnings, and knowing this Mr. Hoover made his order.

He cares no more for the colored man, other than as a political asset than he does for the dirt under his feet.

Let no man say that the Democrats have at this time, or any other time brought the negro in politics. The party has from the beginning fought such a policy, knowing full well that it was best for both races for the negro to stay out of politics so long as he can be used by designing politicians.— Aberdeen Examiner.

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Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican

Remove Moses

AN EDITORIAL

WITH SENTIMENT in Greater New York crystallized in favor of the election of Governor Al Smith, except possibly in Harlem and a few other districts Senator George H. Moses' remarks Monday, at a meeting of the Women's National Republican Club, may be definitely relied upon to alienate the Harlem Negro vote to the candidacy of Hoover for President and Senator Curtis for Vice-President, unless his remarks are immediately repudiated by Mr. Hoover himself or by the Republican National Committee. The best way in which to do this, and about the only way that we know of that will prove effective, is to remove Senator Moses as Eastern Campaign Manager for Hoover, and let him return to the hills of New Hampshire.

"I DO KNOW THIS, HOWEVER," Senator Moses was quoted in yesterday's paper as having stated in his speech here, "THAT IN WASHINGTON THERE IS NO COLORED CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONER WHO DICTATES TO A WHITE STENOGRAPHER OF THE FEMALE SEX, SUCH AS I UNDERSTAND IS DONE RIGHT HERE IN NEW YORK."

THUS, IN THESE FEW WORDS, all the sentiment created for the election of the Republican national ticket in Harlem is wiped away, and cannot be restored until definite action is taken to restore it. More than this, Senator Moses' remarks are keenly resented by white Republican leaders here and by voting Negro citizens all over the United States.

Quitman, Ga., Free Press
Friday, September 14, 1928

Black Background Says Tampa Editor

The following editorial from the Tampa Morning Tribune was mailed to the Free Press by a Brooks county Al Smith Democrat which gives the view of a great Florida newspaper looking in on Georgia politics:

"Ben Davis, negro Republican National Committeeman for Georgia, is leading the valiant fight for Hoover in that state. Allied with him and following his leadership are a number of white men and women, who have heretofore been classed as Democrats. Suddenly afflicted with color blindness, these Georgians appear to have forgotten all the traditional standards of white supremacy in the South in enlisting under a banner waived by the soiled hands of a negro political "boss." Some of these, who were delegates to the Democratic National convention and participated in the proceedings which led to the nomination of Alfred E. Smith, have gone so far as to permit the use of their names as candidates for Presidential Elector on the Republican ticket in Georgia.

"Ben Davis, in addition to his other political activities is the editor of a paper known as the Independent. In this paper he prints the names of the Republican candidates for Elector, including those of two women, Mrs. Mary Harris Armor, well-known in Florida as a temperance lecturer and prohibition advocate and Mrs. Marvin Williams, wife of a prominent Georgia Methodist. It may be pleasing to these Southern women to see their names paraded in Republican colors in a negro paper, and endorsed as the favored candidates of a negro politician; but we are confident that it is not pleasing to the great majority of Southern women or Southern men.

"In this incident is emphasized the danger that lurks in Southern Democrats aligning themselves with the elements that control the Republican party in the South. In doing so, they cannot possibly escape the smudge of negro association or fail to encourage the advocates of racial equality.

"Editorial comments of Ben Davis in this same issue of his Independent ought to be interesting to those who are contemplating quitting the Democratic party and going over to the party of Ben Davis. "We can never vote," says Ben, "for the Democratic party so long as it stands for ignorance, meanness and race hatred, as exemplified in Memphis, Texas, Georgia and Mississippi. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic party. His record DOES NOT DISCLOSE A SINGLE FAVOR THAT HE HAD DONE FOR NEGROES IN NEW YORK. The negro knows that the Democratic party is his sworn enemy. As infamous and as wrong and cowardly as lily-whiteism is, it is no worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic party against the American negro."

"We pass up the distasteful subject without further comment. It leaves a bad taste in a white Democratic mouth. It makes us wonder if there can be many Georgians—or Floridians—who will follow Ben Davis rather than Walter George, who will leave the party of the South for the party which institutes and endorses the negro political leadership now in the saddle in Georgia."

REPORTER

White Plains, N.Y.

SEP 14 1928

COLORED VOTERS BAND FOR HOOVER

Members of Men's Civic League of Bethel Baptist Church Organize.

An enthusiastic meeting of several hundred of the colored voters of this city took place last night at the Bethel Baptist Church, under the auspices of the Men's Civic League of White Plains.

Mrs. John D. Hoffman, of Ossining, was the main speaker. She reminded her hearers that disloyalty was not a trait of the colored citizen, and that out of gratitude for the many advantages afforded by the Republican party since the Civil War, there was no other alternative but to vote a straight Republican ticket. She distributed Hoover pins, thimbles, and auto plates to many of the large gathering.

The Rev. J. G. Williamson, president of the league, delivered a stirring plea for Herbert Hoover, and Dr. E. D. Collymore, vice-president of the league, took occasion to remind those present of the necessity for proper qualification to vote on election day. He told the new voters that they must take the literacy test before they can register and vote. He also started that the colored voters of the country could afford to vote in no other way in this campaign but for Hoover.

(Page One)

Entertainment was provided by Andrew White, who also made several stirring pleas for the support of the Republican ticket by the colored voters.

The league is a strong backer of Hoover and the Republican ticket.

SPOKANE, WASH.

Review

SEP 10 1928

NEGRO VOTERS ARE FOR HOOVER

Bishop Parks of African M. E. Makes Conference Appointments.

"The negro vote of California will go overwhelmingly for Hoover," said the Rev. H. B. Parks, bishop of the Pacific Puget Sound conference of the African Methodist church, after its session here yesterday. "Hoover will get 98 per cent of the negro vote, particularly in the states referred to as doubtful," he said. "We want a man at the head of the nation who will live up to the Constitution and we want no change in the 18th amendment."

Bishop Parks spoke to a congregation yesterday morning that occupied Bethel African church to its capacity. "The year has been good in membership and support has been kept up," he said. "We are not trying to spread out over large areas but to develop in the cities where our people live.

"This year, we will put in the budget the Douglas hospital at Kansas City, Kan., the only negro hospital in the United States, which this district has not supported before. It has five buildings and a training school for nurses.

"This district supports a school at Tallahassee, Okla., where we own 80 acres on which there are four buildings. The school raises all the food eaten except sugar and coffee. The boys are taught farming as well as general educational subjects and there is a theological department. The girls are trained in domestic science."

The bishop brought to the Pacific coast the Western Christian Recorder and the book repository, according to the editor, the Rev. J. H. Wilson of Los Angeles. Bishop Parks announced the following pastoral appointments for the coming year:

Seattle, the Rev. A. R. Dobbins; Portland, to be supplied; Tacoma, the Rev. A. W. Johnson; Yakima, the Rev. G. S. Allen; Vancouver, B C, the Rev. F E. Churchill; Bremerton, the Rev. J. C. Gratton; Everett, the Rev. J. L. Bell; Ellensburg-Roslyn, the Rev. W. B. Williams; Pendleton, the Rev. W. J. Tolliver; Spokane, the Rev. C. B. Clements; Helena, to be supplied; Great Falls, the Rev. Franklin Ladd; Billings, the Rev. F. L. Donohoo; Butte, the Rev. L. B. Stewart; Anaconda, to be supplied; Pocatello, the Rev. T. A. Patterson; Boise, the Rev. B. E. Edwards; Missoula, the Rev. C. W. Smith; Havre, to be supplied, and conference evangelist, the Rev. S. E. Bailey.

New Orleans, La., States
Wednesday, August 22, 1923

NEGRO LEADER DECLINES G. O. P. COMMITTEE POST

WASHINGTON, Aug. 22.—(By A. P.)—J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Negro Elks has declined to serve under the Republican National Committee in an advistory capacity, declaring he was "not in complete harmony with the policies of the Republican party as revealed under recent Republican administrations."

Wilson said in a letter to Chairman Work that his race had lost civil rights, political representation and political leadership, and complained of "himiliating segregation with the civil service."

"I have the honor of being executive head of the largest and most influential of negro fraternities, and the additional honor of being head of the fraternity of negro fraternities," he wrote. "I know the sentiments they represent. Consequently, I can not permit myself to serve under a voteless leadership of which I do not approve."

Dothan, Ala., Eagle
Thursday, September 20, 1928

WHAT BEN DAVIS, NEGRO REPUBLICAN COMMITTEEMAN OF GEORGIA, THINKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

"Sometimes we may vote for a Democrat because of the man, but we can never vote for the Democratic party, so long as it stands for ignorance, meanness and race hatred as exemplified in Memphis, Texas, Georgia and Mississippi. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic Party.

Al Smith is no better than the Democratic Party. His record does not disclose a single favor that he had done for Negroes in New York. He (the Negro) knows that the Democratic Party is his sworn enemy.

As infamous and as wrong and cowardly as lily-whiteism is, it is worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic Party against the American Negro."

Strasburg, Va., News
Monday, September 10, 1928

Negro Voters Fail to Pledge to Hoover

By defeating a resolution pledging their support to Herbert Hoover the Republican nominee and voting "to encourage the spirit of inquiry" as to the issues and candidates, the Independent Negro Voters' League, in session at Bay Shore Monday, bespoke their independence of the Republican party in the coming presidential election.

BROOKLYN STANDARD UNION

SEP 15 1928

Southern Politics Reviewed

Possible Break to Hoover Not Regarded as Victory For Liberalism.

Whatever may be thought of the justice and necessity of the Southern Democrat's attitude toward the colored citizen, so much, at least, is fairly clear; that the solidly Democratic Southern States will not become politically doubtful unless or until there is a well-recruited and popular white Republican party to oppose the at present over-privileged white Democratic party, says the Waterbury "American and Centurian."

With this reservation it may be fairly maintained, independently of partisan yearnings, that political honesty and decency in America might be sensibly improved if the conflict of divergent political opinions in the South were to become more intense than it is now. The change would tend to wipe out Federal patronage scandals on the Republican side, and on the Democratic side to impart a more progressive tone to administrative policies under the influence of a sharper competiton for popular favor.

Bearing these liberal considerations in mind, and with a full recognition of the value of Southern support of Mr. Hoover, we nevertheless venture to propose that it would be a misfortune if many of the Southern States were to scuttle the national Democratic ticket in the coming election. In view of the reasons why these States are thought to be wavering, it would not be a victory for liberalism if they were to go Republican, but the reverse. It would be a victory for narrow-minded, prejudice, for race hatred and for religious bigotry. To the extent that it might be a victory for liberalism in a general sense, if Mr. Hoover were to gain a large measure of Southern support, the South's contribution to that victory would be only incidental, not direct, deliberate, or based on the merits of the case.

We yield to no one in our hope of seeing the South become ultimately a bi-partisan section; and so far as Southern support of Mr. Hoover at the present time might help to clinch his victory, we should be inclined to isolate the fact from its local backgrounds and rejoice at it. But the present unrest in the South does not bear any aspect of a real revolt against the one-party system. Its effects, whatever they may be, can hardly be permanent or lasting. It is too deeply colored by the mood of the Ku Klux Klan to be worthy of high respect. That there may be a real recasting of party lines in the South some day is the hope of every unbiased American citizen. But when and if it comes, we trust the Ku Klux Klan "philosophy" may be left out of it.

NEW YORK MIRROR

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The reason I am going to vote for Governor Smith is because he is a man the people can reach. The colored man must come to know that there are no more Abraham Lincoln Republicans and he must not vote this party's ticket because his grandfather voted it, but must vote for the party that will grant to him the best conditions for the welfare of the race. My ardent appeal to my colored racemen is to support Governor Smith and prove to the world that the colored man is capable of knowing what is best for himself and his race. WM. C. BOYD.

PARTY FACES A CRISIS.

In an address of great force and logic delivered at Monroe, Senator Walter F. George pointed to the "supreme crisis" that will confront the national democratic party in the event that Mr. Hoover is elected president through support from southern states brought about by party defection. He said:

"This statement is not inspired by Tammany; this statement is not a threat coming out of the east, it represents my deliberate judgment and it is the inexorable logic of the situation. The party cannot live as a national party if democratic votes in this campaign encompass the defeat of the party's nominees and insure the election of the republican candidates."

9-24-28

It is true, and what does it mean?

It means that the party of our fathers, which saved the Anglo-Saxon white civilization of the south from the party that sought to destroy it, will be surrendered lock, stock and barrel, to that same party under the executive control of a man who brazenly and notoriously abrogated racial segregation in the department of commerce.

That statement has been denied but not by Mr. Hoover. On the subject the records are as outstanding and unmistakable as a pot-leg—and just as black.

It means that surrender will be made by mutineers in the party crew, by sticking a knife into the heart of the captain, chaining his mates, and taking charge of the ship for surrender to a designing "higher-up" for a division of the cargo.

It is a serious thought when a southern democrat analytically contemplates what the possible success of this insurrection movement will mean.

That the method and well devised plan for the democratic party's destruction from the inside should have originated in the south, upon which the republican party tried to fasten the Lodge "force bill," and is trying now to fasten the Dyer anti-lynch bill which is intended to penalize, by enormous fines and tribute exactions, hundreds of thousands of innocent white citizens of the south—one of the most bitter sectional measures known in the nation's history—is unthinkable and almost unbelievable.

The sires of the southern-born men and women who are leading in this movement to turn the democratic party over to the party that after the war stacked bayonets in the front yards of southern white homes, and brought about a revelry of negro political, legislative and police domination in Georgia and other southern states, would turn over in their graves if they knew their sons and daughters were engaged in such a nefarious undertaking.

That is not all. The destruction of the democratic party, by southern democratic bolters, would mean the passage of the Tinkham bill for radical reduction in the southern representation in congress. This would make of the south a "lost province" in national consideration.

It is time to think, and to think aloud!

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The negro child is educated from the general tax fund just as the white child. There is no discrimination.

The negro has his and her place, and they are content and happy and prosperous, with the sincere support and help of the white race, so long as they are not intoxicated with false hopes and designs. Racial cooperation for general welfare is one thing. But negro political domination in the south is quite another.

The surrender of the democratic party to the republican party, through the instrumentality of democratic insurrectionists, would mean more than an indorsement of the orgy of corruption in high offices, as has marked the republican administration since 1921. It would mean a red flag of defiance against the arresting of such corruption, for the democratic party, without a stain to blemish its record, has been, and is, the only check valve.

The uncovering of the unprecedented record of scandal in and out of Washington since the close of the Wilson regime was by democratic senators. Republican senators, allied with the administration, tried to block the investigations, and obstruct justice. In a partial way they succeeded anyway. Albert B. Fall has never been penalized for one of the most outrageous crimes and betrayals in national history.

Senator George is right. And the people of the south should pause and ponder, and then with militancy strike the blow that shall say "this thing shall not be done."

COUNCIL BLUFFS IOWA

SEP 21 1928

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Nonpartisan

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Political - 1928
Party Affiliation.

Seattle (Wn.) Times
September 1, 1928

PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO.

Editor The Times:

YOUR editorial appearing in the issue of the 25th, under the caption, "Colored Voters in the South," has attracted my special attention.

After completing my course of study at Tuskegee (Alabama), Institute several years ago under the supervision of Booker T. Washington, the greatest negro educator and philanthropist America has ever produced, I left the state of Mississippi and have lived in Ohio, Illinois, and a few months ago came to this thriving city of Seattle, where I could better my condition and where my family would receive equal rights with all men. I do not believe it possible for my race to ever become a potent factor in the civic affairs of the South, and I fear your prophecy will never be realized in that section.

Hundreds of thousands of my race have come from the South and established homes in northern states, where our children attend the same schools, meet on a common level, enjoy the public conveyances together and, in fact, our color is not a barrier to social and political equality. We have been led to accept these conditions, and my observation convinces me that this is true where the negro population has not reached great proportions.

Statistics will prove the statement that the negro holds the balance of political power in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri. We have been allied with the Republican Party since given the right of franchise. In season and out of season we have cast our votes for nominees of the Republican Party. If we were to remain silent in city, state and national elections in the states mentioned, the Democratic Party would always be successful. In view of these conditions, we believe the Republican Party should recognize our worthy leaders in the distribution of patronage. If Mr. Hoover would announce the fact that he would invite some distinguished negro to become a member of his cabinet, or that he would name some of our learned attorneys on the bench, it would be a clarion call to the negro race. We are growing tired of promises given by leaders of the party. The negro is an American citizen and the progress made since the days of slavery astonishes the civilized world. In every conflict our race has forged to the front in defense of the country.

Thoughtful people of my race are considering these vital matters, and we have now arrived at a position where political and social recognition must be given to us. Our votes made Garfield, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft and Harding Presidents of the United States, and without these votes the Democratic candidates would have won the presidency in each instance. Our numerical strength in this state has not reached great numbers, but the time is not far distant when it will become a powerful factor.

—GEORGE W. COMBS.

Manchester, Ga., Mercury
Friday, September 14, 1928

Cobb county voters who are entertaining ideas of "bolting" the democratic ticket and through their ballot endorse the rottenness and crookedness of the republican party, will do well to consider the last plank in the Grand Oil Party's platform relative to favoring the passage of the Dyer anti-lynch bill. This bill, which at the last session of congress was indignantly opposed by all southern congressmen, is aimed directly at the south. It would make the tax payers of any county cough up $10,000 for any lynching that may take place within the boundaries of a county the money to go to the depedents of the victim. Of course no one condones lynching, and because hot-headed southerners have from time to time took the law in their own hands, there is no exceuse to penalize the law-abiding citizens of a community for the ill-advised acts of their fellow citizens. Why didn't the republican party write into its platform some kind of reform for gang warfare and organized crime in large cities of the north? Why pick out Georgia and other southern states and try to ram such a preposterous bill down their throats? Lynchings in Georgia is a relic of by-gone days, while gangsters in Chicago terrify all and bring down the ridicule of the entire world upon the United States. A vote for the republican party, who would sponsor the Dyer anti-lynch bill, and have it enacted into law, would mean that you, as a voter, favor passage of such an outrage upon Georgians and other southern people.—Cobb County Times.

Columbia, Tenn., Herald
Saturday, September 1, 1928

REPUBLICANS IN HOT MEET AT NASHVILLE

ATTEMPTS TO POUR OIL ON TROUBLED WATER FAIL TO BRING ABOUT REUNION.

NOT TO SUPPORT HOPKINS

Statement Issued by Lindsey-Jackson Group As Contest from Seventh District is 'Passed" As Executive Committee Meets.

Special to The Herald.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Sept. 1.—Although no blood was shed today, the breach in the republican party was widened as the state executive committee met in Nashville and declined to take any action upon the contested election of W. H. Lindsey, of Lawrenceburg to the committee.

In an effort to bring about harmony the leaders made certain that Bob Church, negro leader, of Memphis and Congressman J. Will Taylor, about whom the storm has centered would not be in attendance.

It was decided by the Taylor group that no attempt would be made to perfect a permanent organization until after the November election and Joe B. Brown of Chattanooga was named temporary chairman and Nelson Carver was elected temporary secretary.

The supporters of Lindsey made an effort to secure some action upon his contested election but the leaders, apparently fearing that this would occasion discord overruled any attempt to go into the matter.

Upon the adjournment of the meeting the Lindsey-John W. Jackson group issued a hot statement in which it was charged that the action of the committee today means that Raleigh S. Hopkins, the republican candidate for Governor will not poll one-fifth of the republican votes in his own Congressional district—they charged that the rank and file of the party has tired of the domination of federal ofice holders and will throw off the yoke of oppression in the approaching election, voting for all democratic candidates with the exception of the Presidential nominee.

The Lindsey-Jackson group stated that it feels that it has been run out of the party by the steam roller tactics employed by the federal office holders who largely constituted the committee, or dominate the body.

Republican.

Washington, Ga., News-Reporter
Friday, August 3, 1928

"White Supremacy" Frankly Discussed

By Rev. C. B. Harbour, Of Athens, Georgia

A great deal is being said about "white supremacy." What are the facts in this case? Here are a few. Ferdinand Morton, a negro, is one of the three members of the civil Service Commission of the city of New York, which passes upon every application for a job white or black in the city. There are approximately three hundred negroes holding offices by the grace of Tammany Hall, in New York. Including members of the legislature, aldermen, assistant prosecuting attorneys, policemen, detectives, superintendents, inspectors, firemen, contractors, and stenographers, this can be verified. There is no color line in the clubs and political organizations. Governor Smith, Jimmie Walker, and other leaders meet with, fraternize and socialize with the negro for their votes.

This is true also there are 200,000 or more, negroes of voting age, members of Tammany Hall, Smith's organization in N. Y. This means that more negroes in Tammany Hall alone, will vote for Smith than the total negro vote of the entire South for Hoover. Over this large negro membership has been placed a big negro "boss." To this negro boss Smith's organization, Tammany Hall has given a white woman for a secretary, who at the dictates of the negro "boss" writes to other negroes to work for Smith. And it seems that this negro boss is geting results through the letters of his white secretary. "Goose Neck Bill," the big negro leader in Texas has declared for Smith, Smith-for-president negro clubs have been organized in Colorado and Arkansas. Certainly the negro candidate this year is not a Republican, he is a Tammany Democrat, Al Smith.

Something has been said about Hoover breaking down the color line in his department of state. Well, Al in his Tammany Society has gone him ten better. Not only are color lines disregarded, but white women are given to negro bosses as Secretaries. Hoover has never stooped this low, and never will. What is more contemptible and hypocritan for a Democratic party politician to hug a negro in the north for his vote and cry "white supremacy" in the south? Will intelligent white Southern Democrats tolerate this any longer?

When the truth is known about Al Smith, it will be next to impossible for self respecting white Southern Democrats to vote for him. He drinks from four to eight high balls and cocktails daily. He is a regular dram drinker. This means he is drinking bootleg liquor, and thereby encouraging lawlessness and disregard for the Constitution which he has sworn to uphold. The "Nation," a New York magazine, November 30, 1928, gives this fact. This magazine has been widely quoted for about eight months, without Smith denying the charge.

And so here is Al, a dram drinker, a dram drinking Catholic, a dram drinking negro ridden Tammanyite. What respectable white Southern Democrat who knows his record can vote for him? Certainly millions can not and will not.

On the other hand millions will vote for Herbert Hoover, one of the greatest statesmen of this age. He is known to be morally clean. His ability to organize and govern is proverbial. No living man has a wider ranger of international problems. Politically, Smith hasn't crossed the Hudson yet. His political range is the streets of New York. Hoover has spent much time in China, in England and other foreign countries To be sure, this is a day when a national leader must know international problems. In all this Smith would have to begin with his A. B. C's.

Furthermore, one of the South's greatest problems, the Mississippi Flood control, has been mastered by Herbert Hoover. Smith would be forced to go to Hoover for information about this great need of the South. Why vote for a second rate candidate when we have the privilege of electing a first rate one? Certainly, if Herbert Hoover was good enough for Woodrow Wilson, we should have no less confidence in him.

Loyal Southern Democrats can never forget the great and efficient service Hoover rendered our party during the world war.

But some on may say, "what about the oil scandal" But Hoover was not guilty in this Senator George says, "Hoover is a clean man." Well, the oil scandal compared with legalized liquor scandals and scandals of Tammany Hall would be like a fly speck in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. May God grant that as loyal Southern Democrats, we say to the would be future bartenders, "never again through legalized liquor will your wretched victims lay their fiendish clutches on the throat of their terrified wives nor their brutal fists on the heads of their innocent child." Yet Al (cohol) Smith longs for the day when he can drink legalized whiskey in the open instead of bootleg behind closed doors. In the name of God and all that is decent can informed and self-respecting Southern Democrats vote for Al(cohol) Smith? The chorus of "No" is rising high er everyday.

Florence S. C.

SEP 1928

REVIEW

"INCLUDES ALL AMENDMENTS"

Here is something from The News and Courier the Hoover Democrats might well ponder:

Oscar De Priest is a Republican, and a violent "wet," a negro, and candidate for congress in Chicago. He is supporting Mr. Hoover for president. The following is sent out from the "Colored Voters Division, National Republican Committee, Barr Building. Washington, D. C."

Oscar De Priest, negro candidate for congress and avowed wet, declared: "I greatly appreciate the statement made by Mr. Hoover in his acceptance speech, that he proposed to "preserve, protect and defend" the Constitution of the United States, which includes all amendments from first to the last. Through the enforcement of all constitutional amendments, the rights of all people will be protected and a strict enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment will make the American people either sanction or repeal that amendment."

De Priest construes the meaning of Mr. Hoover's pledge to be the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifeenth amendments, as well as the Eighteenth. That would give the ballot to the negroes in the South. De Priest, though opposed to prohibition, gladly would accept enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment if he could have enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments with it.

Does this Chicago negro corrtctly interpret Mr. Hoover These are Mr. Hoover's words in his speech of acceptance:

"There are those who do not believe in the purposes of several provisions of the Constitution. No one denies their right to seek to amend it. But the Republican party does deny the right of anyone to seek to destroy the purposes of the Constitution. Whoever is elected president takes an oath not only to faithfully execute the office of the president, but that oath provides still further that he will, to the best of his ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. I should be untrue to these great traditions, untrue to my oath of office, were I to declare otherwise."

Note Mr. Hoover's employment of the word "several." He lays stress on his intention to enforce to the best of his ability the amendments to the Constitution considered severally.

Oscar De Priest, colored candidate for congress, construes this language as Mr. Hoover's pledge to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. The "Colored Voters Division, of the Republican National Committee" plainly agrees with De Priest. That is why it broadcasts De Priest's reference to Mr. Hoover's pledge.

The white people of the South have sought "to destroy the purposes of several provisions of the Constitution" namely, the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth amendments. In that design the white South will persevere. Mr. Hoover puts us on notice that we shall not longer succeed in this course. He will set an end to it. He will advise force bills. Anyway, that is the meaning that the negro Republican gets out of his words, and on that ground the Colored Voters Division of the Republican National Committee is appealing to the negroes to support Mr. Hoover.

If Mr. Hoover does not mean what De Priest says he means, Mr. Hoover can say so. He would not allow his committee to ask for support of negroes under a false pretense to them. The white South is warned. Mr. Hoover has spoken, and we know what his words mean to the negro voters.

There is one way to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. That way is by force.

JOURNAL

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

SEP 13 1928

An Ancient Bogey Totters

Impartial observers have long credited the Republican National ticket with better than a fighting chance in North Carolina, Tennessee and Florida this year, but have been taking with a grain of salt the claims of enthusiastic party leaders that there is a possibility of HOOVER and CURTIS carrying other States of the formerly solid eleven, such as Alabama, Georgia and Texas.

Long has the bogey of Negro domination been used successfully to keep the white voters of Dixie pretty solidly within the Democratic ranks—so long, indeed, that it has come to be taken for granted that the great-great-great-gandchildren of the last generation of slaveholders will still be automatically enrolled as Democrats when they come of age, years hence. True, HARDING captured Tennessee eight years ago, but Tennessee was back in line again four years later.

But now the leading whites of some of these States are beginning to see the time-worn bogey for just what it is—a stuffed shirt manipulated by politicians for their own ends. As Judge HUGH A LOCKE told CARTER FIELD, THE JOURNAL'S political correspondent, in Birmingham the other day:

> Down here in the South, we understand the Negro. It is just silly to talk about the election of a Republican President making any difference on that situation. We have had Republican Presidents most of the time, and we have not had any trouble with the Negroes.
>
> Nor would new complications be added to what remains of the South's race question, if the States down there turned in and helped elect a Republican President. The freedmen of the decade following the Civil War were misled by white scalawags. Ignorant themselves through no fault of their own (they had been without any real educational opportunities), those Negroes of two generations ago were easily duped by mercenary and corrupt white politicians. Black puppets sat in office, but the hands that reached into the public coffers were, for the most part, white.
>
> Today the Negro in the South looks more and more to leaders of his own race, educated and able men. Neither he nor they are desirous of dominating anybody. They wish merely to be let alone, with the same right to prosper that white men have. And Southern whites of the better class are willing that the Negro should have the same opportunity as the white man to better his material condition.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

Express

SEP 19 1928

...RGES NEGROES TO AID HOOVER

For the sake of prosperity the Republicans should remain in office, according to J. R. Hawkins, chairman of the Negro division of the Republican campaign committee, who is visiting in Los Angeles today in the interest of his party.

The duty of every Negro, says Mr. Hawkins, is to support the party that gave him the franchise to vote. The prominent visiting Negro, who seconded the nomination of Herbert Hoover at the Kansas City convention, vigorously pointed out the danger of putting the Democratic party in power.

"The Democratic party would let down the bars and foreign labor would pour into this country, competing with the laboring man here and displacing thousands of them," said Mr. Hawkins.

"The Negroes," he continued, "should live where they can vote." In the South, he pointed out, Negroes frequently are denied by Democrats the privileges of voting.

Hawkins left Washington two weeks ago on a speaking tour. He spoke recently in Chicago and will speak the latter part of this week in Akron, Ohio. Monday evening he addressed more than 1000 Los Angeles Negroes, who received with genuine satisfaction the political opinions he voiced.

The visitor is one of the leaders of his race. He is financial secretary of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, representing more than 1,000,000 Negroes; founder and president of the Prudential Bank in Washington, D. C.; was for years a leading Negro educator in South Carolina and is widely known as a writer and speaker. He has shown intense interest in charity and uplift work among members of his race.

REPORTER

White Plains N. Y.

SEP 12 1928

COLORED VOTERS WI... MEET HERE TOMORRO...

Men's Civic League Sponsors Mass Meeting to Be Held in Bethel Baptist Church in Evening.

The Men's Civic League of White Plains extends a cordial invitation to all colored voters to attend a mass meeting to be held in the auditorium of the Bethel Baptist Church, Fisher avenue and Winchester street, tomorrow evening at 8 o'clock.

Many prominent speakers will be present, including Mrs. John W. Hoffman, of Ossining, who will deliver the principal address.

Questions touching upon the November election will be discussed. A musical program will be rendered under the direction of Andrew White. Admission is free. William A. Tate is secretary of the league.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican.

THE NEGRO OWES THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NOTHING

MR. IRA T. BRYANT ISSUES SCORCHING LETTER

NASHVILLE MAN CITES LONG LIST OF WHAT HE TERMS SCAVENGER JOBS

That the Negro owes the Republican Party nothing, was the declaration made by Mr. Ira T. Bryant, Secretary-Treasurer and Manager of the A. M. E. Sunday School Union of this city, this week. Mr. Bryant substantiates his assertion by giving a long list of what he terms "scavenger jobs," and which he declares deceive nobody. In his article he says:

Clipped 9-23-28

"Yes, Negroes in this election, as in others, will be standing in large numbers loyally behind the nominee of the Republican party. It's not so much a question of party policies as it is of early environments. The spell binders will literally "shell the woods" with their hackneyed bunk about the debt of the Negro to the "Grand Old Party." Much will be said about the freeing of the Negro, but precious little about the infinitely greater freedom that came to the white man and to this country as a result of the Civil War. Civil freedom, as great as it is, means nothing as compared with a freedom of conscience, with its accompanying satisfaction of having done right in the sight of God. Such a glorious accomplishment for the white man in the sum totals of the reconstruction struggles is the very crux of the victory—freedom to the slaves a mere by-product. The party of Lincoln saved itself and the country as well in destroying human slavery. The Negro, by his valiant deeds in the field of battle, assisted not only in freeing himself, but in saving the Union. 'Tis known that Lincoln believed with all his soul that no country that boasted the traditions of the Revolutionary period could keep its self-respect and espouse a policy of "half free and half slave," but in what he did and said he was impelled by his interest in his country rather than any special love or consideration for the Negro as such.

Nashville, Tenn.

The Negro poured his life into the struggles of the Union with such freedom and alacrity as to win the admiration of the world and the party of Lincoln sought to reward his fealty and loyalty to the stars and stripes by clothing him with the full mantle of American citizenship. It was that spirit of gratitude, (crystalized in the 14th and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the country,) and not the natural consequences of the war, as these salaried spell-binders would have us believe, that placed the Negro under obligation to the Republican Party. Proof of that fact lies in the fact that up until very recently every Republican party platform has clearly renewed its allegiance to the principles and purposes that gave rise to these two amendments of the Constitution. As meaningless and as false as that stereotyped piece to catch the Negro has been, our Republican brethren have grown so cold and indifferent as to delete that little morsel from the party's declaration of principles.

Let's read What Lincoln wrote W. H. Seward, Secretary of State in the Spring of 1862

"I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I don't agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I don't agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the case, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause."

President Harding's Advice

It was in that memorable address which Warren Harding made in Birmingham, Alabama, that he advised the Negro to cease voting as one great block for the Republican party. Think of such advice coming from the head of the party—the president of the United States! This same "head of the party' follows up that advice with the declaration that he "would not appoint to Federal Office any Negro where the appointment must be confirmed appointment must be confirmed by the United States Senate. Shades of Roosevelt! Does any sane Negro need any clearer proof of the real attitude of those who have taken over the reins of the Republican party? And Calvin Coolidge has during his terms of service followed words with action. No Negro has been elevated to a position of honor because Coolidge has adopted the policies of Harding. Mr. Douglass once said something about "the Republican party is the ship; all else is sea." But what would Mr. Douglass say if he were here now and could see how the Captain and other high officers have thrown us overboard?

Why Vote For Hoover?

The Negro spell-binders are all at a loss for some reason to give why Negroes should vote for Mr. Hoover. In private they will plainly tell you so. They formerly argued that "the Democrats do not want us," but they grow silent when you point to the incontrovertible proof that the Republican party is not one whit better in that respect. If the Democrat party NEVER wants us, the Republican party speaks to us only once every four years. Between the two, to some of us the attitude of the former is considerably more honorable.

They say we should vote for Mr. Hoover because we were "caged-off" at the Convention at Houston, but they forget that before we were caged-off at the enemy's meeting in Houston we were Jim-Crowed in the meeting of our friends at Kansas City.

The treachery within our ranks that recently brought about the beheading of Ben Davis in Georgia, Cohen in Louisiana, and Perry Howard in Mississippi was undoubtedly inspired by white Republican party leaders in their bid for Ku Klux Klan votes in the south. Think of a party that condones and protects such characters as Fall, Doughtery, Denby, Forbes and others of like ilk presuming to talk about official decency in anybody! In fact its hard for some of us to believe that Harding himself was not personally involved in some of the shabby work of his appointees.

But the most cowardly aspect of this Republican treachery to the Negro race is found in Secretary Works' recent statement in Washington reflecting upon the integrity of Negro political leaders of the past, and his effort to conceal the cloven hand by the veiled promise of great things to come to the race by reason of a "new leadership among Negroes." Such rot deceives no one. The truth is the men of the race now managing the affairs of the party are not one whit better in any respect than those of other days. Politics is politics, whether yesterday, to-day or tomorrow. With rare exception, those in it are there for what they can get in either money or prestige. Whatever happened in Georgia or Mississippi is exactly what happens in every other state, although probably with a different background. It takes money to maintain organizations and it certainly stands for reason that those who hold the offices should pay for upkeep of the party organization.

Some white man once tried to work up a feeling against the head of a state organization who happened to be a Negro, and made a vigorous attack upon the leader before Mr. Roosevelt. After he had finished Mr. Roosevelt calmly replied in this manner: "The Negro in that state keeps up such organization as there is. You white people made a big fight to keep them from holding those local offices and thus keep them for yourselves. Why shouldn't you be willing to do something for them?"

When the [illegible]ter was an employee in the Gov. [illegible]g Office the more than two thousand journeymen printers sought an increase of One Dollar per day in salary. They put their case in the hands of two Senators, one Republican and one Democrat. They got the increase, but not till each printer had signed a note promising to pay Twenty-five Dollars in the event the bill went through. That's what happened "right under the dome of the capitol."

Negro Should Divide Vote

This writer believes there is merit in the Harding advice to Negroes to divide their votes. Aside from that we stand for the election of Smith (1) because he stands for something, and (2) because he has the guts to say without being prodded, just what he does stand for. In this respect he is in mark contrast with Hoover, the man of indecision the sphynx of the looking-both-ways variety. He has never boasted any party affiliation and just after the war there was considerable talk making him the nominee of the Democratic party. Undoubtedly a genius for organization, he may have accepted place in the Coolidge cabinet upon condition that certain things would come to pass.

Oh, they tell us he struck a blow at segregation in his department. Maybe so, but not until he became a candidate in Ohio against Senator Willis for the Convention delegates and a Committee of Negroes had informed him that Negroes in Ohio knew about and resented the segregation in his Department.

But, they say, Negroes should support him in his remarkable stand for prohibition and the Amendment. Remarkable is indeed the word, when we recall that for so long he seemingly did not know how he stood on the question and the meaningless statement he did finally make came as a result of being "smoked out."

He said he stands for the Eighteenth Amendment and is opposed to any effort at modification. That's the identical stand of Harding and Coolidge. The peroration of his acceptance speech was a wonderful tribute of endorsement for Coolidge policies. Under the administration which he underwrote the prohibition program of the Government has been a mighty farce to which every school boy can testify. These men must know that open and above board violation of laws tends to break down

every fabric of orderly government and to breed a general disrespect for lawful authority. They bow to a public clamor with such promises as they know to be meaningless and absurd.

But, say his friends, the fact that he is powerless to bring about the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment does not necessarily divorce him from his interest in it and his belief in its efficacy. Certainly not, but isn't his wholehearted approval of the Coolidge administration an endorsement of the latters effort at enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment? And in the light of that fact hasn't one the right to presume that his effort to enforce this law will be just about as strong as has been those of Coolidge? But if the purpose of this stand on the Eighteenth Amendment was a mere feint to gratify the whims of a bunch of dreamers reaching out for what is impracticable, why have they in their platform and other documents withheld from the Negro this similar little bait which they have quadrennially poked under his nose about the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments? Certainly he knows they mean nothing (just about what Hoover means about the Eighteenth) but somehow we just look for it and indeed like to hear them make their lies about what they think of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The Man Al Smith

We shall cast our vote for Mr. Al Smith if for no other reason than to show to the Republican party that they cannot insult all the Negroes with impunity and still keep us in line. We owe Mr. Smith nothing and to be perfectly fair the party that Mr. Smith represents owes us nothing, politically speaking. We have been their consistent enemy, and if there was anything they stood for that we did not oppose it was because we did not know of it. It might help us some to remember that this Southern Democrat which some Northern Negroes delight so to villify, has been a pronounced enemy to the Northern White Republican and has said some pretty hard things about him. As a matter of fact the hatred within the breast of the Southern white man was aimed more at the Northern white man than at the Negro. The latter was just a victim of circumtances. But in spite of what the Southern white man has done and said, in spite of his open insults, we find the Republicans of the North literally burying their feelings, throwing the Negro allies overboard into the mercies of the enemy, forgetting the past and talking on the pirit of such earnest wooing as would bring blush to the hero of a love plot.

The white man knows that if you would have friends you must show yourself friendly and he acts accordingly and advances. The Negro, seemingly, stands back, nursing his grievances of the past, consistently lines up against those from whom he must get his daily bread, and starves.

But, say our Negro Republican "whoopers," "the Negro has nothing to expect from Smith's election." That's merely an opinion. Certainly past performances do not bear out the statement. The Negroes for such support as they have given Mr. Smith in New York have received (comparatively) considerably more in the form of political recognition than they have gotten from any Republican president since Roosevelt's time.

Let it be understood this writer is not in politics, neither is he in touch with any one who is in politics, and what is more he is among the last of our group who could be referred to as an "Uncle Tom" type of Negro. He does not drink liquor and would suffer no inconvenience if there should not be made another drop of the vile stuff. But we are opposed to such prohibition humbuggery as now confronts the country. We believe more in the modification program of Mr. Smith than in the one of nullification represented by Mr. Hoover. We believe as now constituted infinitely more harm than good has come from the effects of the 18th Amendment. We believe that real peace, where there are strong contending parties, comes only from a spirit of compromise. We greatly admire the courage of Mr. Smith in contending for some neutral ground upon which these two strong contending forces can meet.

It's silly to compare the question of slavery with that of prohibition. Wrong is inherent in slavery; with liquor the harm comes from the use to which one puts it. And finally we can imagine some things happening that are fraught with more danger to the race than the ascendency of Senator Robinson to the office of President in the event of Al Smith's death. Let others vote and do as they please, but as for us we shall vote for Mr. Smith, first for the purpose of showing our contempt for the Republican party and the hypocrites in power, and for the additional reason that we believe that the hope for the rank and file of our people, particularly those of the South, depends largely upon their success in making friends with those among whom they must live and from whom they must get their living; and the race goes a long step in that direction when it sets in to ferret out and to point out some of the good qualities of the Southern white man as well as his bad traits.

But come what will or may, let us see to it that there be no strife and quarrel among our group if perchance any considerable number should accept the advice of Mr. Harding and put a "little something" on both horses, so that we can "sit pretty" matters not who wins.

Ira T. Bryant.

PRESS

Newport News Va

SEP 2 1928

ROBINSON PRESIDENT OF COLORED LEAGUE

Charles H. Robinson, colored was named president of the Citizens Civic and Welfare League at a meeting of the organization held Friday night.

Other officers elected were J. M. Clarkson, vice president; A. D. Manning; second vice president; J. C. Allen, treasurer; Rev. S. H. Davis, chaplain; J. H. Washington, assistant secretary, and Dr. L. W. Fowlkes secretary.

A definite program for the league was planned and a number of speeches, for both Hoover and Smith were made during the meeting.

The league went on record as favoring and endorsing the plan submitted by Rev. J. J. Posey as the most forward step taken recently for the protection and conservation of the health of colored people. That the city council be importuned to appoint a colored visiting nurse to be under the supervision of the health department whose duties will be to care for the pre-natal pre-school and tubercular patients and thereby have among the colored folks a diseas preventing agency.

LARGE BLOC OF DEPENDABLE VOTES

Despite the editorial contention of The Informer that some efforts should be made to organize the 100,000 or more qualified and normally Republican colored voters of Texas for the Hoover-Curtis cause, no attempt has yet been made in this direction, either by the Republican leaders or the Negroes themselves.

While The Informer realizes and recognizes that there is much objection to Governor Smith's candidacy on the part of thousands of Texas Democrats, this paper is also aware of the fact that this opposition and hostility will dwindle perceptibly before election day; that many of the professed Hoover-Democrats, learning that they can not vote for Mr. Hoover for president and Senator Robinson for vice-president, will either decide to "stomach" the wet protege of Tammany Hall and "swallow" the entire Democratic ticket from "president to constable," or be "absent without leave" on general election day.

In other words, while the Republican leaders of Texas are pursuing the proper course in trying to corral these Hoover-Democrats, they should not overlook a good bet and bargain and fail or refuse to land fully 100,000 to 125,000 ballots from the hands of colored citizens of the Lone Star State.

However, unless a statewide movement is launched and perfected to line up, educate and enlist these colored voters, The Informer fears that they will either remain away from the polls on election day, or a last-minute campaign will be conducted among them by the Smith forces and thousands of these normally Republican voters will go to the Democratic presidential electors on Tuesday, November 6, 1928.

The Smith-Democrats of Texas are visibly perturbed over the present partisan and political situation in this state, and, notwithstanding all their anti-Negro propaganda and legislation, they would rather see Negroes vote for Governor Smith and Senator Robinson than see Texas give Secratary Hoover and Senator Curtis its electoral votes.

Therefore, any party leader with a modicum of sense and foresight can readily read between the lines, and, having read the sign of the times, he should be able to interpret them and map out and execute his program to the best interests of the party, state and nation.

Negroes in other Southern states have been or are being organized to push the candidacy of Mr. Hoover and Senator Curtis, and it is high time that Texas Negroes were doing the same thing, if they want their votes to count for anything in a presidential election which bids fair to eclipse all former contests of its kind.

This paper is as sincerely and sacredly devoted to the interests of the Negro Race as any person or agency in the world. And in that devotion it appeals to the Negro to rebuke the Republican party, with its Ku Klux Klan Alliances, with its lily-white disposition, wth its anti-Negro leanings to vote for Governor Albert E. Smith for President. For twelve years the G. O .P. has been trying to get rid of the Negro and trying to win the Negro-hating, Bourbon South. Here is our time to pack our trunks and leave it. If Tom Heflin can be for Hoover, if H. W. Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, can be for Hoover, if the lynchers and burners of Negroes can be for Hoover, surely we can be for Al Smith, who stands against everything they stand for.

Sure, this paper is Republican—an Abe Lincoln, a Charles Sumner, a U. S. Grant Republicanism which happens to be as dead as they are.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Quitman, Ga., Free-Press
Thursday, September 28, 1928

HOOVER FAVORS RACE EQUALITY

Republican Nominee For President Abrogated Segregation Order In Washington To Secure Support Of Negroes.

PLAYING BOTH ENDS AGAINST THE MIDDLE

Republicans Are Trying To Deceive Both Democrats And Negroes In Dual Campaign In Both The North And The South.

W. G. Brantley, former Congressman from the Eleventh District, says people of the south have the right to vote for any candidate they choose, but they ought to be honest enough to admit doing it as Republicans and not try to vote a Republican ticket and call themselves Democrats.

In a letter written to Foster Memory, a Blackshear attorney, Mr. Brantley nails the evasion with which Hoover has sought to dismiss the charge that he revoked the order of President Wilson in regard to race segregation in the Department of Commerce. Mr. Brantley quotes extensively from correspondence between Mr. Hoover and Senator Stevens, of Mississippi, in which Mr. Hoover was asked to specifically deny and never did. Mr. Brantley says:

"The reason for all this evasion and as well for changing department of commerce was and is political. There was a contest in the Republican primary in Ohio between the forces of Hoover and those of the late Senator Willis. Hoover desired and needed negro support. A delegation of Ohio negroes visited him and following this visit the racial segregation policy of Mr. Hoover's department which had been inaugurated under the Wilson administration was changed. Another result followed, which I don't think is generally known and that is that the primary purpose of the change was effected for a negro Hoover delegate was elected as one of the "big four" from Ohio, defeating Senator Fess who ran as a Willis delegate and who later by means of a proxy became the keynote orator of the Republicans at Kansas City.

"The evasion practiced as to what was done about the segregation order is but the effort of Mr. Hoover and his followers to carry water on both shoulders. They are soft pedaling now on the negro question in the south in the effort to help our political preachers who have turned Republican, carry the south for Hoover, but there is no soft pedaling of this question in other sections of the country.

Want No White Party.

"Throughout my observation of many years there has never been evident any purpose or desire on the part of the Republican party to build up a white Republican party in the south. The present situation suits them better for two reasons: In the first place by having only a negro Republican party in the South the administration in power always controls the delegates from the south to the national Republican convention. In the next place by catering to the negro in the south, negro votes are secured in all the doubtful states where the negro holds the balance of power.

"The latest evidence of the fixed policy of the Republican party in this regard is found in the proceedings of the Kansas City convention, where, as I understand, every white contesting delegate from the south was thrown out and the negro delegates seated.

Negro Commissioner.

"As further illustrating the extent to which the Republicans have gone in the recent past in cultivating the negro, I discovered some months ago when I was interested in a matter before the commerce commission of the State of Illinois, that a member of that great body was a negro.

"It would be amusing but for its serious character to hear former Democrats in Georgia calling themselves Hoover-Democrats. There is of course no such hybrid, nor can there be. One might just as well call himself a Baptist-Methodist or a Methodist-Catholic.

"Our people can be and have the right to be either Democrats or Republicans, but they can't be both at one and the same time. Those of them who approve the Repuplican policy will vote for Hoover, but they should be honest enough to admit doing it as Republicans. One cannot vote to put the Republican party in power without being a Republican or without assuming full responsibility for its policies."

Sept. 20 News 192
Poteau, Okla.

It is amusing to us, being from the south, to see some of the negrophiles of Washington and other swamps further north, rear up on their hind legs and solemnly warn southern people of the danger of "negro domination." One in particular has attracted our attention—'twas sent by another brave annonymous patriot, clipped from the purvevor of hate, discord dissention, intolerance and damfoolishness, better known as the Fellowship Forum, which is also the common carrier of compost from republican headquarters in Poteau, and the mouthpiece of what is left of the ku klux klan. It was a picture of a negro dictating a letter to a white girl in New York City. Of course it has to tell us about the girl being a native born American which means she is a one hundred percenter, and bearing that familiar old Irish name Miss Eckstein, we have to agree. We sympathise with her for having to work under a democratic city administration that hires an occasional black man. In the meantime our sympathy also goes out to the several hundred white girls and boys who now work under Col. Cohen, the coon with the Jew name, in New Orleans—he got his under Harding, if we mistake not—we say nothing of the several hundred Herbert Hoover forced to sit side-by-side with the black ones in the commerce department in Washington, the department he presided over. Wilson segregated 'em, but Herbert thought it best to mix 'em again. In fact the republicans of the entire south have our sympathy in having to work under negro national committeemen, to say nothing of our neighbors in Arkansas having to vote for a fellow as black as the midnight musings of a disappointed devil in hell—they have to vote for Herbert thru this republican pyramid of pure sut. Yes, it is really amusing to think of the way those fellows are agonizing over negro domination in the south—we have a record of some more agonizing a few years back, in the days when our sunny southland was prostrate and under the heel of negro malitia—when our noble president was chained in a felon's cell guarded by ignorant negroes and a price was on the head of most of our prominent men and they were being hunted by black men as we hunt wolves to-day. Yes, there was much agonizing in among the fathers of these same men who now cry for us—then they sent their negro soldiers to the polls and pushed our white voters back with bayonetts and forced two negro United States Senators from the state of Mississippi in order to put over their force bill, a bill that would have made eleven states negro provinces. They failed, and why? Just a few of the hated Catholics from the City of New York stood in the way. A Catholic of New York said Jefferson Davis was not getting a square deal and went to Richmond and forced a cowardly federal government to give him his freedom—his name was O'Conner—those Catholics who had made it possible for this union to stand harbored no hate toward the men they had conquored and they forced a square deal from the fathers of the men who are so afraid that we will now be swallowed by one lone coon in New York City. Now if we remember aright when a white man buys a marriage license in Herbert Hoover's home town he is asked if the bride is colored or white—that would indicate to any one but a fool who is in danger of "negro domination." Yes, by all means, we southerners should guzzle down the stuff sent out by the Fellowship Forum, the highpriced mouthpiece of the republican national committee and klan, and forgot the fact that it was a republican president who discontinued a big postoffice in the south because the whites would not bow the knee to a negro woman pet he appointed as postmistress—forget the thousands and thousands of negroes who have grown old in the service of republican presidents in every state south of the Mason and Dixon line—bolt because there is one negro working under civil service in New York City!

Nashville, Tenn., Banner
Thursday, September 27, 1928

BLACK CLOUD GROWS.

One of the leading Negro politicians of North Carolina, and well known throughout the South to members of his race, is W. Lee Persons.

Some thirty years ago, during a period when Republicans and Populists fused in North Carolina, he was a member of the state legislature. He later ran for congress, but was defeated by outraged whites. He has since been holding a government position in Washington.

Emboldened by recent happenings, he has emerged and is making an appeal to Southern Negroes.

Below is given, in full, an open letter from him, published in the Asheville Citizen. Read it closely:

I welcome the accession of Senator Simmons **to our ranks.** Conversion is better late than never. Long ago we were antagonists, but we never struck below the belt. Today I welcome him with open arms to the Grand Old Party of God and morality. After all these years of defeat and disaster for the black man's party in the South I can see us again coming into our own. Not a great mary of us remain alive who can recall the days when black men sat in the chairs of state in the Southern capitol. Those days have long been gone, but, bless God, I can see them returning. It is said that a house divided against itself cannot stand, **and now I see the white people of the South dividing.**

I wish to use the newspapers of North Carolina to urge my people to get behind Senator Simmons and support him. What is true in North Carolina may be true in other Southern states. **Just let us get control of the state machinery this time and Mr. Hoover in the White House will give us such help as will wipe out all the laws in the South which will keep the black man from moving on the same plane as the white man.**

After welcoming Senator Simmons "to our party," he tells the Negroes what a Republican victory will mean. It will "wipe out all the laws in the South which will keep the black man from moving on the same plane as the white man."

He thanks God that he can see such a division among Democrats as will enable the black man's party to "again come into its own."

He recalls the days of the reconstruction era when black men sat in the chairs of state in the Southern capitals," and sees these days restored.

And what is true in North Carolina may be true in other Southern states." The assurance is based upon the election of Herbert Hoover to the presidency, Hoover whom the Negro Associated Press, published in Cleveland, O., is urging Southern Negroes to support for the reason that "his broad and sympathetic understanding of human problems, as exemplified in his stamping out segregation in his department in Washington as soon as it was called to his attention."

This race issue has not originated with Democrats. It is made by Republicans. **That Negroes everywhere are being given to understand that a national Republican victory will mean racial equality is being widely broadcast and has not been checked by one word from the Republican candidate for President.**

The issue of white or black will hold the South again solid. And it should.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
Monday, September 24, 1928

BEN DAVIS IS FRANK

Ben Davis, Negro, Republican national committeeman for Georgia whose place has not yet been filled by his party, says the Democratic party "stands for ignorance and meanness." Davis says he might, under certain conditions, vote for a Democrat "because of the man," but he adds that he could "never vote for the Democratic party." Al Smith, says Ben Davis, is no better than the Democratic party, and the Negro "knows that the Democratic party is his (the Negro's) sworn enemy."

The attitude of the Negro Republican leader in Georgia has something to do with the unwillingness of a great many Democrats to vote the Republican ticket. Ben is perfectly frank. He hates the Democratic party, and says so.

We are just as frank. We refuse to support the party which places Ben and his kind in authority in Georgia—which makes him, as he has been under the Republican administration, the official dispenser of federal patronage in this state. We don't like Ben's type of leadership. —Albany Herald.

Press
September 27, 1928

MRS. BOOZE ON BOOZE

One of the unanswered questions in the campaign is whether Mrs. Booze, Negro Republican National committeewoman from Mississippi, is for booze a la the New York Tribune, or regards prohibition as "a noble experiment." She was summoned to Washington to help Hoover's campaign committee outline his campaign in the South.

Does she stand with Borah as a dry or does she stand with Moses in the belief that the Volstead act is "a jackass law?"

Is Mrs. Booze for or ferninst booze?—Raleigh News and Observer.

Pensacola, Fla., News
Friday, September 21, 1928

A COLUMN A DAY

BY PERCY S. HAYES

Hoover's Famous Order
Catholicism Overshadowed
No More Amendments
Comparing Two Cities

HOOVER'S chances of carrying Texas and other Southern states in the November election have apparently gone a-glimmering. The race question is now overshadowing the Catholic issue, due to the production in an Amarillo, Texas paper recently of Hoover's famous order placing negro and white workers of the department of commerce at the same desks and allowing the negroes the use of rest rooms formerly occupied exclusively by white girls and women.

FOR NEARLY a quarter century negro workers in the department of commerce had been segregated. About six months ago Harvel H. Thomas, president of the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People and a delegation of colored politicians called on Hoover, then secretary of the department and as a result Hoover issued an order placing all workers—white and colored on the same footing.

WHITE GIRLS now work alongside of negroes at the same desks. Gaining this advantage the negroes are now bringing pressure to bear to have some of their number given administrative positions, thus making them the bosses of the white workers. That the movement will be successful is quite apparent as the Republicans are anxious to please the northern negro voters.

THE PUBLICATION of Hoover's order, letters of complaint by Southern white girls in the department of commerce, as well as correspondence between Senator Blease of South Carolina, Senator Stephens of Mississippi and Hoover in the Texas paper has caused a furore and is driving many sincere prohibitionists of Texas back into the Democratic party.

WHAT EFFECT this exposure will have on the vote in Florida and adjacent states is problematical. But is believed that white people generally will resent the action of Hoover, just as they are doing in Texas. In justice to the negroes of the South it must be said that they have never desired race equality. The leaders of the race there prefer advancement in other ways.

SENATOR CAPPER of Kansas and a number of eager reform organizations, masculine and feminine are worried over the divorce situation. It will be admitted there is cause for careful consideration. But the remedy they propose is passing a 20th amendment to the constitution. It is the same old rule. Do not make a study of a problem. Just pass "another law" and the problem is solved.

A NEW constitutional amendment seems the least desirable of remedies. There might be arguments for a uniform federal law, although there are many reasons to doubt its advisability. But an amendment on such a subject over which many individuals and communities differ, would be to go through again the disastrous experience of the eighteenth amendment and the farcical enforcement.

THE CENSUS bureau points out that marriages increased 1.2 per cent in 1926 over 1925, while divorces increased 3.12 per cent. Senator Capper refers to a growing "loss of feeling for the sanctity of the home," but he does not explain how a feeling of sanctity can be increased by law. It is a problem which cannot be solved offhand by passing resolutions, laws or even amendments.

THERE IS an amusing feature to the "vice outbreak" in Philadelphia coming right on the heels of the raids on several New York night clubs. There is no question that the New York raids were staged for political effect. Smith had just been nominated at Houston. So federal officers swooped down on New York to show the world what a wicked place Al. Smith's city is.

THEN CAME the Philadelphia outbreak, but it was not engineered from Washington. It was a real one. The "lid blew off," and it did not cost $60,000 as did the New York raids. It was just too bad from the Republican standpoint that it had to come just at this time. For when orators speak of the evils of Tammany rule the public just thinks of Philadelphia, ruled by the Republican machine, and snickers.

Restmore Lodge,
El Paso, Texas.

Athens, Ga., Banner-Herald
Sunday, September 30, 1928

Lily-White Bastards Is Term Applied To Democrat Bolters

ATLANTA.—The Atlanta Independent, published by National Republican committeeman Ben Davis, Negro, was being accorded special attention and distinction here today, in that state Democratic committee under the direction of Chairman John Slater, was having a photostatic copy of the front page made for distribution over the state as campaign material.

Davis, in the Independent, writes editorial reply to Marcus Garvey, Negro editor of The Negro World, the latter having taken Davis and his paper to task for supporting the Republican party after it had dethroned and humiliated Davis as Garvey claims it has done. Davis replies in an editorial of a column or more, the feature paragraph being as follows:

"We answer that the Independent is one hundred per cent Republican because it cannot be bought by the Democrats' money or be bulldozed out of the party by lily-white bastard Republicans and commercialized Negro grafters, who would sell their wives and daughters into political slavery and economical ruin, for pelf and plunder. We will enter into no endless quarrel with the World, but will content ourselves to give reasons for the faith that is in us. We have no quarrel with the Republican party, and if we have been mistreated as alleged by the World, it is a family affair within the party, and it is no alien's business."

Davis, it will be remembered, was national committeeman for the Republican party in this state, until the Kansas City convention, when the place was left vacant instead of re-appointing Davis. This leaves the Negress Mamie Williams, at Savannah, as the national committeewoman for the Republicans, without a committeeman. Davis, in the Independent, is carrying the Hoover ticket at the masthead and doing all possible work for his party. The Hoover Republican ticket which he prints each week is as follows:

National Republican Ticket

For president: Herbert Hoover, of California.

For vice president: Charles Curtis, of Kansas.

ELECTORS

At-large: Mrs. Marry Harris Armor, of Eastman, Charles Adamson, of Cedartown.

First district: Frank Durden, of Savannah.

Second district: J. M. Patterson of Putney.

Third district: Charles E. Brown of Cordele.

Fourth district: Henry O. Lovorn, of Carrollton.

Fifth district: Mrs. Marvin Williams, of Atlanta.

Sixth district: George S. Jones, of Macon.

Seventh district: D. C. Cole of Marietta.

Eighth district: Mrs. C. A. Ver-Nooy, of Athens.

Ninth district: W. A. Carlisle, of Gainesville.

Tenth district: E. J. Forrester, of Sparta.

Eleventh district: Dan T. Cowart, of Waycross.

Twelfth district: J. H. Rush, of Lumber City.

Political - 1928

Party Acciliation.

Republican.

SOUTH BEND

INDIANA

OCT 3 1928

LILY WHITE

The Chicago Tribune provides authenticity for one of the most amazing disclosures of the political campaign. The Republican party, it says, has become what is known in the South as "lily white", and is busy impressing the solid South with its voluntary abandonment of a policy whereby for sixty years it has cherished (and made political capital out of) the Negro.

The G. O. P., according to the Tribune, has determined to leave the Negro to his own political fate. It will swear off using him and his delegations from the South to swing nominations. It will become quite as devoted to the principle of "white supremacy" as is the Imperial Wizard of the ku klux klan. It will appoint no Negroes to office. It will raise no fuss over the disfranchisement of the race.

All this, says the Tribune's political correspondent, has the sanction and approval of Mr. Hoover and the Republican National committee.

Whether this attempt to take over the stock-in-trade of the Democratic party (South) will succeed or not remains to be seen. The habit of voting the Democratic ticket below the Mason-Dixon line is so ingrained in the inhabitants of that section that it may take more than promises to break the tradition. But the incident is significant of the desperation of Mr. Hoover's managers, who are willing to sacrifice anything to win the election.

The Republican party is, on paper, the party that is devoted to the Constitution. Every spellbinder uses that document, or at least the eighteenth amendment thereof, as the text for his political addresses. Traditionally, the Republican party is committed to other amendments to the Constitution, notably those which made the Negro a citizen and which provided for his enfranchisement. That policy, dating from the time of Lincoln, and ignored in recent years, has now openly and definitely been abandoned. The Republican party is no longer the party of Abraham Lincoln. It is the party of Hiram Wesley Evans and D. C. Stephenson.

Little by little, the Republican party has become the parallel of the klan. It has embraced, where it is expedient to do so, the principles of intolerance, setting up religious tests as qualification for office. That is a plan principle. It has espoused the cause of prohibition, which means that certain classes shall have the right to drink while others are forbidden liquor. That is a klan principle. It has now adopted the principle of white supremacy, and that is a klan principle.

It is quite evident that the Republican managers are convinced that the only methods by which they can win this election are those which will stir up racial antagonisms, social discontent and religious hysteria. On those three issues they are staking their all, win or lose.

Lafayette, Ga., Journal
Issue October 5, 1928

Has He Helped The Cause?

Many people are making capital of a recent statement made by Ben Davis, negro Republican leader, and using it to strengthen the Democratic party, but Ben's mistake, if it may be termed as such, will have no such ill effects on the Republican party, as one made by Franklin Rosevelt, in Atlanta, last week when, in a public address, stated that **"he preachers and women of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union are working side by side with the ancient order of bootleggers and pouring their money into the treasury of the Republican party along with that sent there by the bootlegging fraternity."**

Ben Davis is a negro and, even though well posted and educated, his statements in defence of himself when abused by another negro newspaper editor may be overlooked and as such will not be weighed any too heavily in the balances, but when a man of Mr. Roosevelt's calibre, comes down here into the Empire State of the South and make such a dastardly and insulting remark about the people who are doing most for the upbuilding of the nation, such insult will be more of a boom-e-rang to come back and sting the party from whence it came rather than hurt the preachers and women of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

We are frank to admit that some preachers and possibly some of the women of the W. C. T. U. have gone a little too far in their purpose to carry their point—but Mr. Roosevelt should remember there are thousands of other "preachers" who have steered clear of anything that would warrant his insulting fling that would ally them with the bootleggers fraternity.

If the Democratic party as a whole is to be classed as its so called mouth piece, Mr. Franklin Roosevelt, and is filled with such contemptible vile and abuse as he seems to possess, then we might class the party even lower than Mr Roosevelt has classed the "preachers and women of the W. C. T. U. Let us hope that (even as we know all preachers and women of the W. C. T. U. are not in the bootleggers class) all Democrats are not as insulting and contemptible as the so-called mouth piece of the party—and if so— then we, for one, would rather be associated with Ben Davis and his allies than with Franklin Roosevelt and his vituperous insults.

As we see it, Mr. Roosevelt, has done more to hurt the Democratic party that a dozen like Ben Davis could harm the Republicans.

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.
OCT 8 1928

Negro Voters Held Big Factor In Election Outcome In State

G. O. P. Defections, Due To Religious And Wet Questions, Are Reported—Situation In Calvert And Charles Counties Are Cited

By FRANKLYN WALTMAN, JR.

La Plata, Md., Oct. 7—Negro defection from the Republican party is one element in the Presidential campaign in Maryland that cannot be gauged accurately. Yet, if present reports in that regard are true, it will be an important factor in determining the outcome.

This situation, while apparent in most parts of the State, is especially noticeable in Calvert and Charles counties. In both counties the Negro voters form a substantial part of the electorate and not so long ago exceeded the number of white voters.

Both May Go Democratic

Both Charles and Calvert counties are normally Republican; in fact, regularly so. Yet if the reports that are being circulated about the shift of sentiment among the Negroes to Governor Smith are true, one or both of these counties may go Democratic.

Some Republicans in Southern Maryland already have given up hope about carrying Charles county because of this factor. Calvert county, they assert, is safe. There are Democrats, however, who do not believe either county will go Democratic and some who contend that Governor Smith will carry both.

G. O. P. Book Majority 774

The Republican affiliated majority in Charles county is 774 votes. Negroes constitute the major part of the party, which was formed in this county in 1870 by Northern sympathizers primarily to obtain political preferment by capitalizing the Negro vote.

For fifteen years a Democratic candidate did not have a chance in this county, either for local offices or for State-wide campaigns. Then a break came. The Democrats made alleged corruption in the conduct of some of the local offices an issue. The Negro's fear of slavery was not so strong as at first and he was more susceptible to money. The Democrats managed to elect several of their number to local offices.

But the Democratic advance in the county did not progress far. The late Sydney Mudd, father of Thomas B. R. Mudd, the present Republican leader of Charles county, took over the leadership of the party. He gained and held the confidence of many of the white people and usually was able to carry the county for his candidates.

Mitchell Breaks Bloc

Now and then a Democrat, usually because of a strong personal following, has been able to get by this bloc. The most notable example in recent years has been State Senator Walter J. Mitchell. Three times he has been elected to the Legislature. But no Democratic Presidential candidate has ever received a majority in the county since the Negro has had the franchise.

Many Democratic leaders now decline to believe that the Negroes of the county in any large number will vote for Governor Smith. Yet there is a chance that this may happen and that, as a result, Charles county for the first time since 1870 will go Democratic.

Many Are Catholics

Many of these Negroes, in the first place, are Catholics. Most of them also are opposed to prohibition. About sixty per cent. of the population of the county is Catholic, and there is a predominant wet sentiment.

Democratic defections will not run large. In only two sections of the county has any religious prejudice appeared and Democratic leaders are concentrating their activities on these sections in an effort to remove this objection to the New York Governor.

Situation in Calvert Differs

The situation in Calvert county is a little different. There the Republican majority is 358. Rumblings of insurrection also have been heard among the Negroes there, but not to the same extent as in Charles county.

Thomas Parran, Republican county leader, has had a marked success in keeping the Negroes within the Republican fold. Furthermore, Calvert is a dry county and the Catholic population is negligible. The only Catholic church in the county is at Solomons Island. Churches of this faith are scattered throughout Charles county.

Defections Expected

Democratic defections in Calvert are expected to reach a sizable number, party leaders explain. Religious prejudice against Governor Smith is widespread and efforts to stamp it out have not met with much success. Many Democrats are dry, and wet Republicans, excepting the Negroes, are rare.

Assuming that a large block of Negroes bolt their party this time and vote for Governor Smith, it is unlikely that the county will go into the Democratic column because of the number of Democratic bolters, it is contended by some observers in this county.

Both Counties Small

Both Charles and Calvert counties are small. The direction in which they go in the election will not make a great deal of difference unless the margin distinguishing victor from loser in the State-wide result is less than 1,000. President Harding received a majority of 943 votes in Charles and 511 in Calvert. Mr. Coolidge's majorities in the two counties were 724 and 322, respectively.

But the course of the campaign in these counties is interesting in that it reflects an element of the campaign which is prevalent throughout the State. It is a situation which is giving the Democrats some hope and the Republicans considerable worry, and it makes the outcome uncertain.

25,000 Negro Voters In Counties

In the counties of Maryland there are approximately 25,000 Negro voters. In Baltimore the number reaches 27,000 in round figures. These votes in the past went virtually as a bloc to the Republican Presidential candidate. If only one-fourth of them switched this year, it would mean about a 10,000 gain for the Democrats and a 10,000 loss for the Republicans or a turnover of 20,000 votes on the basis that seventy-five per cent of those registered voted.

The Republicans fully realize the serious problem this situation offers them. They are losing no chance to make this vote certain. The Negro is being reminded that it was Lincoln who brought him from slavery and that he owes an eternal obligation to the party of the Great Emancipator.

Argument Made To Negroes

Again Governor Smith's attitude toward prohibition is being used as an argument against him with the Negro. The colored voters are reminded that the Democratic nominee plans a repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and they are told that there is no assurance he will not also repeal the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, which abolished slavery and gave the franchise and equal rights to Negroes.

This argument is effective, assert some Republican leaders. Yet many Negroes, especially those in Baltimore, cannot be influenced by such a plea, it is said. In the final analysis, the size of the "current election expense" fund probably will have much to do with the number of Negro bolters, observers believe.

NEWS
WILMINGTON, DEL.

SEP 12 1928

COLORED FIRST VOTERS WILL PARADE TONIGHT

The colored Republicans First Voters' League, of which Joseph L. Taylor is the organizer, will parade over the principal streets of the city tonight. The organization will leave the headquarters at 1020 Walnut street at 7.30 o'clock and will be headed by the original Odd Fellows' Band.

The organization has completed arrangements for two mass meetings and outings to be held at Shellpot Park tomorrow and Friday evenings.

Republican candidates who were named at Dover yesterday have already been invited to attend the mass meeting to be held in the Arena at the park tomorrow evening and make brief addresses.

The various amusements in the park will be open during the day. There will be dancing each evening and music will be furnished by Ellis Watts Orchestra of Chester

PRESS
Newport News, Va.

SEP 16 1928

LOCAL NEGRO VOTERS WILL GO TO RALLY

Negro Voters and Leaders Will Attend All State Rally of Negro Voters Today.

A large delegation of negro voters and race leaders from this city will head for Norfolk today to attend the second all-state rally of negro voters in the past 3 weeks in an effort to further organize the colored vote of the state for the November election.

The meeting will be held in the Attucks theatre, and, according to J. Thomas Newsome, local race leader, there will be delegates present from virtually every congressional district in Virginia.

The complete organization of the negroes into what amounts to an Independent Voters' League will be the purpose of the meeting. At a conference held at Bay Shore recently, a resolution was adopted holding the negro in Virginia to an independent course in the November election. The conference tomorrow will be more or less, a continuation of the one held here.

TIMES DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

SEP 2 1928

Colored Voters Will Meet Today At Shore Resort

Race Leaders From Whole State Will Discuss the Presidential Campaign

[Special to The Times-Dispatch]

NEWPORT NEWS, VA., Sept. 1—Between 600 and 1,000 Negroes from all sections of Virginia are expected here tomorrow afternoon to attend the mass meeting of colored voters called at Bay Shore by State race leaders to discuss the general political situation and probably to commit themselves to the support of Governor Alfred E. Smith or Herbert Hoover in the election next November.

A meeting of leaders and delegates from virtually every congressional district in Virginia was held two weeks ago at the colored resort, at which time plans were made for the meeting tomorrow. It is expected a definite stand either for or against the two presidential candidates will be taken by representative Negroes of Virginia as an indication as to how the colored vote will swing in November.

Sentiment in this city among the race is decidedly for Governor Smith, it was stated by local leaders, but in the State a minority sentiment has developed which would leave the Negro uncommitted and free to vote either way in the choice of a President. Confidence was expressed here this morning, however, that a definite stand would be taken by the representative race leaders at the meeting tomorrow.

In order that matters might be facilitated, a meeting of the steering committee will be held at 2:30 o'clock, J. Thomas Newsome, well-known colored attorney of this city and race leader in Virginia, stated. The steering committee will report at the mass-meeting, which is scheduled for 3:30 o'clock, any action taken.

Joseph R. Pollard, of Richmond, who led the fight against the "Lily White" element in the 1920 convention, will be chairman tomorrow. Other prominent race leaders, in addition to Newsome, who will attend, will include James M. Harrison, of Norfolk, and T. B. Young, also of that city.

TAMPA, FLA.
Times
AUG 30 1928

WRONG, AS USUAL.

J. Thomas Heflin, by some strange quirk—when Morgan, Pettus and Bankhead are recalled as having been United States senators from Alabama within a generation—senior senator from Alabama, has spoken—again. He has said wrong again—as usual.

A press dispatch from LaFayette, Ala., the Heflin home town—though many good citizens of LaFayette do not consider the fact that it is such any particular feather in LaFayette's cap, reported J. Thomas as having said that John J. Raskob, chairman of the democratic national committee, "has completely committed himself to the position that it is right and proper for the voter of one party to cast his or her vote for the head of the ticket of another party without giving up party principles or party affiliations."

Probably there are some people, who, believing Heflin, will believe that; not stopping to consider that almost in the same breath in which he said it J. Thomas proved it untrue.

As a foundation for what he says Mr. Raskob has done J. Thomas quoted Raskob as having said to republicans at Philadelphia, last week: "I think there are a great many republicans who are willing to give up their party affiliations. This is the class of citizens among whom the new committee here will work."

That is as different from the deduction Heflin draws from it as J. Thomas Heflin is from Thomas Jefferson. Everyone who is just a wee bit informed knows how different that is. Instead of even by indirection intimating that "it is right and proper for the voter of one party to cast his or her vote for the head of the ticket of another party without giving up party principles or party affiliations," it speaks directly and unequivocally of "many republicans who are willing to give up party affiliations" and of special committee work that will be done among them.

Party affiliation is the milk of this cocoanut. American citizens have perfect right to be what they please, politically. They may be democrat, progressive, prohibition, republican or what not, just as suits them. No one has ever questioned that. This right exists in morals and by law. No one can, however, be a democrat and vote a republican ticket.

If there are republicans anywhere who desire to "give up party affiliations" and affiliate themselves with democracy they are within their rights, and none can say them nay. The same is true as to any democrats, anywhere, who desires to "give up party affiliations" and affiliate themselves with republicanism.

This matter needs to be clearly stated and distinctly understood. When democrats understand it and go over to republicanism it is all right with other democrats, if it is with those doing it. But no democratic voter can "cast his or her vote for the head of the ticket of another party without giving up party principles or party affiliations." One's vote is the supreme test of one's party allegiance.

Let's apply the principle involved elsewhere and see how it works: No one will gainsay that no Methodist can vote in a Baptist conference for the purpose of calling a pastor, say. Whoever votes on such a matter in such a conference must first be a Baptist. The principle is precisely the same—democrats voting for democratic candidates and republicans voting for republican candidates. The fact and the logic of it are inescapable.

If there are those who will to give up their party affiliations it is their matter. The members of the party which they may be leaving can only hope that they are fully aware of what they are doing. It seems quite evident that J. Thomas Heflin, among others, would deceive some of them as to what they will be doing if they profess democracy and vote the republican ticket. There is no such thing as a Hoover-democrat—no more than there is such a thing as a skunk which exudes the perfume of roses when in action or a negro-Caucasian.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Democrat

Warrenton, Va.

SEP 26 1928

Republican.

IF THE SOLID SOUTH BREAKS—

Predictions as to the social and political consequences of a Republican victory in Virginia vary with the political belief of the prophets. The so-called Hoover Democrats, interested primarily in defeating one presidential candidate, rather than in electing the other, are disposed to minimize the local significance of a G. O. P. victory in this State. The Republicans reaffirm their conviction that Virginia, freed of the poisonous Democratic machine, would finally amount to something. And the Democratic leaders, reading their histories, are entirely confident that nothing short of the bubonic plague could do the State as much harm as a Republican triumph.

Speculation on the possible consequences of a break in the Solid South are not confined to the area affected. Other prophets, viewing the battle from afar, have their own very definite ideas of what would transpire if the determined effort to break the ranks were to succeed. One commentator of more than passing importance is Congressman L. C. Dyer, Republican, of Missouri, author of the celebrated anti-lynching bill which was talked to death by unyielding Southern Senators of the Democratic persuasion.

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It will be noted that Mr. Dyer, in referring to "nullificationists," did not mean the scofflaw variety. "My views on prohibition are not in accord with those of Herbert Hoover," he says, "but Mr. Hoover's stand on prohibition has captured the imagination of the ardent Democratic drys of the South to such an extent that they have forgotten their Democracy and have declared for Hoover and Curtis and they cannot be sidestepped. Hoover has their votes bagged. Who was it who mistakenly said that Herbert Hoover is not a good politician? November 6 that great engineer-politician with the votes of the prohibitionists and those swayed because of the religious question in the South, will drive such a thick wedge through the heart of the Solid South and their white supremacp slogan that it will blow up their whole constitutional program."

These are the views of Representative Dyer. Of course he may be wrong, but it will require considerable hardihood for many thoughtful Southerners to gamble even with the remote possibility of losing such a stake. The Congressman is right, of course, in attributing to Southern Democrats the defeat of his iniquitous Federal anti-lynching bill. He would be equally right in recalling that Southern Democrats also defeated, by virtue of their fiery conviction and their lung power, the even more vicious force bill. As long as Republican majorities in Congress continue to regard such legislation with favor, the South would do well to remain solid.—Times-Dispatch.

BEN DAVIS AIRS HIS WOES AND CURSES "LILY-WHITES"

Negro Politician Uses Caustic Term in Reference to Democrats and Bolters

Racial, political, and personal grievances were aired last night when Ben Jeff Davis, Negro politician and orator, assailed anew the "bastard lily-white Republicans and half breeds," in his speech at the First Baptist church for colored.

By this caustic term, Davis stated, he did not mean the "Hoover Democrats, who didn't know exactly what they're doing, but are wrought up over the moral question." Of Democratic Negroes, Davis said: "They tell me there are some powerful curiosities down here, but any Negro who says he's a Democrat, is a liar."

"I am a Republican," the Negro said, "and have no apologies to make for the faith that is in me, for I know of no other party that is worthy of membership. I am not opposed to Al Smith because he is a Catholic, I am opposed to him because he is a Democrat. I am opposed to all Democrats. I am not in favor of a Democrat for any office."

Sees Georgia Gone

Davis stated plainly that he has no hope that the Republican party will carry Georgia.

"The Democrats are as sure to carry Georgia this year as we are to die," he declared, "and I don't see why there is so much consternation in Democratic leaders."

What the Negro race wants is not private personal equality, according to Davis.

"There are plenty of white people not good enough to live next to me, and there are some white folks who don't want to live by me," he said.

In the government buildings of Washington, however, the case is different. Negroes should have the privilege, Davis stated, "of drinking from the same fountains as the white citizens, and sitting in the same rest rooms as the white folks."

A restaurant operated privately has perfect right to discriminate among its patrons, he believes.

"Quit Cussin' Party"

"Let's quit cussin' the Republican party for what it hasn't done for us," he continued. "and start cussin' the Democratic party for what it has done to us."

Speaking of press opinions of the recent "repudiation of Ben Davis by the Republican party in Kansas City, he said that "W. T. Anderson has been repudiated by the Democratic party every time he has asked it for anything. Yes, every time he has asked the Democrats for anything, they have turned Captain Bill right down on his face."

Returning to the theme of white supremacy, Davis pleaded, "We can't dominate, and we don't want to dominate; all we want is an equal appeal before the law, a square deal—to register, to cast one vote, and to have that vote counted. We want nothing more and will accept nothing less."

Of the efforts of Democrats, Smith and Anti-Smith, to secure Negro votes, Davis said, "They don't want us in their party any more than they want us in their houses.

"Using The South"

"Tammany Hall don't care any more for the South than it does for me, it just wants to use the South, Bill Anderson, and Jack Slater, and Thomas Hardwick are nosing out Hoover, but how inconsistent the hypocrites are."

Getting back to the subject of "Lily-Whites," Davis remarked that he "always recommended a Democrat in preference to a lily-white. No it's not the Hoover Democrats that are bastards, its the lily-white Republicans that's bastards, the half breeds."

At the completion of Davis' talk, a white man, the only one on the platform, rose. He was introduced as "O. M. Duke, of Flovilla, the only white man who has stayed with the party."

Duke's address was brief. He had been called to Macon on business, he stated, but on learning of the appearance of "my friend from Atlanta" he had arranged to attend the lecture.

"I looked in on the Hoover Democrats today," he said, "and was somewhat thrilled by their enthusiasm, but I knew it was ill founded.

" 'Don't you know,' I said, 'that if Hoover carried Georgia by 50,000, he'd lose it?' I am sorry to say that I can't bring any ray of hope to you as to Georgia going Republican."

BANNER
NASHVILLE, TENN.

SEP 25 1928

SEGREGATION ORDER PULLS NEGRO VOTE

So Says Publicity Sent Out by Associated Negro Press.

The Associated Negro Press, an organization in the interest of Negro publicity, sends out the following:

Cleveland, Ohio, Sept. 25.—In an interview with a representative of the Associated Negro Press this week Attorney Perry B. Jackson, Republican nominee for the state legislature (the only colored man nominated for the state legislature in the whole state), stated that he was unqualifiedly in favor of the election of Herbert Hoover for President of the United States. Jackson, who is active in civic, fraternal and religious life of this city, stated that in his opinion not less than ninety per cent of the colored people of Cuyahoga county and state of Ohio would support the Hoover ticket. He gave as his reasons not only that Herbert Hoover was by training and experience the better qualified of the two leading candidates for the high office of President, but that his broad and sympathetic understanding of human problems as exemplified in his stamping out segregation in his department in Washington as soon as it was called to his attention, according to Noval Thomas of Washington, D. C., had a practical and direct appeal to the colored voter.

TIMES
ROANOKE, VA.

SEP 27 1928

IF THE SOLID SOUTH BREAKS—

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TIMES UNION
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

SEP 21 1928

NEGROES ASKED TO REMAIN WITH G. O. P.

Citizen Writes to Hoover League Saying That Greatest Test Is Now Presented.

Writing to the Hoover League of New Haven, B. C. Woolfolk, a well known colored citizen, decries the efforts of the negro Independent Democratic association to persuade members of the colored race to desert the Republican party.

In the letter the writer says:

"Gentlemen: We are face to face with the question as to whether when, through the proper uses of the ballot Republicanism will achieve victory are we going to sit idly by and be deprived and deterred from the enjoyment of that victory by the activities of the unscrupulous who will persuade many unwittingly to join their enemy's forces—the Democrats.

"There has come to us as loyal Republicans the greatest test we have ever had as negroes. A test that should stir the blood in the veins of every Republican and fire them with patriotic zeal. It should challenge every one of us to such an effort as it has never before made in the history of the party.

"Attempts are being boldly made to discredit the Republican party in its past and present attitude toward the negro. I am a negro, and frankness forces me to say that the Republican party has not done everything it might have done and perhaps should have done in the interest of the race. But will those who are advocating that my race support the Democratic ticket, be equally truthful and frank and concede that all the good we have received as a race has come from the Republican party and all the bad we have received as a race has come from the Democrats. Whence came Jim Crowism, disfranchisement, segregation, in fact, the taking away of every good thing Republicans gave my race?

"I verily believe it would be a crime for members of my race to join the forces whose obvious purpose has been, and is, to deprive them of every human and God-given right. The only index we have to the future is to be found in what the present is, and the past has been. Hence I conclude, the Democrats never have done anything good for the negro race and never will. You will find in the orchard more sticks under the good apple tree because it has the best apples.

"I am ready to lend all the powers I have to defeat this propaganda of the so-called negro independent Democratic committee. I trust wise planning and aggressive effort will result in a victorious triumph for Republicanism in November, but it can only come as a result of loyal Republicans getting busy, organizing and down to hard work immediately."

LEWIS GOES TO RANKS OF HOOVER

Says Former Secretary Is Only Hope Of Negroes; Bolted G. O. P. In 1924

By RUSSELL KENT.
(Washington Correspondent.)

WASHINGTON, Sept. 18.—Herbert Hoover and the Republican ticket have gained another convert from the ranks of the negroes, according to a proud announcement from Republican national headquarters. Following a conference with Mr. Hoover, himself, William H. Lewis, a prominent colored lawyer of Boston and the one man of his race to be confirmed as an assistant attorney general of the United States, having served as such under President Taft, declared for Hoover.

Lewis left the G. O. P. in 1924. Now he is back in the fold, believing as do other negro leaders in public statements that the hope of the negro is in Hoover. Lewis explains, however, that he cannot be said to be a Democrat bolting Governor Smith, which statement may give pause to some of the White Democrats who are bolting their party standard-bearer this year.

The G. O. P. publicity department quotes Lewis as saying, after his interview with Mr. Hoover and other G. O. P. leaders:

"Having gone off the reservation four years ago, many of my life-long Republican friends have urged me to come back to the fold. Accordingly, an interview was arranged for me with Mr. Hoover, the Republican candidate.

"After a lengthy interview with Mr. Hoover, I am satisfied that the interests of the colored Americans lie with the Republican nominee.

"Mr. Hoover is a man of broad and catholic sympathies. His experience in dealing with men of all colors and racial extracts, renders him truly cosmopolitan. He realizes that our country is made up of many racial groups. He proposes to deal with the colored groups just as he does with all other Americans.

"I feel certain that we shall get a square deal with Mr. Hoover. I am satisfied. I am going to take a chance with Hoover.

"In going back to my party, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I am not in the category of a Democrat bolting Governor Smith, but an American citizen exercising my prerogative to vote for the man whom I think will best serve the interests of my race and my country.

"What is best for the country in the long run will be best for the colored Americans with all others."

And thus Governor Smith has lost another vote of one who "cannot vote for Smith!"

William H. Lewis was not raised among his brothers of the race in the Southland. He graduated at Amherst College and at Harvard Law School. While at Amherst, which also numbers among its graduates other Republicans more or less frequently quoted in the public press, he played center on the 'varsity football team in 1891, and was its captain and at Harvard he played center on that team in 1892 and 1893 and for 11 years afterward he assisted in coaching the Harvard squad.

Birmingham, Ala., News
Sunday, September 16, 1928

Anti-Segregation Move Hoover Act, Georgian States

SAVANNAH, Ga., Sept. 15—(UP)—Senator William J. Harris, of Georgia, former director of the census, charged Herbert Hoover with responsibility for rescinding the order which Harris instituted in the Census Bureau segregating white and negro employes.

Harris said any attempt to deny that Hoover rescinded the order in response to demand of negro Republicans in Ohio is futile.

Senator Harris' statement was made in a speech introducing Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Democratic nominee for vice president, who spoke here Friday night.

Congressman Charles Edwards, who presided at the meeting, said:

"I don't stand for the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. We ought to give it a fair trial and I feel sure it will have a fair trial if Gov. Alfred E. Smith is elected."

Political – 1928

Party Affiliation.

Hoover Defe Social Equality, Says Ben Davis

Advertisement In Negro Paper Pictures Nominee As Negro's Friend

Quotes From Talk

Favors Same Opportunity For All Races, Says Ad

By ATTICUS MULLIN

That Herbert Hoover, Republican candidate for President of the United States is a believer in social equality that "that all men should have equal opportunity regardless of faith or color," is the declaration in an advertisement in the October 4th issue of "The Atlanta Independent," negro paper owned and edited by Ben Davis negro Republican national committeeman of Georgia.

The negro, Ben Davis in his advertisement quotes from the acceptance speech made at Palo Alto, California on Aug. 11th by Candidate Herbert Hoover. Ben Davis says it was made before an audience of 75,000 people and that it is Hoover's own words that he is using in his appeal to negroes who read his paper to vote for Hoover."

"Regardless of Faith or Color."

The negro paper in Atlanta, edited by Ben Davis prints the appeal to negroes under a heading reading "Hoover Urges Equality for All." And then the second line of the advertisement in bold type says "Says All Men Should Have Equal opportunity Regardless of Faith or Color." And then the third line of the appeal in box car letters says: "Stress Square Deal Before The Law"

Following the heading the following appears as the next of the appeal to vote the Republican ticket and for Hoover:

"Herbert Hoover nominee of the Republican party for the presidency of the United States in his formal acceptance of the nomination before more than 75,000 persons August 11, 1928 at Palo Alto, California said:

"The founders of our republic propounded the revolutionary doctrine that all men are created equal and all should have equality before the law."

He, (Hoover) further stated: "Equality of opportunity is the right of every American, rich or poor, foreign or native born, irrespective of faith or color It is the right of every individual to attain that position in life to which his ability and character entitle him. By its maintenance shall we hold open the door of opportunity to every new generation, every boy and girl. It tolerates no privileged classes or castes or groups who would hold opportunity as their perogative. Only from confidence that this right will be upheld can flow that unbounded courage and hope which stimulates each individual man and woman to endeavor and to achieve."

Attacks White Democrats.

The statement in Ben Davis's negro Atlanta paper following so closely on an editorial of the week before in the same paper wherein he attacked white men and women of the South for daring to vote the Democratic ticket, had added interest to the political campaign in Alabama. Davis said in the issue previous to October 4th that the Democratic party was the white man's party and said that it was only in Democratic states that there are Jim Crow laws and laws preventing the mixing of the races in trains, street cars, in schools, churches and anywhere. His bold statement that Hoover favors equality as between whites and blacks is just what the Democrat orators of Alabama have been telling the voters but they did not expect to have their statement confirmed so soon by the negro national Republican committeeman from Georgia.

CIVIL SERVICE MERIT SYSTEM.

When Mr. Hoover spoke in Tennessee he made the following statement:

"I believe in the merit system of the civil service and believe further that appointive offices must be filled by those who deserve the confidence and respect of the communities they serve."

It perhaps may pass the average reader with little thought. But when analyzed it is different. In vague terms it was undoubtedly a reply to the statement that "Hoover is a negro lover." We do know that he abrogated the Wilson segregation order in his own department. We do know that he has time and again been in conference with negro political leaders. We do know that Georgia has had a negro republican national committeeman for years, and that the state is without one at the present time entirely on account of political expediency. Committeeman Davis, is a hold-over, and will probably be reappointed after the election. He is directing a fight at this time against the "lily whites." But, in view of all of these facts, the republican candidate for president is to be commended for his statement, let it be interpreted as it might be.

The "merit system of the civil service" is the correct system, and Governor Smith believes as strongly in that as does Mr. Hoover.

The conservative New York Times says:

"To us in the north this may seem fantastic. But it is a serious business in the south. It may be said that the whole is merely a political maneuver, designed for the coming election only, after which it will be dropped. But such movements, calculated as they are to renew and intensify racial animosities, create evils which live after them. The chief sufferers from them are only too likely to be the colored men themselves, whom it is thus sought to make use of insincerely by campaigners of the two parties."

Whatever may have been the motive of Mr. Hoover, some of whose campaign managers, in desperation, are seeking to break the "solid south" by carrying Georgia and other states into the republican column by democratic defection, if he will adhere to his spoken statement, should he be the next president, the citizens of the south will find no fault.

The "merit system of the civil service" cannot be offensive to any one, of any race.

Republican.

KANSAS STATE G. O. P. IGNORES LEADERS

Rev. Ransom and Elisha Scott, Veteran Party Workers, on Outside

Rev. J. R. Ransom and Attorney Elisha Scott of Topeka, will not direct the campaign of the republican national committee among the Negroes of Kansas—if the republican state committee has its way. It has said so, and the language chosen admits of no amendment or retreat.

The two Topekans are well known in public affairs. For years Rev. Ransom, who is a well-known A. M. E. minister, has sacrificed his advancement in the church to his love of Kansas. Elisha Scott has been the attorney for the N. A. A. C. P. Both have been politicians because they love the game. Both have been republicans who have followed the plow of party loyalty to the end of the furrow. But the state committee will have none of them.

The mistake of Messrs. Ransom and Scott was their poor judgment in backing a loser in the August primaries. They were for J. W. Hamilton of their city. They spoke and campaigned for him. But Clyde Reed, Parsons publisher, won out, and now the state committee is as hard on them as it could be on members of another party. Some persons are unkind enough to say that if Reed's friends could not have pushed these two aside for reason of Hamilton, they would have found some other, because Reed himself despises Negroes.

In the case of Rev. Ransom, the suggestion that he head republican work in Kansas, is said to have come from the candidate for vice-president, Senator Curtis himself, who is on terms of warmest friendship with Ransom. Then too, as a minister of the A. M. E. connection, he was well known to the chairman of the national committee's campaign among Negroes, who is John R. Hawkins, the financial secretary of that church. But after all, whether it was the style of his clothes or the cut of his hair, or what not, Ransom—and Scott—will not have any high place in Kansas because Clyde Reed's state committee says so.

THE REPUBLICAN NEGRO IN THE SOUTH OR WHEN "SILENCE IS GOLDEN"

There is little during these days that the colored Republican in the South can do to help his Party. Of a truth the SILENCE of the Southern Republican Negro at this time IS GOLDEN, for with the different church groups pooling their strength against the WET candidate, the KU KLUX KLAN pooling its strength against the CATHOLIC candidate, and the democratis who have always voted the Republican ticket in all national elections, everybody talking "HOOVER" singing "HOOVER" and praying "HOOVER" seemingly unmindful of the SOUTHERN PRESS and its SMITH propaganda: three-fourths of all the decorated automobiles carrying the "HOOVER" placards, "HOOVER-CURTIS" clubs the "ANTI-SMITH" clubs organizing it is very evident that the "SOLID SOUTH" is showing most unmistakable signs of breaking and the less the Republican Negro does to agitate these different groups and to bring before them their terrible "Nightmare, Social Equality" (that nightmare which follows them as an aftermath of slavery days when they forced upon Negroes Social Equality and gave birth to a half white, half black people whom they now dread), we repeat, the less the Southern Republican Negro does during these days in the way of agitating these groups, the BETTER for the success of the Party in the SOUTH.

Our job is to hold the Negro steady and to begin to work up an interest in getting out the vote at the proper time. The state laws control the time of registration and those that are not registered can not register now, altho we realize that there are states where these laws do not exist, and citizens are still registering.

The great question which will confront the Republican Party in the South is TO GET THE REPUBLICAN VOTES COUNTED. Unless some special arrangement is made to protect the BALLOT BOXES in the SOUTH, the Republican Party need not expect a Square Deal regardless of all these evidences.

BILL McDONALD FLAYS G. O. P. LILY WHITES

Texas Leader Says He Prefers Tammany to Klan Alliance

FORT WORTH, Tex.—Speaking

to a large gathering of Negroes at a meeting of the Negro Civic League, Thomas O. Crook, president, recently held here, William M. McDonald, politically known as "Goose-Neck Bill," stated that the most vicious, relentless, and American, unjust organization in America today are the Ku Klux Klan and the Lily White Republicans.

"I'd rather stand with Tammany Hall, regardless of all its alleged misdeeds than to side with the Klan and Lily White political organizations of this country," he said. "What would the American people say if Governor Smith stood charged with forming political coalitions with these organization to win the Presidency of the American Republic," he asked.

In his talk in favor of the election of Governor Smith for the Presidency, Mr. McDonald said in part: "All citizens, black and white alike, should honor a brave and independent man like Governor Smith—a man of stainless integrity, will, and intellectual force. He has the good sense to know that Ku Kluxers, Lily Whites, flatterers, cringers and time-servers are dangerous citizens of our community, and he refuses any effort to gain applause and power by pandering to the mistakes, prejudices and passions of the multitude who are the enemies of liberty and human rights.

"There are in the South, North, East, and West thousands of white men and women who have accepted in good faith the results of the Civil War; men and women who love the American institutions and wish to preserve this Nation; men and women tired of racial hatred, tired of legislation based upon disfranchisement, peonage, inequality before the laws in all the states, and a longing for a real governmental policy based upon mutual respect and confidence—all American citizens regardless of race, color or religion.

"Governor Smith is bigger than a party. I wonder sometimes whether the United States is to forever be governed by men of parties full of hatred, full of color prejudice, full of malice, and full of slander."

HOOVER INCLUDES ALL RACES.

Just prior to the Republican candidate's invasion of Tennessee, where he addressed the whole South in favor of Republican policies, thirty editors of foreign language newspapers called upon Mr. Hoover. These callers represented newspapers which circulate among fourteen different nationalities. After thanking his callers for their interest expressed in his campaign, Mr. Hoover declared that the problems arising therein were of equal importance to all nationalities, regardless of race or creed. He further declared that there is no distinction between races in this national debate. He regarded the voters as constituting a political unit equally interested in the questions at issue. He was quotetd as follows:

> "These campaigns resolve themselves into national debates, and as a result of the great interest which they arouse give all sides an opportunity to spread information on important questions.
>
> "There is no distinction between races in this national debate. It is a discussion entirely between Americans and must be so regarded. We do not want international disputes in America. There have been too many of them here in the past."

Later on, in his address at Elizabethton, Tenn., Mr. Hoover directed his speech to the whole South, showing how the carrying out of Republican policies was essential to the prosperity of that section, as to the rest of the country. Nor was his exposition confined to the wholly materialistic view of the situation. Moral issues were expounded as well, and the increase in crime charged to the war was not omitted. He said that technicalities of court procedure have been used to defeat justice and aid law violators. He proclaimed the purpose of the Eighteenth amendment is to protect the American home and declared his purpose to secure its honest enforcement and to eliminate the abuses which have grown around it.

According to one interpretation of Mr. Hoover's address, his desire to see the Eighteenth amendment honestly enforced was set forth in the demand for swifter justice, which was taken to apply not only to prohibition violations, but to general crimes of violence, including lynchings. At all events, Mr. Hoover set forth the moral duties of the President in administering the government in no uncertain vein. He declared that as the President of the whole people, he must interpret the conscience of America and guide his conduct by the idealism of our people. Insisting that the Presidency is no dictatorship and that the government rests solely upon the will of the people, he was convinced that more of the problem of progress can be accomplished by voluntary action of the people, assisted by the cooperation of the government, than has been supposed.

This candid and convincing statement of the philosophy of government by the candidate for the chief office in the gift of the people was delivered before an audience of fifty thousand people, gathered in the shadows of the Great Smoky Mountains, and coming from the states of Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia. It was the first time that a Republican candidate for the Presidency had invaded this territory, which is a part of the New South and Republican in politics, as evidenced by the fact that a former Governor of Tennessee introduced Mr. Hoover.

The salient beliefs set forth by the candidate in these two addresses are significant. One is that all races are included in his conception of the citizenship of this country. The other is that the voluntary action of the people, or a majority of them, is necessary to accomplish any great reform. The latter statement does not mean that a minority should rest supinely under injustice, but rather agitate until the majority is brought over to the side of right. Both of these articles of belief constitute additional reasons why Mr. Hoover should be supported for the Presidency.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republicans Not Confident

Negro Situation Source Of Worry To G. O. P.

By RUSSELL KENT.
(Staff Correspondent.)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4.—As the national campaign swings into its final weeks the sharp division which has existed among the Republican leaders over how to handle the negro situation is becoming more emphasized. It is apparent that a majority of the G. O. P. strategists have lost confidence if indeed they ever possessed any that the "solid South" can be broken. Nevertheless, there persists a minority which is urging that something be done to demonstrate that Hoover is not overly friendly with the colored race.

This minority group believes that if the effects of the anti-segration order by which blacks were placed alongside whites in the census bureau last Spring in order to benefit Hoover's candidacy for the Republican nomination could be overcome there might be at least a fighting chance to get white votes in the South.

The other group believes the whole Southern campaign from the Republican standpoint, insofar as obtaining a single electoral vote for Hoover and Curtis, is merely a dream. They believe the chief result of the campaign in the South will be to increase the popular vote without increasing the electoral vote. In support of their position they point out that 10 Confederate states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia have a total population of 25,415,000 and yet in 1924 they cast fewer popular votes for Coolidge than he received in the single state of Iowa.

It is also thought by this same group that while there is opposition in certain parts of the South to Governor Smith, the ground that would have to be made up to carry any of the Southern states is too great in a campaign where every dollar that can be raised and every bit of work that can be done is needed to save normally Republican territory.

Negro Danger Forseen.

Another danger forseen by this group is that were the negro element eliminated from the Republican party organization a white Republican party in several of the states would begin its career under the dominance of the Ku Klux Klan sentiment and influence, due to the fact that the klan in many places is leading the campaign against Smith. Such a condition might result in many of the negroes in Northern states where their vote is needed for Republican success, remaining from the polls. Republican leaders do not believe many negroes will vote the Democratic ticket. But if the negroes remained away from the polls in large numbers the result might be fatal to the G. O. P., regardless of any other influence.

The fact is that it is impossible for Hoover, even if he so desired, to jar loose negro leaders in some of the Southern states where they are in power, due to the fact that most of them were pre-convention supporters of Hoover. Of the 60 negro delegates to the Republican national convention at Kansas City last June only one, Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, was pledged to any candidate other than Hoover and Cohen was for Curtis for the presidential nomination. It was the negro delegates lined up by Perry Howard of Mississippi and Ben C. Davis of Georgia, who formed a nucleus around which the Hoover strength grew at the convention at Kansas City. Therefore for the present at least, the negroes cannot be displaced by the Hoover advisers.

Patronage Probe Cited.

Since the Kansas City convention, Perry W. Howard, the Mississippi Republican national committeeman who managed the Hoover pre-convention activities among the members of his race, has been indicted on charges in connection with the distribution of Federal patronage in Mississippi. Howard claims a frame-up against him by elements desiring a "lily white" party in the South. But his associate on the Republican national committee from Mississippi, Mary C. Booze, a negress, is actively working as republican national committeewoman to get out the negro vote for the Republican ticket.

Ben C. Davis, the Georgia negro leader, apparently is back in command in that state, although he has not been formally declared seated as Republican national committeeman for another term owing to the contest which was brought to the Kansas City convention where 12 of the 16 Georgia delegates were negroes. Georgia publications recently placed in the field a full slate of white electors, including two former Democrats who were delegates to the Democratic national convention at Houston. Davis, through his paper, "The Independent" is whooping it up for the Republican ticket in Georgia.

In a recent issue of Davis's paper there is an editorial which contains the following:

"Sometimes we may vote for a Democrat because of the man, but we can never vote for the Democratic party, so long as it stands for ignorance, meanness and race hatred as exemplified in Memphis, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic party.

"Al Smith is no better than the Democratic party. His record does not disclose a single favor that he has done for the negroes in New York. He (the negro) knows the Democratic party is his sworn enemy.

"As infamous and as wrong and as cowardly as lily whiteism is, it is no worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic party against the American negro."

Republican.

NEW YORK WORLD

OCT 10 1928

Negro Weekly Assails Moses; Asks Removal

The New York Amsterdam News, large Republican Negro weekly paper, demands editorially in last night's issue that Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire, Eastern campaign manager of the Republican National Committee, be removed from office for a remark the Senator made Monday before the National Republican Women's Club, in which he referred to Ferdinand Q. Norton, Negro Civil Service Commissioner, dictating to a white woman stenographer.

Under the heading "Remove Moses," the editorial said with "sentiment crystallizing in Greater New York in favor of Gov. Smith," the reference of Senator Moses may be "definitely relied upon to alienate the Harlem Negro vote from Hoover and Curtis, unless his remarks are immediately repudiated by Hoover himself and the National Republican Committee." The "best repudiation," the editorial continues, is to "remove Moses."

The Negro weekly carries a long article on Senator Moses's remark, topped with two lines across the paper reading:

"Republican Eastern Hoover Manager Has Ku Klux Ideas.

"Senator Moses Hurls Bombshell at Meeting of Republican Women.'"

News
Thursday, September 27, 1928

Which party is the White Man's party, the Democratic Party or the Republican Party? There were more than a hundred negro delegates to the Kansas City Convention at which Mr. Hoover was nominated; not a one at the Houston Convention at which Governor Smith was nominated. A negro seconded the move to nominate Mr. Hoover. There were no negroes to second move in the Democratic Convention. So the answer must be about a hundred to nothing in favor of the Democrats. See advertisement by the Democratic Campaign Committee in this issue of The Opp News.

GAZETTE

Texarkana Ark.

OCT 4 1928

LEAD EDITORIAL—THURSDAY

PLACING NEGROES WITH WHITES.

Persons who regard ~~as idle~~ talk Congressman Dyer's prediction that Hoover will shatter the "solid south" and that republican victory at the polls in November will be followed by national legislation that will end white supremacy in the South through enforcement enactments that will place congressional election in Southern states in the hands of federal agents would do well to read the letter by Mrs. R. L. Bunch, published in this issue of the Gazette, which shows how far the republican administration already has gone in its efforts to control the negro vote.

Recently a young woman of Cass county resigned her place in the department of commerce and returned to her home in Texas because she was compelled to work with negro men in carrying out the duties assigned to her, sacrificing the senority and civil service rights she had earned.

Democratc women of the South will not be misled by the false issues that are being emphasized by the ex-democrats who have abandoned the principles of their party and who are doing everything in their power to turn the South over to the republicans.

True democratic principles still are the big issues of this presidential campaign.

Hazlehurst, Ga., News
Thursday, October 4, 1928

Ben Davis As A Witness

The Christian Index claims that Hoover did not issue a segregation order in his department. All right, let's put Ben Davis on the witness stand. The Atlanta Independent, in a double-column editorial, endorsing Hoover, in speaking of the matter, says:

"When his (Hoover's) attention was called to segregation in his department, he said, Let me investigate. He investigated; he discovered the truth. He never thought of race, color, nor politics, but of people, human beings, serving the government in common. He acted, and there is no segregation in his department."

Senator Harris also said that Hoover did away with the segregation of the races.

What has Editor Newton to say now?

Americus, Ga., Recorder
Tuesday, October 9, 1928

CONVICTED BY ONE OF THEIR OWN HINCHMEN

Barry Wright and his so-called Hoover-Democrats, in a page advertisement—which they say was donated—shows a Tammany negro at his desk dictating to a white woman stenographer. Mr. Wright takes this as proof that Al Smith is responsible for the fact that a negro holds a $7,500 job and dictates to a white woman clerk. That he says is Tammany and then declares that Al Smith IS Tammany and that if Smith is elected Tammany will be boss in the White House and that the front door will always be open to the negro by Tammanyized Al Smith. This Mr. Wright uses to refute the statements of Democrats that the fight for white supremacy in this

election overshadows all other issues.

Well let's see how Mr. Smith stands on the negro and as a witness we will take one of Mr. Wright's own hinchmen and political buddies, the "Honorable" Benjamin Davis, the Atlanta negro who is at the head of Mr. Wright's party in Georgia. Here's what Ben says in his own paper, the Atlanta Independent:

"Sometimes we may vote for a Democrat because of the man, but we can never vote for the Democratic party, so long as it stands for ignorance, meanness and race hatred as exemplified in Memphis, Texas, Georgia and Mississippi. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic party.

"Al Smith is no better than the Democratic party. His record does not disclose a single favor that he has done for negroes in New York. He (the negro) knows that the Democratic party is his sworn enemy.

"As infamous and as wrong and cowardly as lily-whiteism is, it is no worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic party against the American negro."

There you are. Can't get around that. It is from the head of Mr. Wright's party in the state.

Of course, Mr. Wright didn't refer to Mr. Hoover's order in the Department of Commerce, which put an end to the segregation of whites and blacks in his Washington office. He didn't say that whites and blacks were compelled to work along side in the Department of Commerce; that they were compelled to lunch together and to use the same toilets. Oh, no; Mr. Wright didn't mention that. Nor did he mention the fact that this change of conditions inaugurated by Senator Harris and approved by President Wilson was changed when the negroes of the North put it up to Mr. Hoover to stop segregation or forget his ambition to be president of these United States.

By the way, the negro pictured in Mr. Wright's page advertisement, secured his position under the civil service commission of New York City during the administration of Mayor Hyland, William Randolph Hearst's political allie. He is an employe of New York City and Governor Smith had no more to do with his selection than he had with the naming of Ben aDvis and the Savannah negro woman as his party's national committeeman and committeewoman.

Negroes! Do Not Be Political Footballs! Defend Your Race and Class!

A more open and brazen bid for the support of the detestable ku klux klan in the South than that made in the Elizabethtown speech of Herbert Hoover would be difficult to imagine. In discussing federal civil service appointments the republican candidate assured his audience that he believed "appointive offices should be filled by those who deserve the confidence and respect of the communities they serve." Such language is well understood in the South. It means the exclusion of Negroes from appointive offices on the ground that, because they are discriminated against as a race and exploited as workers and poor farmers they do not deserve the respect and confidence of the "lily whites." It is equivalent to a promise not to appoint Negroes as postmasters and other such jobs.

This republican campaign against Negroes was supplemented by Senator Moses when he addressed the women's national republican club in New York on Monday. This New Hampshire senator, one of the very front line politicians of the Mellon-Coolidge-Hoover machine, spoke contemptuously of a Negro official "dictating to a white stenographer of the female sex."

Thus the republican party, the party that for years has claimed the support of the Negroes as a race because they were alleged to oppose the avowedly anti-Negro policies of the democratic party in the South, publicly avows its determination to discriminate against Negroes.

What difference is there between Herbert Hoover, Senator George H. Moses and the democratic governor, Byrd of Virginia, who keeps a white woman in jail as a measure of protecting "the purity of the white race" because she married a Negro? What difference is there between Hoover and Al Smith who was nominated by the democratic convention in Houston at the identical time a cowardly mob was lynching a Negro in the vicinity and who never so much as mentioned the atrocity? Hoover would prevent Negroes being appointed to federal office no matter how competent they are just because they are held by the southern bourbons to be inferior. Smith was so anxious to appeal to southern hatred of the Negro that his Tammany machine prevented Negroes being sent to Houston for fear it would endanger his chances of nomination.

For every crime of the republicans against the Negroes, there is a crime by the democrats to match it. Both old parties are enemies of the Negro.

Negroes! Do not be fooled by either of these parties!

Do not support those parties who bid for ku klux support and defame you as a race, exploit you as a class, belittle your ability, and treat you as though you belonged to an inferior people. To be consistent you cannot support the parties that protect the lily-whites who burn alive and hang your sons, ravage your daughters and treat you worse than beasts of burden!

Oppressed as a race and a class the Negro masses should support the one and only Party that demands full racial equality—economic, social and political—the one party that fights to scourge from the face of the earth the dastardly crime of lynching.

Only the Workers (Communist) Party fights relentlessly against jim-crowism; fights to wipe out laws prohibiting intermarriage; fights against every form of segregation.

The Negro who supports any party other than the Workers (Communist) Party aids the master class keep his race and his class in monstrous thralldom.

Negroes! Refuse to be political footballs! Defend your race and your class! Vote Communist!

'Lilly Whites' Halt Speech in Florida

Jacksonville, Fla., Oct. 12—(Special)—Following a protest from Florida "lily-white" Republicans, ex-Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman of Illinois canceled his engagement to speak to the regular Republicans here Monday night when a mammoth mass meeting was staged at the Masonic temple.

Several thousand persons from all sections of the state had packed the auditorium to hear the senator's message. A few minutes before his scheduled time to speak, the ex-senator sent a telegram to Chairman S. D. McGill, expressing his regret at not being able to attend. It was explained that the Florida "Lily Whites" objected to his making a speech before the regular Republicans.

Despite the fact that the ex-senator failed to make his appearance the program went on enthusiastically. Speeches by A. W. Smith, Atty. S. D. McGill, Mrs. A. L. Anderson, Miss E. M. White, R. T. Thomas and Rev. H. Y. Tookes were well received.

Leaders of the Regular Republican party had called the meeting for the purpose of explaining to citizens the importance of registering for the presidential election next month.

"You people who have not registered," Atty. McGill said, "must do so when the polls open, or lose your chance to become eligible for a voice in the great decision which will be made on Nov. 6.

"Every vote will count and you cannot vote unless you register," he said. "In the eyes of Florida politicians the coming registration will determine whether Herbert Hoover or Al Smith will carry Floriad."

Political – 1928

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Scene: Washington, D. C.

Time: August 20 to Nov. 3, 1928.

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Seated: Mr. Brown, with plans for organization of Negro Division.
Enter: Scott, Cobb, Hawkins, Vena, et al.

SCOTT, advancing toward Mr. Brown, with arm full of papers, etc: My Good Sir:

You will probably want to meet the organization which is to direct the campaign for Mr. Hoover. I have the honor to present it to you in almost completed form. A few of my friends have not yet arrived, but I assure you I have selected them with utmost care, and you may depend upon it that they will appear and function to a man and woman.

MR. BROWN: Your kindness exceeds my own arrangements. However, let me see your list. (Scott hands him the list.)

JUDGE COBB, breaking in: Emmett and I know all these people personally.

MR. BROWN: Wait a minute, let me read this. (Silence for one minute.) I fail to see the name of Bob Church on this list, what about him? He is a colored man, is he not?

COBB: Leave him to me, Mr. Brown, I will call him up myself. I know Bob Church intimately. He will do whatever I say.

MR. BROWN: Good, then you will attend to that, Judge, will you?

COBB: Absolutely.

MR. BROWN: I don't see Bill Lewis from Boston on this list.

EMMETT: Why that is unnecessary, Sir. Bill Lewis eats at my home whenever he does not stop at The Willard. I will have him in plenty of Time.

MR. BROWN: Well, I prefer nothing be done until the list is decided upon, and all persons chosen have accepted in writing. Is that clear?

EMMETT: We follow you clearly.

Conference adjourned. Exeunt.

Outside of Room, Emmett directs a release to the Negro papers. Lautier gets his pencil and writes. The next day The Afro-American comes out with a full set up of the organization, etc.

Time: Noon, Special Call Conference; Place Mr. Brown's offices. All enter, Emmett bearing the armful of papers.

MR. BROWN: Who in the H—— published this list? Did I not ask that no list be released until all have accepted? This is embarrassing. Whose Campaign is this, anyhow?

COBB: I am informed and believe that your Mr. Vena did this, Mr. Brown.

MR. BROWN: Vena is in the next room, call him in here.

Enters Vena, innocent, but wise.

MR. BROWN: Vena, Judge Cobb says you sent out this partially made up list of organization of the Colored Division. What about that?

VENA: Whoever says I sent it out is a ——.

Wait, Vena, don't call the Court that ugly name.

Vena subsides.

MR. BROWN: Let me resume where we left off the other day. Did you get Bob Church and Bill Lewis?

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BARNETT: Mr. Vann and I can and will work together without any difficulty, Mr. Brown. We have his name on our list which I gave you a month ago.

MR. BROWN: Yes, I remember.

(*Whispering and low tones.*) *He is supposed to be flirting with Al Smith piped up somebody.*

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THE CHORUS: Yes, sir, and he owns his own paper, too. It's the leading paper of the race. I wish you could see it sometimes. It has the greatest influence of any Negro paper. Yes, sir, we have heard from Mr. Vann Long Distance, he will be satisfied to be Chairman of Publicity. Your choice suits us, Mr. Brown.

MR. BROWN: Vena, where is Mr. Vann now? I think in New York, I'll see and let you know. Very well, he will be here when we need him. Now that the list seems complete, I appoint Dr. Hawkins Chairman of the Division. Dr. Hawkins, will you take charge? I hope you will avail yourself of the services of Mr. Holsey as Secretary. He comes well recommended. He went through that Flood Campaign with Mr. Hoover, and he is acquainted with the Hoover methods. As soon as all accept, I think you can then publish your organization. That is all today.

Exeunt.

End of Act I.

* * * * *

Act II. Time: Sometime in September.
Place: Dr. Work's Offices, Barr Bldg.
Enter Bob Church and Richer

BOB CHURCH: Dr. Work, I am Bob Church of Memphis. I have come to tell you something about politics and myself. These men you have selected to manage the Hoover Campaign will never do. I will not work with them. They are a lot of educators, bankers and what not. They are voteless people, every one of them, and I am not going to work with people who can not vote and you will have to change the personnel. My man here, Mr. Richer, can testify to what I am saying.

DR. WORK: Mr. Church, I am glad to see you. Are you a colored man?

CHURCH: I am so recognized in Memphis.

DR. WORK: Well, I hope you will take your place with the Hawkins organization and give them the benefit of your wide experience. That will help Mr. Hoover, I am sure.

CHURCH: Not much. I have headed up every Negro organization since Linc. Johnson's time, and I am not going to follow any of these educators and school teachers. I am for Mr. Hoover, but I am for leadership first. My man here, Mr. Richer, will testify to that.

RICHER: He is right, Dr. Work.

DR. WORK: Well, Mr. Church, I have nothing for you to do, if you can not join the Hawkins organization. Good day.

Exeunt Church and Richer.

Outside of Dr. Work's Office: Church to Richer: "I'll show him. I'll put an article in the papers. They shall not elect Hoover without my leadership." You know me, Richer.

Atta Boy, added Richer. Don't let them side-track me, Bob.

* * * * *

Act II, Scene 2. Time: One week later: Place Barr Bldg.
Dr. John R. Hawkins in the Chair
Present: The whole Hawkins Organization. Executive Committee and the other disciples.

DR. HAWKINS: Mr. Holsey, will you call the roll.

HOLSEY: All present Mr. Chairman.

SENATOR ROBERTS OF CHICAGO: Mr. Chairman, I must make a speech right here.

Proceed, Senator:

The Senator rises from his place: I am for Herbert Hoover and I am to tell the world. (Applause.)

DAISY LAMPKINS: Mr. Chairman: What I want to know is who is Vice Chairman of this organization?

THE CHAIR: You are one of them, Mrs. Lampkins. (Applause.)

MRS. LAMPKINS: Well, I wanted that settled here and now. I see Mrs. Hunton here talking to Mr. Fred Moore, and Mr. Moore has not even recognized me as yet. He will have to see me, won't he?

THE CHAIR: I will see you at the proper time, Mrs. Lampkins.

THE CHAIR: I want harmony in this meeting. Dr. Work will be here soon, and I want you to meet him personally. I don't want a repetition of what happened out in Chicago. Mrs. Flemming was ready to quit out there, until——

EMMETT: Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that we go into the business of checking over our organization at this time.

THE CHAIR: Good suggestion. Mr. Secretary, call the list of committees, and sub-committees. Any objections must be heard now.

FRED MOORE: Mr. Chairman, I am from New York, as you know. I am not going to go off half cocked in this business. What about New York headquarters?

GEORGE HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I am from New York, too, don't forget it either.

CHARLIE MITCHELL: Mr. Chairman, the way we did things four years ago was this, ——

THE CHAIR: That was four years ago, thanks for the history. This is Mr. Hoover's campaign, and not Mr. Coolidge's. (Silence.)

(Whispering between Fred Moore and Vann.)

VANN: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Moore and I have just spoken for the first time since the Harding campaign, and I want in the minutes of this meeting. (Laughter.)

A Voice From the Rear: Where Is Melvin Chisum in this Campaign?

Another voice: Flirting with Raskob, and Al Smith. (More laughter)

DR. SCOTT: I shall have something very definite on Mr. Chisum in a few days.

THE CHAIR: What's before the body?

HOLSEY: Mr. Chairman, I think the photographer is ready to take

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* * * * *

Act II, Scene 2. Time: One week later: Place Barr Bldg.
Dr. John R. Hawkins in the Chair
Present: The whole Hawkins Organization. Executive Committee and the other disciples.

DR. HAWKINS: Mr. Holsey, will you call the roll.

HOLSEY: All present Mr. Chairman.

SENATOR ROBERTS OF CHICAGO: Mr. Chairman, I must make a speech right here.

Proceed, Senator:

The Senator rises from his place: I am for Herbert Hoover and I am to tell the world. (Applause.)

DAISY LAMPKINS: Mr. Chairman: What I want to know is who is Vice Chairman of this organization?

THE CHAIR: You are one of them, Mrs. Lampkins. (Applause.)

MRS. LAMPKINS: Well, I wanted that settled here and now. I see Mrs. Hunton here talking to Mr. Fred Moore, and Mr. Moore has not even recognized me as yet. He will have to see me, won't he?

THE CHAIR: I will see you at the proper time, Mrs. Lampkins.

THE CHAIR: I want harmony in this meeting. Dr. Work will be here soon, and I want you to meet him personally. I don't want a repetition of what happened out in Chicago. Mrs. Fleming was ready to quit out there, until——

EMMETT: Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that we go into the business of checking over our organization at this time.

THE CHAIR: Good suggestion. Mr. Secretary, call the list of committees, and sub-committees. Any objections must be heard now.

FRED MOORE: Mr. Chairman, I am from New York, as you know. I am not going to go off half cocked in this business. What about New York headquarters?

GEORGE HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I am from New York, too, don't forget it either.

CHARLIE MITCHELL: Mr. Chairman, the way we did things four years ago was this, ——

THE CHAIR: That was four years ago, thanks for the history. This is Mr. Hoover's campaign, and not Mr. Coolidge's. (Silence.)

(Whispering between Fred Moore and Vann.)

VANN: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Moore and I have just spoken for the first time since the Harding campaign, and I want in the minutes of this meeting. (Laughter.)

A Voice From the Rear: Where Is Melvin Chisum in this Campaign?
Another voice: Flirting with Raskob, and Al Smith. (More laughter)

DR. SCOTT: I shall have something very definite on Mr. Chisum in a few days.

THE CHAIR: What's before the body?

HOLSEY: Mr. Chairman, I think the photographer is ready to take

our pictures.

THE CHAIR: Nonsense! Mrs. Hert will be here in a few minutes to speak to us.

(*A Voice from the Rear: Fine Lady, I know her husband.*

(MRS. HERT enters amid applause.)

"Just dropped in for a word with you people about this fight. I am tickled pink with everything. I am sure you will stand by the Grand Old Party as heretofore." (Applause.)

SENATOR ROBERTS: Mr. Chairman, I crave to speak again.

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THE SENATOR: What shall I do with Roscoe Simmons out in Chicago? Who is to be the Head Gunman out there? Get my status fixed here and now. I am not accustomed to having my leadership questioned by Roscoe.

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Act III.

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MR. BROWN: Gentlemen, your budget has been fixed, and I want to see you deliver your best efforts as far as that budget will permit. Is everybody at work? I decided to co-operate with this Bureau during this campaign, and I want your full support and best efforts for Mr. Hoover.

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What I am really trying to do is to get this department settled on the work for Mr. Hoover. I hope that is clear.

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Dreadful.

Does Mr. Work know he is from Memphis?

Search me.

Where is Mr. Walter Brown?

Ask Barnett, he knows.

Have you heard about Chicago?

Roscoe and Senator Roberts, Homer Phillips and Calloway, and I hear Lethia Flemming has put her foot in it good.

Is Bill Lewis coming into the camp with us?

Don't know. Judge Cobb is in the other room, ask him.

Just heard from New York. Fred Moore and George Harris are at it again.

Looks like Bob Church is out of the picture now. Dr. Scott is running things to suit himself.

When will Dr. Hawkins be back? Ask Mrs. Douglass. Too bad about his wife. Just you wait till he gets back here and sees what is going on

Did you hear about the Democrats? All fighting about Morton being kicked out in New York. And Finley Wilson is going for Al Smith, he and Bob Nelson. Let 'em alone. They are crazy.

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Who is the Big Bug around here, anyway?

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Hawkins Returns: Silence for a Half-Day. In the Afternoon Dr. Hawkins Has a Conference. Vann, Holsey, Barnett, Lampkins, Vena, Andrews

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A Mr. Benjamin is upstairs, Mr. Hoover's close friend. Bob Church is in his office. More whispering.

The Bolt: Mr. Benjamin has cut off half the Negro newspapers. Thunder storms rise. The Budget is reduced. Letters to the papers go out from Vann and Barnett.

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HERALD
AUGUSTA, GA.

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BY E. A. LYONS

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The keynote speech was made by E. A. Lyons the chairman. His subject was, "Why I cannot vote the Democratic ticket now, regardless of my choice of candidate." The speech in part, follows.

"Fellow citizens, there is great danger in the negro leaving the Republican party where he is wanted, to go over to the Democrat party where he is not wanted. If we leave the Republican party, our own house now, we may not be able to get in when we come back, because 'the lillie whites' will be in, we will be outdoors and nowhere to go.

"If we vote the Democratic ticket and help elect Governor Smith president, who is friendly to us, we will also make it possible for Robinson, a Southern man, who has no outstanding record of being friendly to us, to become president of the United States. If the president should die. Wherever the Democrats are in complete control, negroes are not on the government's pay roll. I do not know of a negro in this state who holds an elective or an appointive office.

"Religion must not play any part in this campaign with us. If there is a fight on the Catholic by the Protestant, under no circumstances should we be a party to it, because the negro has been the beneficiary of both the Protestant and Catholic. Both the Democrat and Republican parties have fine men for their candidates, who are friendly to us. The only difference I see is that Governor Smith is a good man running on a bad ticket while Hoover is a good man running on a good ticket.

After the chairman had finished his talk, several others spoke. Then several committees were appointed as follows: committee on transportation, John Greene, James Elliott and Willie Avery; committee on publicity, T. I. Morris, Dr. R. L. Lockett, I. R. Brown, E. A. Lyons; committee on finance, J. H. Kendall, W. T. Kaigler, Mme. Annie Williams, Mme. Martha Stewart and Dr. E. C. Robinson; political news reporters, W. C. Pritchett and St. Beasley; committee on workers, Mme. Emma Hillson, Mme. Rebecca Golikely; committee on program, W. T. Kaigler, J. A. Campbell and Rev. E. Richardson.

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NEWS
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SEP 15 1928

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The colored Republican candidate for congress in Chicago, construes Mr. Hoover as pledging himself to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. We Southern white people believe that if the purpose of these amendments had been carried out the last fifty years, we could not live in the South. We believe that the unrestricted ballot in the hands of the negroes would destroy the South now and that force bills enacted by the congress would threaten the South with revolution and ruin.

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The News and Courier entertains the kindest feeling for the negro people. No newspaper has more insistently and constantly for fifty years condemned lynching and all manner of injustice and outrage practiced against them. We believe that the State of South Carolina is not giving them fair treatment in the schools, that it is denying them their just share of appropriations for public charities and benevolences. While it is insistent upon separation of the races in railroad cars, and in similar circumstances, it demands that they shall have accomodations as good as those given the whites for the same money.

Wherever the negroes have been given the ballot, trouble has been the sequel. In Chicago, Indiana, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, where they are numerous, unscrupulous politicians have plied them with money and liquor with resulting degradation of themselves as well as of the white people.

Men of fifty years ago when no municipal primaries were held. They will remember the excesses in which white candidates for mayor often engaged to obtain the support of the negro voters. Let them think of a statewide election for members of congress with two white parties striving to gain negro support.

In South Carolina the colored people are nearly as numerous as the white people

our pictures.

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(*A Voice from the Rear: Fine Lady, I know her husband.*

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Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Christiansburg Va. Messenger
Thursday, November 1, 1928

Republican

An Open Letter To Negro Voters

The following is a reprint of a circular being sent to the colored voters of the south by the "Smith for President Colored League," of 126 West 46th Street, New York City, in behalf of Alfred E. Smith for President.

This was a letter written by Wm. M. (Goose-Neck Bill) McDonald of Fort Worth, Texas, to Hon. J. R. Hawkins, chairman of the colored division, Republican National Committee, of Washington, D C., and is self-explanatory.

Literature stating just the opposite is being sent to the white voters of the same section from the Smith headquarters, but it seems their wires have become crossed and some of the pieces intended evclusively for the Negro, fell into the hands of the white voters. The letter follows:

401 East 9th Street,
Fort Worth, Texas,
September 6th, 1928.

Hon. J. R. Hawkins, Chairman
National Republican Jim-crow Negro Committee
Washington, D. C.

My Good Sir:

Through you, I wish to speak to all the Negroes of the United States. I adopt this method of writing to you because you have been selected and designated by the Hoover National Campaign Committee to represent, explain, defend and speak for Mr. Hoover upon all political, racial and economical questions affecting your race with which he will have much to do if elected President.

YOU KNOW

You are an able man; well versed in the hopes and aspirations of your race. You also understand the complex Governmental problems that confront the Negro throughout the United States. You and your associate members know that certain leaders of the Hoover National Campaign Committee have formed a coalition with the Ku Klux Klan and that the latter violently opposes political equality of all Negro citizens regardless of where they live. You know that the Republican Party Organization, in all Southern States, have been put into the hands of Lily White Leaders, and that lily whiteism in party counsel stands for the elimination of, and denies, black men and women the right to participate in nominating Conventions or primaries. You know that the Ku Klux Klan and the lily white, so-called Republican Party workers demand that Negroes be not appointed to positions of public trust. You know that there is an agreement between Old Mexico and the United States, entered into by the Harding-Coolidge administrations permitting un-skilled Mexican labor to come into the United States, while at the same time the agreement prevents Negroes, because of color, going into Old Mexico. You know that segregation of government employees is reprehensible, shocking to the righteous judgment of a great Nation and contrary to the policies of a just government, and that the Departments at Washinton are honey-combed and dominated by the humiliating and degrading policy of separating government employees because of color, during hours of labor. You know that the Inter-State Commerce Commission is clothed with power to control common carriers of the States and should order all common carriers to provide and render equal service commensurate with the tariff charged to colored travelers, regardless of the State traveled. You know that peonage is a species of slavery, outlawed by the Constitution and laws of the land; whether brought about because of debts, mutual obligations or trumped up charges of crime, and cannot be defended in morals, equity, or law and should be stamped out by the administrations wherever it may now exist in the United States. You know that lynching is a crime for which no excuse can be advanced, and that the wicked practice of lynching, burning, and mobbing of human beings ought to be stopped in the name of Civilization and decent government by the law enforcement Department of the United States; and that legislation should be urged and sanctioned by the administration to accomplish these ends. These measures are vital to the best interest of all Negroes, and so far as we are concerned, stand far above all other issues.

NO MORTGAGE ON US

I do not know your position upon these measures, nor do I know how Mr. Hoover stands upon them. That these wicked things exist is real and not imaginary, every man and woman knows to be true. There is no particular argument in slander. From slavery over a bloody and terrible path, we both have marched to freedom. No party has a mortage on us. No party, no political organization has any deed of trust on you or me, and we are the sole owners of ourselves. We both are indebted to the great, noble and splendid white men and women who lived in the North, East, West and South and took a firm stand against the enslavement of our foreparents and fought for the emancipation and freedom of black men, women and children in all the States of the Union.

FRIENDLY WHITE PEOPLE

There are, as you know in the South, thousands and thousands of white men and women who have accepted, in good faith, the results of the Civil War; men and women who love American institutions and wish to preserve this Nation; men and women, tired of racial hatred; tired of legislation based upon color; tired of disfranchisement, peonage, inequality before the laws of all the States and are longing for a real just government policy based upon mutual respect and confidence of all American Citizens, regardless of race, color or religion.

These white men and women are willing that colored men and women shall be free to labor and to enjoy the fruits of their labor and have equal protection before the law; willing that colored men and women shall vote and vote for the government of their choice; willing that our children shall be educated, and shall have all the rights of an American Citizen. These men and women are tired of the Ku Klux Klan and disgusted with lily white agitators and political demagogues. They refuse to be moved by the preaching of religious hatred, or (better said) the ranting of intolerant religious bigots. In them lie the future hopes of American Negroes. They are our friends and must be cultivated, don't you think?

HELPED TO PRODUCE GREATNESS

The United States of America is the most prosperous Country on earth. Three hundred years ago, these States were a vast wilderness peopled by a few savages. But today the wealth of the United States is three or four hundred billions of dollars. Perhaps it is not amiss to say that there are 10 million farms cultivated in the United States. You know that we helped to produce and create the great wealth of the United States, and that we are a part of all the greatness of America and the greatness of the American Government. We must know and have a right seriously to consider the character, the fitness, the ideals and ideas of each Presidential Candidate who offers himself for the high and powerful position of President of the United States. We are entitled to know his mind on issues and measures primarily affecting our complex economical, racial, and governmental problems. We know the mind of Mr. Hoover's Southern managers, Bascomb Slemp of Virginia and R. B. Creager of Texas.

MUST OPPOSE OPPRESSION

The Negro race, as you will agree, must never become hirelings of oppression or champions of unjust government or of governmental policies. Whoever is for political equality of all Citizens, regardless of color, the sacred rights of man, is a true American and we ought to defend him with our voice, pen and vote in the crisis that now confronts us. Nations have been saved by the grandeur of one man. Fate may have decreed Gov. Al Smith to be the man to save the American people from self destruction. Who knows? Washington and Lincoln were not accidents—they were born and directed by Providence to establish a free republic—the freest on earth, here in America.

PRESIDENT MUST BE A PATRIOT

Then, too ,above all things, a President of the United States should be a patriot. Gov. Al Smith of New York is a statesman and patriot. He is bigger than a party. Parties at best are only a means—the good of all the States, the happiness of all the people, the only end. Governor Smith, in principles, is as good a Citizen as there is in the United States. Speaking for myself, I shall wipe from the tablet of my memory the strokes and scars of two hundred years and blur with happy tears the wrongs recorded against our race and march to the polls on November 6 and cast my vote for Gov. Al Smith and Senator Joe Robinson, confident that if they are elected God will still rule the destiny of our Nation and the Government at Washington will still live.

DON'T WEAR BLOODY SHIRT

I wonder sometimes whether the United States is to be forever governed by men and parties full of hatred. full of color prejudices, full of malice and full of slander. This campaign on which you are entering is in some of its aspects the most remarkable political campaign of American history. It will be bitter, passionate, relentless, and desperate. You and I must not wave the bloody shirt or dig up acts of reconstruction days (just after the Civil War), and proclaim them to win a vote. Let ignorant demagogues send forth such appeal, but I beg of you to refuse to stoop so low.

bing of human beings be stopped? Who knows the mind of Mr. Hoover on this question? And is it impertinent to seek information with regards to his position and what governmental policies affecting our rights as citizens will be put in operation, if he is elected President?

OUR QUARREL

Our quarrel is with the Republican Party; not the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party as a political organization, owes the Negroes of the Southern States nothing; as a matter of fact, very little, if anything, to Negro voters in Northern, Eastern and Western States. We should do something to merit their political respect and confidence. You know for sixty-five (65) years, right or wrong, the Negroes South have voted solidly for the Republican Party and against the Democratic Party. This is true in nearly all of the States. I am firm in the conviction that if the Negro electors had served the Democratic Party as they have served the Republican Party during all these years, Southern white men and women—the Democratic Party—would not have deserted us and left us without a party, or the right to act in party councils. You know the Negroes have never demanded of the Republican Party political preferment commensurate with the service they have ren-

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MEMPHIS
TENNESSEE

OCT 28 1928

HISTORY OF REPUBLICANS.

West, Miss.

To The Commercial Appeal:

This is the history of "blunders" made by the Republican party.

1. The founding of the United States Bank in the early years of the nation. It was so corrupt that it almost bankrupted the young republic. Andrew Jackson, a Democrat, abolished it.

2. The forcing of the nation into the Civil War by its (the Republican party's) attitude towards slavery. The Republicans wished to take the slaves away from their southern masters without paying them anything. Of course slavery was wrong, but it was also wrong to bankrupt the south.

3. The treatment of the south after the Civil War when "niggers" and white trash together misruled the flower of the nation's aristocracy and white women were raped and white men murdered by negroes at the instigation of their white masters.

4. The credit mobilier, a national scandal. Cabinet officers gave government land to railroad men in return for valuable considerations, mostly money and bonds. This happened in Grant's administration.

5. The "Big Stick" policy, a ruthless running over of little nations by the United States. This was continued in the Harding and Coolidge administrations.

6. The Teapot Dome scandal, in which cabinet officers sold valuable oil lands for next to nothing in return for bribes.

7. The humbling of the south by placing negro political bosses over it. This was done by every Republican administration since the Civil War.

8. Mr. Hoover's abolition of the segregation order in the Department of Commerce forcing, by so doing, whites and negroes to work side by side.

9. The evasion of the flood control and farm relief issues by the Republican party.

10. The criminal libels circulated against Governor Smith, at least not condemned by the Republican party.

Very truly yours,
R. ARTHUR ALEXANDER.

dered the party, but have been contented to vote the ticket in and out of season, taking a crumb here and yonder without complaint, and being satisfied to be paid off in a delegateship to a State or a National Convention. I do not know what you think about it, but I think gratitude is a virtue and ingratitude is the blackest of crimes.

GUILTY OF INGRATITUDE

The Republican Party leaders are charged with ingratitude because of the things here complained of. I am opposed to the way the Republican Party has been led, used and directed for the past eight years. I have a right to enter my protest, as I am a Republican. Both the Harding and Coolidge administrations smell to Heaven. The Republican National Committee under the leadership of Will Hays is alleged to have spent $1,500,000.00 more to elect Harding and Coolidge than he had raised in 1920. This shortage had to be met and paid off. It is said that a scheme was worked out prorating this huge sum of money among the States, and the quota of each State was underwritten by certain men. And it is alleged that the patronage of the States was handed over to these men by the appointing powers at Washingtno to reimburse themselves for the sum underwritten by them and given to Will Hays to wipe out the $1,500,000.00 debt of the National Republican Committee.

CHARGES OF POLITICAL CRIME

On these allegations, the administration has been as quiet as a grave. Charges of conspiracy, bribery, and all kinds of high crimes have been made against Cabinet Officers, United States Senators, Governors, United States Attorneys, Federal Judges, Prohibition Enforcement Officers, National Committeemen, Republican Party Leaders, and Private Citizens high in the councils of the Republican Party. The Republican National Administration apparently did not know that these charges were being made by the public until it was alleged that Ben Davis, National Republican Committeeman from Georgia, and Perry Howard, National Committeeman from Mississippi, had accepted a few dollars of Hoover's Campaign funds to round up Hoover delegates to Kansas City and had sold a few post offices or marshalships. The administration had been sound asleep and could not be awakened until these charges were made, and when it did finally awake it galloped down to Georgia and Mississippi and indicted seven or eight Mississippi Negroes—Perry Howard, its right-hand-man, Friday, included.

Poor old Perry Howard must be offered as a scapegoat, or a sacrifice, to appease an outraged public conscience and to atone for the crimes, graft and corruption of the leaders of the Republican Party. True Republican men and women who revere the history, tenets, and lofty records of the Republican Party from 1860 to 1886, must, as I see it, clean out the filthy stables of the party, and the only way this may be done is to defeat Hoover and elect Al Smith President next November.

WHAT THEY SAY

They tell us that if Hoover is defeated and Al Smith is elected President, the Pope of Rome and Tammany Hall will run the Nation and the Constitution of the United States will be nullified.

These questions are smoke screens. They are political propaganda and a hullucination of evil minded persons. If Smith is elected President, you know that neither the Pope nor Tammany Hall will run the Nation, nor will the Constitution be nullified any more than it has been nullified under Harding or Coolidge by indirection. The basis for such political slander is founded in religious and racial hatred. I am firm in the opinion that Mr. Hoover must be defeated in November.

MY REMEDY

Why? you may ask. My answer—in order to rid the Republican Party and the Nation of a Government run by bootleggers, Ku Kluxers, Lily Whites, Segregators, Perjurers, Grafters, Corruptionists, and Conspirators to nullify the Constitution by indirection. A man who holds himself out as a leader of 10 or more million black men and women in the United States and who is just now urging us to vote for Mr. Hoover should at least let us know where Mr. Hoover stands upon these vital public questions and measures, to wit:

WHAT WE WANT YOU TO TELL US

1.—Certain leaders of the Republican Party, I mean Slemp of Virginia and Creager of Texas, have formed a hard and fast coalition with the Ku Klux Klan. And the Ku Klux Klan violently, uncompromisingly opposes the political equality of Negro Citizens with other Citizens in Government. These men are Hoover's Southern Managers. Will you tell the Negro voters of the United States where Mr. Hoover stands on this question? As said before, we know the stand of Slemp and Creager, but would like to know the stand of Hoover. Does he agree with his Southern managers?

2.—The Republican Party of the Southern States has been put into the hands of lily white leaders, and lily whiteism in party politics eliminates and denies black men and women the right to participate in nominating primaries or the affairs of party counsel and direction. Where does your Mr. Hoover stand on this question? Will you tell the American Negro? We already know where his Southern managers stand.

3.—The Ku Klux Klan as an organization, and lily white, so-called, Republican Party workers demand that Negroes be not appointed to positions of public trust under the Government. Does any Negro in the United States know where Mr. Hoover stands upon the question of appointing Negroes to positions of public trust in the Government? If you know, will you tell us? We know where Slemp and Creager stand on this question but do not know where Mr. Hoover stands.

4.—Is Mr. Hoover in favor of the agreement that permits unskilled Mexican labor to come into the United States from Old Mexico, while at the same time it prohibits Negro labor of the United States from going into Mexico? Will he continue or void all such agreements if elected President? What Negro knows Mr. Hoover's mind upon this question? And don't you think Negroes should know before they vote to continue the Coolidge policies? We know where Slemp and Creager stand on this agreement, but where does Mr. Hoover stand?

5.—Segregation of Government employees is reprehensible, shocking to the righteous judgment of a great Nation and contrary to the policies of a just Government. The Departments at Washington, D. C., are honey-combed and dominated with the humiliating and degrading policy of separating Government employees during hours of labor, because of color. Will Mr. Hoover continue this policy or void it, if elected President? Do you know, and as our leader, don't you think you ought to know and tell us before you advise us to vote for Mr. Hoover? We know where Slemp and Creager stand on this question. Does Hoover agree with them?

6.—We recognize the fact that the Interstate Commerce Commission is a potent factor in our Government, clothed with power to control the common railroad carriers of our country. If elected President, will Mr. Hoover, through this powerful Governmental Agency, urge that all common carriers provide and render equal service, commensurate with the tariff charged to black men and women who must sometimes use these carriers? Will the Negro leaders who are abusing all of us who have the courage to stand up and ask questions, speak out and tell us what Mr. Hoover has told them he would do, and how he would approach these questions if elected President? We want to know.

7.—Peonage is a species of slavery outlawed by the Constitution and statute laws of the land, whether brought about because of debts, mutual obligations, or trumped up charges of crime. It cannot be defended in morals, equity or law. Will Mr. Hoover, if elected President, use the Department of Justice to stamp out peonage wherever it may now exist in the United States? Don't you think that as a leader you ought to inform us with respect to Mr. Hoover's stand on this question?

8.—Lynching is a crime for which no excuse or justification can be advanced. The laws of all the States provide ample punishment for all persons who possess moronic dispositions. Will Mr. Hoover, if elected President, sanction legislation to the end that the wicked practice of lynching, burning, and mob-

PARAMOUNT ISSUES

I know that the issue of **farm relief** and **prohibition** are featured and stressed in this campaign as the leading issues, but over and above these issues, like Mr. Washington towers over other mountains, is the issue of **political equality, human rights and liberties, the protection before the law,** of every American Citizen, black and white alike. Witty statements, like "the Republican Party is the ship; all else is the sea," ridicule, and reciting the records of the Republican Party from 1856 to 1876, will not dovetail with the record of the Republican Party from 1920 to 1928. Millions of your oppressed race will bless the day that you were appointed to lead them, if you shoulder the task of having Mr. Hoover define his stand upon these vital questions.

With high personal regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

JOURNAL

Selma Ala

OCT 27 1928

Says The Negro Means To Have The Ballot

"The Defender", a negro weekly newspaper, published at Chicago, which is credited with a circulation of 160,000, and is sent into practically every state in the Union, carries a rather vigorous indictment of the Republican Party in its issue of Oct. 18. "The Defender" does not "bolt" or "throw over" the G. O. P. but it expresses a good deal of indignation that during the past eight years the negroes have been "fed on promises", without a single morsel of substantial food from the Republican table. "The Defender" says the Party is now again making its usual salaams to the negro voter, hoping again to lure him into its political parlor.

"The Defender" in its broadside editorial that breathes a spirit of defiance says "The colored people of the United States want justice and they mean to get it. For fifty years we have been held back from the ballot and denied that simple justice that is rightfully ours". "The Defender" further says: "The Republican administration has expended during the past eight years $360,000,000 trying to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and not one dollar has been spent in trying to enforce the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. These amendments have been ignored and spat upon by every President since President Hayes removed the troops from the Southland."

"The Defender" closes its scathing arraignment with this warning: "The negro in this election ought to refuse any longer to be the pawn on the political chess-board and to demand his birthright—the privilege of casting his vate and having it counted in every state of the Union. Then and not till then will he receive the consideration that has so long been flouted and denied him."

Political-1928
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

TELEGRAPH

Starke, Fla.

OCT 26 1928

WILL YOU VOTE FOR MIXED PRIMARIES?

If the Republican party polls 30 per cent of the total vote cast in the election of November 6, the Republican party will be required, under state law, to hold a primary in June, 1930, for the nomination of its candidates for the offices to be voted upon in the general election of November, 1930.

This Republican primary, under the state law, must be held on the same date as the Democratic primary. Furthermore, it must be held at the same polling places and conducted by the same election officers. Democratic and Republican voters in this double primary will go to the same places to vote, line up before the same election inspectors and mark their respective ballots. There will be a Republican ballot for Republican voters and a Democratic ballot for Democratic voters—but the voters of both parties will be in the same line.

This means that white men and women will be in close contact at all polling places with negro men and women, who will go to the polls to participate in the primary of their party, the Republican party. The very situation which our Democratic primary and our white municipal primaries were designed to avoid—the contact of white and blacks at the polls—will reappear in Florida. The fact that women are now qualified to vote and that they exercise that right accentuates the unpleasantness of the prospect.

Those misguided Democrats who vote the Republican ticket on November 6 will add their votes to the Republican total and thus aid in giving the Republican party that 30 per cent vote which will necessitate a joint primary in 1930, and the mingling of whites and blacks at the polling places in that primary. Democrats, therefore, who vote for the Republican candidates November 6 will be voting to bring back the distasteful and obnoxious conditions which obtained in this state before the Democratic primary was instituted, and to restore the contact of whites and negoes from which we have been free for years.

Isn't this a matter worthy of serious consideration by white men and women of this state?

Will they vote to establish the "mixed" primary, where no color line can be drawn

Will they vote to have white women elbowed and jostled by negro men and women at our polling places?

That's one of the things a Republican vote on November 6 means in this state.—Tampa Tribune.

EAGLE

Dothan Ala

OCT 23 1928

THINK THIS OVER

When Hoover and his friends planned his campaign in the National Republican Convention in Kansas City they selected a negro named Hawkins as one of those to second Hoover's nomination, and this he did. Have you read this speech? If not do so before you cast your vote in November. In it Hawkins claimed that the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth and the negroes who landed at Jamestown alone had developed the United States without the aid of the Southern white men and women and that now they should rule it. Further that the negroes now need another liberator like Lincoln to not only guarantee but protect them in the exercise of all the privileges guaranteed them by the Constitution and that they had found such a liberator in the man he so cheerfully seconded—Hoover.

The significance of this is not that a negro should hold these sentiments—but that the National Republican Convention should place upon them its stamp of approval.

And did Hoover repudiate these sentiments? Not at all. On the contrary he placed upon them his stamp of approval by promoting Hawkins to one of the chief chairmanships of committees in his campaign organization, this committee being composed of negro men and women from every state in the Union, including Alabama. In addressing the members of his committee Hawkins gave a remarkably clear definition of the Republican party as follows:

"The Republican party is our party, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the task of improving our civic and political status and condition."

The significance of this is that it is the official pronouncement of one of the accredited leaders of Hoover in his struggle to become president of the United States including Alabama.

Do not be misled. Our government has always, is now, and of necessity always will be, one of parties. You cannot separate the candidate from the party. You cannot vote against Smith without voting against white supremacy. You cannot vote for Hoover without endangering the solid south. And if you succeed in breaking the solid South, you will awaken to the fact that you have destroyed your party and will have none to which to return.

The Democratic party alone has thus far guaranteed to you the very security of your homes.

Will you remain loyal to the party of your fathers or will you desert to the party of Hawkins?

This is a real, substantial and pressing danger, beside which the imaginary fear of Roman Catholic domination pales into insignificance.

Mobile Ala. Post
Friday, October 26, 1928

THE AMIABLE CYNIC BLAMES DENNY FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE

So the Republicans, who began a back-firing on the real issue in the South by absurd slanders of the Democratic nominee, charging him with all sorts of concessions to the negro, now finding that they have failed in this and that the South is united in its absolute devotion to the preservation of Caucasian civilization, and firm resolutions not to take one step toward a return to the ruinous conditions which the Republicans instituted in unhappy reconstruction days, get up an alleged non-partisan protest of some forty-five persons, as the Atlanta dispatch informs us, against either side even mentioning this issue, threatening dire consequences from the future negro Republican votes of such "dragon's teeth" be sowed.

This brings us to the question, at whose door lies the blame? We ought to say the crime of attempting the enfranchisement of the inferior race, and the consequent disturbance of the cordial relations now really existing in the South between white and colored people, besides our continual understanding and respect which produces peace, contentment, and happiness on both sides. All know the answer; it lies at the door of the party of Thaddeus Stevens, Sumner and Stanton. No wonder they quail at the mere recalling to mind of this fact and seek by this paper, and similar ones, to terrify spokesmen for the democracy into the silence of abject fear. The Republican party alone created and maintains this issue.

From this unique document we deduce that when the South shall exhibit its adhesion to the Republican party and so become a negligible factor, the reconstruction conditions will be renewed throughout its borders. Read it and the threat is apparent.

* * * *

Why should Mobilians rend their garments and tear their hair for fear that Mr. Denny may cease to preside over the trustees and faculty of the State University?

To that gentleman is due the killing of the Mobile Medical College in large, if not complete measure.

This is well known to all the local physicians who were connected with that school, and to the trustees of it, who, under the solemn guaranty of the legislature which, requiring the transfer of it and its properties to the trustees of the university, declared, nevertheless, that it should remain "for all time" located in Mobile, and relying on that assurance, unconditionally so conveyed it.

Shortly thereafter the legislature by statute and in defiance of their previous plain pledge NOT to remove it from Mobile, enacted that if this, the state's medical school, lying under the state's control, failed to maintain a certain standard, then it was not to be brought to standard, but that it was to be removed from Mobile! Thus Denny, the malign enemy of that proud college founded by the internationally known Dr. Knott, who went to Europe for, and selected its unique anatomical museum, housed in a handsome college building (now a negro school) and provided in the great hospitals of the city, public and private, with wide clinical facilities, had his will wtth tt, doubtless hoping the while to carry it physically to HIS institution in Tuscaloosa.

Let the many physicians in Alabama, Florida, Mississippi graduated by it, be consulted and it is not likely that they would be found expressing gratitude to Mr. President Denny. I think Mr. Edward I. Buck, Mr. Gregory Smith, or Dr. Bondurant will fully and heartily corroborate what is above written. They were among those who went to Tuscaloosa to save the college.

And, by the way, to meet the needs and requests of the assailed college, and before it received its fatal wound the city built a splendid addition to its public hospital here at a cost of more than sixty thousand dollars—but to no avail, so far as retaining the school was concerned.

* * * *

Why is the hideous row of signs suffered to remain on the city's land at Arlington, and by whose usurped authority were they erected there, for we acquit our worthy and able Commissioner, Mr. Bates, though universally invested with control of parks and public grounds, of having had a hand in the travacation? Who was the "yes-man," and how much, if anything, did the city receive from the sign builder?

At all events these sign boards must come down—and quickly.

* * * *

The city having already over-run its borrowing limit, the two propositions now presented **must be voted down** at the coming election, now rapidly approaching. Let this not be forgotten, or this duty overlooked.

SEES RACE DRIFT TO GOV. SMITH IN WEST VIRGINIA

Republican Leaders Alarmed Over Prospects Of Negroes Going To Democrats

Charleston, W. C., Oct. 31—West Virginia Republicans have sensed a big drift in this State of Negroes to Smith, and are showing grave concern. The McDowell Times, Charleston's leading Negro newspaper, manifests great alarm lest voters of the race join with forces of tolerance in the support of Governor Smith. In big headlines the Times reports that "Al Smith boosters are telling the Republican Party to go to hell." This publication admonishes Negroes that they are "fools to desert the Grand Old Party after it has served colored voters so faithfully for so many years."

The chief reason for so much apprehension among Republicans is that two large meetings were held in Charleston and Huntington under the auspices of the Smith-for-President Colored League. They were the largest attended of any political meeting ever held in the two cities. The meeetings were addressed by W. H Moore, Armond W. Scott of Washington and Dr. C. F. Hopson, State chairman.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

MISSISSIPPI'S BALLOT TO SHOW ALL TICKETS

Howard and Sheldon Factions to Be Honored.

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 28.—There will be three presidential electoral tickets on the official ballot in the November national election in Mississippi. This was settled today in an opinion given by Attorney General Knox to Walker Wood, secretary of state and secretary of the state board of election commissioners. General Knox holds that according to the record placed before him by Secretary Wood, adn the statutes governing the question, both the Perry Howard, or regular Republican electoral ticket, and the Geo. L. Sheldon ticket, known as the lily white faction, are entitled to places on the official bollot. No question was raised as to the Democrats.

The Howard faction or party, is the organization that has been known as the Republican party in this state for the past 50 years, and which has been under negro leadership and control with a few white Republicans filling in, though never having a dominant voice. The Sheldon party is the new Republican organization which has declared for white leadership, white supremacy and white men for public office, though it had two prominent negro leaders in its delegation to Kansas City.

Both Mean the Same.

Both of these parties nominated straight-out white electoral tickets and both are for Hoover for president, so that there is no difference when it comes to a question of choice, and the bolting Democrats may vote for one with the same conscience as the other.

In his opinion Knox reviews the "record" before him by Secretary Wood, on which he bases his opinion, and says:

"I have given this record, which is rather voluminous, considerable study, and an examination thereof reveals that, proceedings in accordance with Section 7496 of Hemingway's code of 1927, two sets of people purporting to be members of the Republican party in Mississippi, called precinct meetings, county and state convention; one of the sets headed by Perry W. Howard, and the other by George L. Sheldon. The faction or party headed by Perry W. Howard held their convention at Jackson on April 18, at which itme they certified that they had selected certain parties as presidential electors, and a certificate to this effect was filed in the secretary of state's office signed by Perry W. Howard, 'chairman Republican state convention of Mississippi,' and signed by E. E. Robertson, 'secretary.'

"On April 30, there was held in the city of Jackson, a convention of the party headed by George L. Sheldon, who filed a certificate which is in the record, to the effect that the Republican convention selected certain parties for presidential electors, whose names they furnish in the certificate, said certificate being signed by George L. Sheldon, 'permanent chairman,' Ernest McCall Hawkins, 'permanent secretary,' and there is appended threeto the following certificate:

"'I hereby certify that the above is a true copy of the minutes of the proceedings of the Mississippi Republican state convention of 1928, held in the city Auditorium at Jackson, Miss., April 30.' Which certificate is signed by Ernest McCall Hawkins, permanent secretary.

"From the foregoing yiu will see that there are in the record two certificates showing that two Republican conventions were held, and two lists of names were certified to you as Republican electors, one list by each separate organization purporting to be an organizatoin of the Republican party in Mississippi.

"Thus, from the record you will see that theer are two lists of electors which have been certified to you by people who have complied strictly with section 7496 of Hemingway's code of 1927 and having done so, I do not see any reason or any law for denying either of said lists the right to be placed on the ballot.

"Having no other statute which I think is applicable to guide me, and having no knowledge whatever as to the inner workings of the Republican party either in Mississippi or out of Mississippi, a mdriven to the conclusion that it is your duty as ballot commissioners to place upon the ballot to be voted for at the November election, the names of the electors certified by both of these conventions."

SPRINGFIELD, MO.
Sept 28, 1928

NEGRO VOTERS HERE OPEN HEADQUARTERS

Meeting at the Washington Avenue Baptist church last night, more than 150 members of the negro division of the Greene County Hoover and Curtis club voted to open headquarters in the Masonic building, 225 Boonville avenue.

Plans for extensive campaigning among the negroes of Greene county were mapped out at the meeting, and the club unanimously approved the state and national republican platforms. An address by James Brewer, veteran politician here, was another feature of the meeting. It was announced that the next meeting of the club would be in its new headquarters.

The club elected the following committeemen and committeewomen to lead the county campaign: L. N. Smith, T. E. Mitchell, J. R. Gillam, J. F. Trout, H. T. Pike, Fred Williams, Allen Coleman J. E. Herndon, Robert Kemp, N. C. Armstrong, Jewel Bagley, P. Wilson, Charles Long, Harrison Rector, Walter Sherron, Robert Trout, Reverend A. W. Darton, Henry Barker, Shelvin Barker, Theodore Hudson and John Duffy. They will be aided as ward workers by Messrs Frances Boxley, Beaute Skinner, Cordelia Hardric., Catherine Dean, Luella Trout, Minnie Rector, C. C. Wilson, Maggie Wilson, Mary Barker, Clara Barker, Ada Stephenson, Virginia Duffy, Jessie Skinner and Nancy Bell. Reverend S. R .Wilson, president, is enthusiastic regarding progress of the club.

G. O. P. LILY WHITE ELEMENT FLAYED BY NEGRO EDITOR

Ben Davis, Hold-Over Negro Republican National Committeeman, Raises Flag of Revolt.

Evidence of a serious split in the republican organization in Georgia is seen in front page editorials carried in the two most recent issues of "The Atlanta Independent," the weekly negro paper published by Ben J. Davis, hold over republican national committeeman from this state.

The first of these editorials, in the issue of September 20, has been reproduced by the state democratic campaign committee, John R. Slater, chairman, and several thousand copies have been sent to all sections of the state, incontrovertibly showing the situation within the state organization of the party into which Georgians are being tempted to come, under the misleading label of "Hoover democrats."

In the opening paragraph of this editorial, Davis attacks another negro publication, the Negro World, which is edited by Marcus Garvey, of New York, who has spent several years in the federal prison here. Replying to this The Independent says:

"The Negro World, edited by Marcus Garvey but published in New York, was out in a long, disjointed, illogical editorial last week, taking the Atlanta Independent to task for being 100 per cent republican and giving Editor Davis a scathing rebuke for his continued loyalty to the party in the teeth of the party's treachery to him."

9-29-28

After enlarging upon this, the editorial continues:

"We answer that the Independent is 100 per cent republican because it cannot be bought by the democrats' money or be bulldozed out of the party by lily-white bastard republicans and commercialized negro grafters, who would sell their wives and daughters into political slavery and economical ruin, for pelf and plunder."

Further, it says:

"We are republicans and offer no apology for our faith. The Independent has the same right to go along with the republican organization that the World has to trail the democratic party outside of the ranks, with the hope of receiving a few crumbs from the hands of Heflin, Blease and Pat Harrison. We are not going to get out of the ship into the sea. We are republicans and no man inside the party, black or white, can make us forsake its principles because of real or imaginary grievances. Let come what may, our houses and we are going to fight it out aboard the republican ship.

In closing this editorial, Davis declares:

"Editor Davis is not a political victim of the republican party, but of a combination of lily-whites and mercenary negroes who would sell heaven for a dollar, a mug of beer or bottle of bootleg whisky."

Then, in the issue of September 27, in an editorial headed "Republican Half-Breeds a Menace to the Hoover-Curtis Ticket," Davis goes on record in terms which cannot be mistaken as to his true opinion of the "lily-white" faction of the party which he leads in this state.

Constitution

He opens by saying:

"The greatest menace to republican success in November is the curse of lily-whitism" in the south. For forty years these ignoramuses have been arguing to the national republican leaders that if the party would eliminate the negro from the party councils they would break the solid south, but have never made anybody believe their story except the lamented President Harding, who said before he died that he had been deceived by these crooks and set about to repudiate them, and correct the error that they had led him into."

9-29-28

"Lily-Whites" Despised.

Continuing in the same vein, the editorial further reiterates:

"The negroes despise the lily-whites and the lily-whites hate them unqualifiedly.

Atlanta

"The lily-whites vote in the democratic party primaries and want to hold all of the offices under every republican administration and control the party machinery in the south. All the trouble in the south today is traceable to lily-white treachery, perfidy and ignorance.

"The first step of the half-breeds, after they come into control, instead of working to elect the ticket, is to drive the negro out of the party. They never think of electing the ticket, but of eliminating the negro. They'll tell any lie, commit perjury or stoop to any depths to play their game. any depths to play their game."

While we do not believe that Mr. Hoover is a party to, or has guilty knowledge of this diabolical scheme to disfranchise the negro; plotted by the lily-whites and executed by his agents, we have many reasons to conclude that the scheme is being encourged by men high up in his war councils.

"In Georgia the regular organization surrendered everything to a white committee which has turned out to be a dyed-in-the-wool lily-white out-fit, which is carrying more scurrilous matter about the negro than the democrats are carrying. Charles Adamson, king of the lily whites, is sending out a letter soliciting funds and assuring those who will give, as an inducement, that the party will never have another negro national committeeman. This animal is at the head of our electoral ticket and was placed there by 'nigger' votes. He is only a sample of the lily whites who are doing more to defeat the republican ticket than to elect it. But Mr. Adamson has never been anything more than an ignorant piece of self-conceit without influence outside of his factory. If we hear any more of him, the 'niggers' who put him on the ticket will take him off. Just such men as he are responsible for the northern negro's attitude towards Mr. Hoover.

"The one effort of the lily-white organization is to eliminate the negro, discredit the organization that created it with a view of controlling the 'pie counter' after the election.

"The head of this lily white organization expressed the view the other day that if white speakers took part in the meeting in Clinch county at which the secretary of the regular organization was to be the principal speaker, Mr. Hoover would lose white votes.

"Who believes that Mr. Hoover would stand for this abominable rot and at the same time appealing for negro votes throughout the country? No, Mr. Hoover is too big to have any part in this conspiracy to humiliate the race. Hoover loves humanity, not races any further than races make up humanity.'"

Charlotte N. C. Dispatch
Sunday, September 16, 1928

Woltz Believes Hoover Leading Negroes Astray

Charlotte—Local politicians look with concern on what they declare to be a rising tide of hope on the part of Southern negroes that Herbert Hoover, Republican candidate for president, would open the way for them to again become a strong factor in Southern politics.

Senator A. E. Woltz, of Gastonia gave expression to the idea.

"They tell us," he said, referring to the efforts to submerge the Southern political nightmare, the negro issue, "not to say anything about it. 'Don't raise the nigger issue' Democrats and Republicans, both say 'let it alone.'"

"But I say," the senator continued, "that while we all stand in dismay at the idea of restoring the negro issue as it existed some years ago, yet the same thing is creeping up on us unaware from another angle, and it must be considered.

"Whether Hoover will give the negroes what they are hoping is a question which is not so important just now as their belief that he will do so. The whites and the blacks of the South are now in a situation fairly satisfactory to both. The races are getting along amicably and that is better and more important than their political views.

"Hoover has said, and negro leaders especially in the North and Mid-West are making capital of it, that not only the eigtheenth amendment should be enforced but also other amendments. He was doubt-

STORMS NO RESPECTERS OF PERSONS

According to announcement made this week at the Republican party's headquarters here, William H. Lewis of Boston, Mass., will support Herbert Hoover for the presidency. Mr. Lewis reached this decision after a lengthy conference here with Mr. Hoover at the latter's headquarters, Friday, September 7. After talking matters over with Mr. Hoover, the former Amherst football star, talked further with Dr. Hubert Work, secretary of the Republican national committee and Walter H. Brown who is one of the chief advisers of the Colored Voters' Division.

> Serene, I fold my hands and wait,
> Nor care for wind nor tide nor sea
> I rave no more 'gainst time or fate,
> For, lo! my own shall come to me.
>
> —John Burroughs.

Since William H. Lewis supported John W. Davis, the Democratic nominee in 1924, against his fellow Amherst student, Calvin Coolidge, his declaration of his support of Herbert Hoover occasions no small amount of comment.

The big question naturally is: What did Mr. Hoover tell Mr. Lewis that made him change his politics? We wonder if the reticent Californian amplified his declaration on "equal opportunity". If he did, how far did he say he would go in seeing that the Negro got an equal opportunity before the U.S. Civil Service Commission, or, before the Government department heads who recommend men for promotion?

How far did he say he would go in seeing that Negroes who take the examinations for admission to West Point and Annapolis get an equal opportunity? Does equal opportunity for all mean that Negro citizens will be permitted to cast their ballots regardless of the section in which they live?

Mr. Lewis being a man of culture, refinement and standing, would certainly weigh carefully the words of Mr. Hoover before he made a decision. We feel sure that no mere platitudes would sway this noted Bostonian nor would generalities receive much consideration from his legally trained mind.

We hope that it is true that Mr. Lewis, like Moses, has been carried to the mountain top and permitted to view the Promised Land. Mr. Lewis remains silent as to what he saw—whether it was a mirage or a real honest-to-goodness Promised Land flowing with big opportunities for the Negro.

Perhaps Mr. Lewis will at some time before the campaign ends, tell us what Mr. Hoover said.

WHAT DID MR. HOOVER SAY?

According to telegraphic and radio dispatches, hurricanes have left a path of death and destruction from the Virgin Islands to west Florida. In this area, hundreds of lives have been lost and millions of dollars worth of property damaged or destroyed? Several days ago Haiti was visited by one of these terrible tropical storms with resultant damage and loss of life.

In all the places visited by these hurricanes, hundreds and thousands of Negroes live. They have suffered along with the rest. In many places, especially in the Virgin Islands and Haiti, they were the greatest sufferers.

Appeals are now being made for relief funds, food, medicine and clothing. The American Red Cross and other relief agencies are acting as agents in receiving and dispensing these necessary items.

These appeals for help should find a response in the heart of every man and woman in this country. The hour of need is the time to give. Don't pass up these appeals without giving something, for disaster is no respecter of persons

ROSCOE PICKETT UNHORSED

As soon as Roscoe Pickett heard that Chairman Flanders had issued a call for a special meeting of the Republican State Central Committee, he sent out an S. O. S. call signed by himself and Ben Cofer notifying the members of the Committee not to attend the meeting, that he was chairman, and would issue a call for a meeting when necessary.

The members of the Committee poid no attention to his letter, for the reason, they considered him down and out. The Committee is composed of forty colored members, and thirty-one whites, a total of seventy-one. Every colored member was present in person, or by proxy, and twenty-three white members were present and represented, making a total of sixty-three present out of seventy-one. The members didn't pay much attention to Brother Roscoe's notice, who tries to act wise by imitating Coolidge's silence. Brother Pickett doesn't seem to know that it is hard to cover up ignorance with silence.

Let Roscoe call a meeting when he feels like it, and he'll see who will answer him. Our information is that Uncle Joe has adjourned politics, and is attending to his private business. And, four of the members who attended the Macon meeting were represented at Mr. Flanders' meeting here Saturday, November 17th.

Let's see whether Br'er Roscoe is a member of the Committee now or not. He was expelled under the following rule by the Executive Committee, and the full Committee met a few days later and ratified the action of the Executive Committee: "Article III, Section I, Powers of the Republican State Central Committee. The Republican State Central Committee shall have the power to make rules and regulations for the government and control of the party in the state and for the discipline of its members generally; to try and discipline its members for violation of any rule or regulation of the party; to remove from office or membership for cause, and to fill vacancies, and to declare office or membership vacant for failure to support party nominees or to carry out written instructions, or for breach of decorum in open meeting; to conduct the business of the party itself, or through sub-committees or designated individuals. It shall make up the temporary roll for state conventions, select and recommend temporary officers for state convention; to organize and call meetings for the purpose of organization in any county or congressional district where no bona fide organization exists; and to settle all disputes as to the integrity of organization, or disputes between individuals for office in the organizations.

The above is the party law in the state, and nobody will pay attention to any of the bolters. Pickett has never had anything except what the Negroes gave him, and when he proved recreant to the trust imposed in him, they unhorsed him.

MEMPHIS

TENNESSEE

OCT 23 1928

WOULD NOT BE CLASSED WITH BILBO.

561 N. Third St., Memphis.

To The Commercial Appeal:

Since Mr. Bilbo is so anxious to have Mr. Hoover answer if he thinks it would be "offensive to you (Mr. Hoover) or indecent, infamous or disgraceful for you to come in contact with or dance with a woman of the negro race—"

I would also ask Mr. Bilbo: If you did not think it would be offensive, indecent, infamous, or disgraceful.

Please, why did you think to tell the people of Memphis that Mr. Hoover danced with Mary Booz?

Were you trying to help Mr. Hoover?

According to the papers you did not use the word rumor.

Poor ole State of Miss.

As Mr. Sunday said. "Al Smith is without a party," so is Mississippi without a governor.

And in my deep sympathy I would suggest that if Mary Booz is really a good Methodist (regardless of color) that the good people of Miss. call a special session of the Legislature and appoint Mary Booz governor until they can do better.

Now, I am not a Republican by any means, but I would vote for Hoover now if for no other reason than to keep from being classed with the Bilbo bunk.

When the Democrats nominate a Democrat I'll vote for him.

Imagine New York State 600,000 Republican with a real Democrat governor. I can't.

J. W. EAGLIN.

MEMPHIS

TENNESSEE

OCT 23 1928

WOULD BE ASHAMED.

Memphis, Tenn.

To The Commercial Appeal:

You have published so much in the Voice of the People Column about the coming presidential election that I feel that I should voice my opinion. My territory extends as far south as Yazoo City, Miss., and in covering this territory I have heard all kinds of arguments about the qualifications and disqualifications of the presidential nominees. While I do not condemn any one for voting as his conscience dictates, I am at a loss to understand how any fair minded man who was born and reared in the south can feel justified in voting for a Republican for president. It seems to me that the past eight years of Republican rule featuring thievery and every conceivable form of corruption should be enough to turn any one against the Republican party.

Several radical newspapers have made much ado about some photographs of a negro commissioner of New York City dictating a letter to a white girl stenographer, claiming that this negro was appointed by Governor Smith, and asking the question, "Is this white supremacy?" It most assuredly is not, but that is in New York, where they have no race distinction. All we can do is disapprove of it. Some say that if Al Smith is elected the same thing will take place in the south. I do not agree with them. He is too smart a man to insult the southern people by appointing negroes to public offices in the south, for if he is elected he will know that the southern people elected him.

Quite a few people say they are going to vote for Hoover because Smith is a Catholic. I am frank to admit that I would be much better pleased with Smith if he were a Protestant, but he was the choice of the delegates we sent to the national convention, so I am going to support ihm. When a man who claims to be a Democrat votes against Smith because he is a Catholic, he is practicing the very thing for which he condemns the Catholics, intolerance. Besides being a traitor to the Democratic party he is a traitor to the principles for which our fathers fought and bled on the battlefields of the Civil War.

If I should vote for Hoover on Nov. 6 I would be ashamed to call myself a Democrat.

A. K. WILLIAMS.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation

HOOVER, BILBO AND COLORED WOMEN

Now comes Governor Theo. G. Bilbo of Mississippi, with a statement in the public press saying that Herbert Hoover, the Republican candidate for the presidency of the United States, did on one occasion, while on official duty in connection with the Flood Relief work, did stop at Mound Bayou and dance with a Negro woman—What if he did? There is no law, even in Mississippi against people dancing with each other.

To the best of our knowledge and belief this statement has not hurt Mr. Hoover so far as the public generally is concerned. If there are those who believe it, they no doubt, take position that it was his personal affair and thats that.

Of course, a charge of this sort brought a prompt denial from Mr. Hoover through his former secretary, but in doing so, we think the presidential candidate lost an opportunity to enlarge on the question raised by the Mississippi Governor. Instead of using so much space in denial, a few questions might have properly been asked Mr. Bilbo. He should have been asked: How many uncles, aunts, first cousins, cousins and children he has in Mississippi who have Negro mothers. Everybody knows that there are more mulattos in Mississippi than in any other state in the union. Therefore, such a question by Mr. Hoover would have been proper under the circumstances.

If this statement by Gov. Bilbo, creates an unhappy situation or serves to embarrass Mr. Hoover, he and his advisers are to blame. We have from the beginning warned the Hoover forces against flirting with the lilywhites of the South. We have regarded this so-called bid for electoral votes from the South by the G. O. P. as an unholy alliance, conceived and borned with the expressed purpose of eliminating the Negro as a political factor in the South. But luckily, such men as Theo. Bilbo will continue to raise so much hell and tell so many lies on the Republican party and the Negroes, that little progress will be made along the lily-white line for years to come.

So far as we can now see or even discern, judging from the signs of the times, it will take another Lincoln or a new party to bring about a change in the political geographic lines.

In some sort of a subtle way, the Chicago Defender, in a recent article by Louis Lautier, tried to show that Oscar DePriest would not be seated in Congress though legally elected a member of that body by the voters of the First Illinois District.

If the Defender had used such a large amount of space in an effort to elect DePriest, and let the seating take care of itself when that time comes, we think it would have rendered by far a more valuable service to the race.

According to a statement issued by George Akerson, former secretary of Mr. Hoover, the most indecent thing a white man could be charged with, is to say that he danced with a colored woman. At least that is what he said in his denial that Herbert Hoover danced with a colored woman while doing relief work in Mississippi.

Republican

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS

In the present political campaign, the Negro is experiencing more difficulty in finding himself than ever before in his political history. During the past four years, much grumblings have been heard coming from the leaders over the "disappointments" in the treatment the race has received at the hands of the G. O. P. which has been in power the past eight years. Attention has been called to the fact the present National administration has made radical changes in all the governmental departments, by replacing Democrats with good Republicans, yet there is one relic of the Wilson administration that the Republicans love and cherish, and that is racial segregation. This is something which could be abolished tomorrow if the powers that be would just say the word. The thinking Negro is beginning to ask: What does this mean?

Then comes the prominent part which the Ku Klux Klan is playing in the behalf of the Republican National ticket. The Klan is known to be an avowed enemy of the Negro. This unholy alliance with the K. K. K. shakes our confidence and clips our sails and leaves us still to wonder where our future haven shall be.

If we look to the Democratic party, we see the South, the solid South, our natural born enemy so far as civil or political rights are concerned, and while it is true that Governor Smith personally, and the very spirit of New York appeals to the Negroes, yet the possibility of Senator Joseph Robinson becoming President of the United States if he and Smith are victorious at the polls November 6th, leaves us as a race, still trying to find ourselves. As one has put it: "We are between the devil and the deep."

Say what you may, but the fight on the Catholics is regarded by the Negroes as akin to the fight against us—wholly unjustified. It looks to us like a chance for the Negroes to hook up with a strong ally in a common cause which will stand by us after the election is over regardless of who wins.

Of course, it is said that the Democrats don't want us—Well there are many signs on the horizon that the Republican party leaders don't want us, or they would treat us better.

If there is any deflection of Negro voters from the G. O. P. in large numbers, that party alone will be responsible.

HOOVER IN FULL ACCORD WITH PLAN OF LILY WHITES, SAYS SOUTHERN LEADER

HATTIESBURG, MISS—Herbert C. Hoover is entirely sympathetic with the South on the race question and in full accord with the policy to eliminate all Negroes from leadership, asserts T. J. Willis, one of the leading exponents of Lily-Whitesm.

In support of this claim, Willis says that at the Kansas City Convention former Senator Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin, gave him the following message from the Republican Presidential nominee:

"You tell Mr. Willis and others representing the white groups that after my nomination, if I am nominated, the Negro leaders will be replaced by white men. We are going to have a white Republican party in the South."

Here is Willis' version of what happened at Kansas City with Mr. Hoover in the background: "When Perry Howard and his delegates arrived in Kansas City they were lined up with Mr. Butler of Massachusetts and Hilles of New York, who were leaders in the party opposing the nomination of Mr. Hoover. Butler controlled the entire delegation from his State, while Hiles had half of New York's vote in his pocket; but Perry Howard and his gang had not been seated and we were up there to fight the recognition and prepared to cast our full strength for Hoover.

"Mr. Hoover stayed in his office at Washington, being personally represented in Kansas City by former Senator Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin. Learning of the fight between white and black factions of the party from Southern States, Hoover was appraised of the fact by a personal friend.

"Hoover is entirely in sympathy with the South on the race question since he has lived in California where the Orient has caused so much embarrassment. He understands the situation down here. He called Mr Lenroot in Kansas City and told him to bring utmost pressure to bear on the Credential Committee for the recognition and seating of the white delegates from the Southern States.

"But Lenroot, his personal manager at the convention, advised against the fight, saying that the nomination was already assured in spite of the Butler-Hilles opposition, and if the race issue were forced at that time it would result in unnecessary embarrassments.

"This was Hoover's answer: 'In that case you tell Mr. Willis and others representing the white groups that after my nomination, if I am nominated the Negro leaders will be replaced by white men. We are going to have a white Republican party in the South.

"And that is exactly what happened. Here in Mississippi Perry Howard and his gang are the same as out. He and his leaders have been indicted by the Federal Grand Jury and the white faction's Presidential electors are to be on the ballot. That means that after Nov. 6 the Negro faction here will be repudiated by the Republicans themselves in this state. It will mean that party affairs will have passed into the hands of reputable white men.

"When Mrs. Willebrandt heard from the lips of Lamont Rowland and and other Southern men * * * * that the situation described actually existed, she said she would immediately begin prosecution of Howard. I could not tell that when I came back from the Convention, for it was a Department of Justice secret that, if recounted, would have made me liable to the charge of contempt of court.

"All this background is given to prove that the Republican party today has changed its attitude. It believes that there are a large number of citizens in the South who would vote the Republican ticket if the party in their section is controlled by white men. and the party now intends to give them that privilege.

"Regeneration of the Republican party South of the Mason-Dixon line is one of the most significant phases of the current Republican election, according to Willis.

To the Editor of The Call:

Dean Kelly Miller and Editor Robert L. Vann, are two big Hoover boosters. We admire the zeal of both of these gentlemen, but can have no respect for their judgment. Dr. Miller thinks that his articles are so deep, learned and subtle, and that the Negro voters are so ignorant or dense that they are unable to comprehend the issues involved in the pending presidential campaign. He points out 1,000 good and sufficient reasons why Negroes should vote against the leadership of Mr. Hoover but he states that because of prohibition, all Negroes should overlook a thousand good and sufficient reasons against Hoover and for only one reason vote for Mr. Hoover.

But old man Kelly Miller is blessed with a wonderful mind. He has been sending out weekly well written. lengthy articles criticizing present day leadership of the republican party. The critiques which he sets down against the leadership of the republican party are severe, caustic, truthful and timely. His letters turn every man and woman capable of being politically insulted, dead against those leading the republican party, except himself. He convicts present day republican leadership, and proves without a question that these so-called republican leaders are headed in the wrong direction. But not for the life of us, can we divine why Dean Kelly Miller finds time to write these long, sharp, biting and truthful criticisms against present day leadership of the republican party, but winds each article up with assuring present day leadership of the republican party, which includes Mr. Hoover, that, "15,000,000 Negroes are going to brush aside all of the severe and wicked indictments, that he makes and vote to encourage and continue the leadership of which Kelly Miller himself so bitterly complains of."

Who gives Mr. Miller authority to so speak for the 15,000,000 Negroes of the United States? Kelly Miller deceives no body but himself. If he stands between Scylla and Charby dis, there are a few of the 15,000,000 of whom he assumes to speak for, find themselves in no such dilemma. We have sense enough to know that what he so learnedly points out against present day leadership of the republican party is true—and constitutes the blackest crime of ingratitude and party corruption ever recorded in the history of the republic.

Over against all of the physical and political crime, ingratitude, mal-administration of government, Ku Kluxism, Lily Whitism, graft, high taxes, trading and bartering the natural resources of the republican to powerful private monopolies, bribery and corruption of the present day leaders of the republican party; Kelly Miller stands for prohibition; (which is a part of the organic laws of the land and for which we cast our first vote and have advocated from 1887 to 1928) and urges his fellow countrymen to continue the leadership of the republican party responsibile for all the wickedness pointed out by him because this leadership pretends to be a noble experiment.

Mr. Robert L. Vann, owner, publisher and editor of The Pittsburgh Courier, thinks that all Negroes will barter their suffrage for gold without a thought or intention of delivering any service for that money. He says, "A great deal has been said about the pronounced defection of the colored voters. This is due to the fact that a great deal of money has been spent by the democratic party and they certainly are entitled to get a great deal of talk in return for a great deal of money. The huge joke of this campaign is the credulity of Mr. Raskob who has been led to believe that every Negro who accepts democratic money is going to vote for and work for Al Smith. Mr. Raskob will find out on the morning of November 6, that the Negro has been in politics a little bit longer than he has, and while he may know a great deal more about how to take the money in political campaigns, "without any thought or intention of delivering any service for that money."

This is a shameful, unwarranted and a slanderous indictment. It reflects upon the honesty, integrity, character and sincerity of every Negro man and woman in the United States including Editor Vann himself. He should out of self respect withdraw this foul and libelous reflection on his race. The Negro's worse and most uncompromising enemy could say no more aaginst the race.

We wonder if Editor Vann is talking from personal experience when he says, "Mr. Raskob will find out that Negroes know a great deal more about how to take the money in political campaigns without any thought or intention of delivering any service for that money." Did Editor Vann ever take money in political campaigns without any thought or intention of delivering any service for that money, and if he did, does it follow that all Negroes are to be judged by his actions? Editor Vann forgets tha all legislation which has for its ends the disfranchisement of Negro men and women is based on the presumption that Negroes are villainous, can be corrupted and accepts money in political campaigns without any thought or intention of delivering any service for that money.

Negro newspapers throughout the United States are all today branded by the enemies of the race as organs of vice, deception, hypocrisy, agitation, slander and even criminal libel and the enemies of the Negro race are now backed by the untruthful assertions of Editor Vann, made in a desperate attempt to ridicule the purposes and intentions of 75 per cent of the free and independent voters of his race who will vote for Gov. Al Smith, and who seek no official recognition and desire only that their children and themselves be allowed to labor and enjoy the fruits of that labor as all others are allowed under the stars and stripes.

Some day the Negroes of America will refuse to support and maintain men who for prestige or gain, slander and misrepresent the whole race. We have no brief and have not been called upon to defend Negro democrats, but we venture the assertion that 75 per cent of the intelligent, decent Negro citizens of the United States, whether republicans or democrats, capable of ebing insulted and who are disgusted with the record of present day so-called republican leaders, will march to the polls on November 6, and vote for Gov. Al Smith.

W. H. McDONALD,
Ft. Worth, Texas.

MUD SLINGING

—o—

The Negro is too much an argument in this campaign for his own good. Back in Civil War days, we were an issue, a legitimate one then. But now we are only a bogey man to frighten whites. Both parties use us, neither with good intent. The poor Negro, never an equal sharer in American prosperity, is proving the biblical truth, that from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath. Heflin shakes us before his party, and Moses does a similar turn for the republicans. Both parties would have our votes, but both take care to be lily-white.

Negro supporters of both candidates struggle against the pricks, but there is none of the old time fervor, because this year of 1928 is one national campaign which is labeled "a white man's election."

Negroes used to make a great ado, telling of the jobs we hold under this or that official or party. But the truth is Grover Cleveland, a democrat forty years ago, made more outstanding appointments of Negroes than any republican of recent years. The truth is we are fading from public life by appointment.

Now what shall Negroes do, facing the facts as they are? Shall we too descend to the level of the governor of Mississippi who thinks he attains political triumph when he asks Herbert Hoover "Did you dance with a Negro woman, and if you did not, would you dance with a Negro woman?" Or shall we answer from our standpoint the silliness of Moses who thanks Providence that no Negroes dictate letters to white stenographers in Washington?

We prefer to deal with politics as a means to better government, not as a mud slinging contest. We even feel superior to the politicians who get off the issue and go to making faces. The race between Hoover and Smith, even if the outcome is to benefit only whites in a large way, has its effect on Negroes. Because we too live here, we must make a choice. Whatever the neighbors say, Hoover or Smith is our president too.

We strongly urge our voters to keep cool under these trying circumstances. Let others rave, we must throw keep sane. Let white people throw mud, even at us. We can be sensible even in politics.

"All this background is given to prove that the Republican party today has changed its attitude. It believes that there are a large number of citizens in the South who would vote the Republican ticket if the party in their section is controlled by white men. and the party now intends to give them that privilege.

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Some day the Negroes of America will refuse to support and maintain men who for prestige or gain, slander and misrepresent the whole race. We have no brief and have not been called upon to defend Negro democrats, but we venture the assertion that 75 per cent of the intelligent, decent Negro citizens of the United States, whether republicans or democrats, capable of ebing insulted and who are disgusted with the record of present day so-called republican leaders, will march to the polls on November 6, and vote for Gov. Al Smith.

W. H. McDONALD,
Ft. Worth, Texas.

MUD SLINGING

—o—

The Negro is too much an argument in this campaign for his own good. Back in Civil War days, we were an issue, a legitimate one then. But now we are only a bogey man to frighten whites. Both parties use us, neither with good intent. The poor Negro, never an equal sharer in American prosperity, is proving the biblical truth, that from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath. Heflin shakes us before his party, and Moses does a similar turn for the republicans. Both parties would have our votes, but both take care to be lily-white.

Negro supporters of both candidates struggle against the pricks, but there is none of the old time fervor, because this year of 1928 is one national campaign which is labeled "a white man's election."

Negroes used to make a great ado, telling of the jobs we hold under this or that official or party. But the truth is Grover Cleveland, a democrat forty years ago, made more outstanding appointments of Negroes than any republican of recent years. The truth is we are fading from public life by appointment.

Now what shall Negroes do, facing the facts as they are? Shall we too descend to the level of the governor of Mississippi who thinks he attains political triumph when he asks Herbert Hoover "Did you dance with a Negro woman, and if you did not, would you dance with a Negro woman?" Or shall we answer from our standpoint the silliness of Moses who thanks Providence that no Negroes dictate letters to white stenographers in Washington?

We prefer to deal with politics as a means to better government, not as a mud slinging contest. We even feel superior to the politicians who get off the issue and go to making faces. The race between Hoover and Smith, even if the outcome is to benefit only whites in a large way, has its effect on Negroes. Because we too live here, we must make a choice. Whatever the neighbors say, Hoover or Smith is our president too.

We strongly urge our voters to keep cool under these trying circumstances. Let others rave, we must keep sane. Let white people throw mud, even at us. We can be sensible even in politics.

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Party Affiliation.

Georgia's Shame at the Kansas City Convention

The people of Georgia, as well as the Republicans, are entitled to know what happened at the Kansas City Convention, and who was responsible for the disgraceful scenes which happened on the floor of the Convention.

We had the most harmonious State and District conventions in the state for the election of delegates to Kansas City in the history of the Party. There was trouble in only two districts, the First and the Seventh. In every other district matters were harmonious, and there was no division among the Republicans. The State Convention was noted for its harmony, peace and tranquility, and in every district as well as the state, the Hoover sentiment dominated, and was only questioned by the possibility of the President being drafted. The President being out of the question, the state was unanimous for Mr. Hoover, and no delegate could have been elected who opposed him.

As to the question of National Committeeman, the State was unanimous. No name was mentioned except that of B. J. Davis, to succeed himself. At the State Convention, he was unanimously nominated and elected, and the delegates and alternates were unanimously instructed to vote for him, having been nominated by Joe Watson, of Albany, the man who later announced against him. The Convention, on both the motions of the Committee on Resolutions and Professor E. S. Richardson, of the Third District, instructed its delegates to support him for National Committeeman. Eleven districts, out of the twelve, either instructed for him, or endorsed him for re-election, yet, at Kansas City, Roscoe Pickett, Chairman of the Delegation, refused to present his name before the Convention, and nominated Joe Watson and Mamie Williams, who were rejected by the State Convention unanimously, except two votes. The Rules of the National Committee provide that delegates instructed for national committeemen shall obey their instructions, and if they do not obey them, that the Convention may vote that they shall not violate their instructions, and count their votes for the party for whom they were instructed. Among men, instructions are generally sacred, and held inviolate, but in this case a goodly number of the Georgia delegation disregarded their instructions and presented a humiliating and sickening atmosphere around the Convention. And, among those who utterly disregarded their instructions, and who savagely attacked the nominee of the Republicans of Georgia, by propagating falsehoods and misrepresentations, were: J. H. Watson and T. N. Hendricks, from the state-at-large; B. F. Cofer, Dr. R. C. Williams, Dr E J. Turner, L. H. Crawford, Roscoe Pickett, B. W. S. Daniels and Sol Clemons. Those who stood by their instructions and sought to maintain the peace and harmony of the Convention were: Professor William James, Captain A. T. Walden, Professor E. S. Richardson, F. P. Rogers, Jr., C. W. Hager, J. J. Wright, G. W. Drake, R. P. Hufstetler, George W. Bentley, Dr. W. H. Harris, Professor H. A. Hunt, George F. Flanders and B. J. Davis. E. W. Brinkins was on both sides, and nobody could tell with which side he would ally himself, as he had made affidavits that he would vote for both Davis and Watson.

Roscoe Pickett was elected chairman of the delegation by virtue of the fact that he was chairman of the State Central Committee. He, too violated the instructions of the State Convention, for the reason he presided over the convention that elected, and instructed the delegates to vote for B. J. Davis for National Committeeman. The delegates had one meeting, which he arbitrarily adjourned, refusing to permit the delegates to pass upon the National Committeeman and the National Committeewoman, and came in the Convention, without ever having submitted the question, and nominated Joe Watson for National Committeeman, and Mrs. George S. Williams for National Committeewoman, contrary to, and in violation of, the instructions of the State Convention, the Convention having nominated and instructed for B. J. Davis and Mrs. Sarah Watson King. The first break out of the box that Pickett made in the Convention, as chairman, was to get up and announce ten votes for the report of the Committee on Credentials for the Hoover people, and six votes for the Lowden people. This vote was challenged by several members of the delegation, and the roll was called, which revealed that the chairman had tried to rob Hoover of four votes, or that the double dealers had lied to him. When the roll was called, it showed fourteen votes for Hoover and two for Lowden.

Clark Grier and Hendricks were in charge of Watson's campaign; while Messrs. Rose, Flanders and Dr. W. H. Harris had charge of the Party's interest, in doing whatever they could to maintain party integrity and regularity. If there ever was a deliberate attempt to wreck the party, and to disorganize it, it was the effort of the Grier-Watson-Hendricks combination. It was openly boasted about the corridors of the hotels that they were going to reorganize the party when they returned to Georgia; that Ben Davis had too much power and authority, and that they were going to put him out; that he had more power and authority than a white man ought to be permitted to have, and that white men like Hager, Rose and Flanders, or who held federal positions, who sided with Davis, would have to walk the plank under the new leadership—Grier-Watson-Hendricks.

The Independent warned the Republicans of Georgia before the Convention, that it was not a fight on Davis, but a fight on the party organization, on party regularity and integrity. The grafters have not been able to disgrace the state as they desired, and they knew they could not do it so long as the present persons were in charge. Hence, in order to get back to old methods of handling patronage and conducting party affairs, it was necessary to destroy the organization as it presently existed, and the State Chairman joined those who were plotting and planning to overthrow his organization, because he was not able to control the patronage of the state under the rules, and draw a big salary as did his immediate predecessor. He double-crossed his friends, and openly said that he would not vote for Hoover, if he had to meet his own expenses.

Mr. Pickett states that it cost him $2,600.00 to be elected from the Ninth Congressional District to the Kansas City Convention, which is a scathing reflection upon the integrity and intelligence of the white people in the Ninth District, as the district is 99 per cent white. Mr. Pickett ought to explain to the Congressional Committee how he spent this $2,600.00, whether he spent it in buying up delegates, or how.

This statement is made that the public may be publicans of Georgia are greater than the delegates they elected and sent to Kansas City, who fully advised of just what happened at Kansas City, and who is responsible for the ugly scenes violated their instructions. on the floor of the Convention. The question resolves itself into this situation, whether the Re-

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AN INNOCUOUS PLATFORM.

The platform adopted by the Republicans at Kansas City consisted of the usual platitudes calculataed to placate contending factions and exalt party achievements in the eyes of its followers. The record of the Coolidge administration was indorsed without qualification and the record of the party declared to be a record of advancement of the nation.

Considerable space was devoted to the vital agricultural problem and the general depression in that industry, with a recital of the measures undertaken to relieve the farmers' burden. Assistance was promised in the reorganization of the marketing system on sounder and more economical lines by the creation of a Federal farm board, without, however, putting the government into business.

Prohibition was indorsed by quoting George Washington and Abraham Lincoln on the sacredness of the Constitution, and pledging the party and its nominees to the enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment. No such specific pledge was made to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, or any other provision of the bill of rights, so nullification of the franchise was condoned by implication, as has been the case before.

Under the head of "The Negro," appeared a perfunctory paragraph reading: "Review our recommendation that the Congress enact at the earliest possible date a Federal anti-lynching law, so that the full influence of the Federal government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime." This recommendation would have been stronger if it had recognized the fact that lynching is not only a crime against the Negro, who is mostly its victim, but against the State or country that tolerates it. As former Justice Hughes of the Supreme Court once defined it, Lynching is murder. A community that tolerates lynching is breeding potential murderers. The failure of the State to punish the crime of murder marks the beginning of anarchy. The evil does not end with the Negro.

The platitudes embodied in the platform do not mean anything at all, but an effort to convince the voters that the nominees will help the farmers, continue the abortive efforts to enforce prohibition and maybe introduce another anti-lynching bill for the Congress to kill in committee.

Negro Participation In The Republican Party

LILY-WHITES COME INTO POWER IN SOUTH; ESSAY TO EXCLUDE NEGRO

Councils On The Wane, Signs Of Time Show

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 22.—(By The Associated Negro Press) The battle which the lily whites are waging in many southern states to eliminate Negro influence in the councils of the Republican party stands out in clear relief here. With mounting money and office seeking integrity which frequently fails on the white northern cars sympathetically these renegades are crying aloud that with the Negro eliminated a white party can be built up in the south.

Several circumstances have suggested that the march of the pale faces has gained some momentum. In the contests Negroes have both won and lost. Texas, where Negroes have had but little opportunity to participate effectively in Republican politics since the days of Wright Cuney, two generations ago, has an entire white delegation. Bill McDonald of Fort Worth and Congressman Wurzbach, the only republican congressman from Texas, having met defeat with their "black and tan," group in which several colored men were included. The white group had declared for Hoover. The McDonald faction was uninstructed. The Hoover controlled committee mowed them down. The racial angle did not enter this contest. It was a matter of being for Hoover and getting seated and being against him and losing. Creager, Texas Committeeman, is an arch enemy of black voters, however, and his victory only serves to put off still farther the time when Negroes may gain a place in Texas politics.

Florida presented a similar situation. There lily whites captured the state organiaztion, ousting national Committeeman Bean by what has been termed a trick. Bean who had two colored men on his list, one Atty. S. D. MCGill, was beaten in a packed convention. The lilies promptly declared for Hoover. Bean and his contestants came uninstructed, but the committee ruled them out. They were not for Hoover. In Mississippi and Georgia, it was a different story. Perry Howard and Ben Davis, were for the commerce secretary. These 2 delegations with the largest number of Negroes of any were seated. The most pathetic case of the convention was that of Walter Cohen. Cohen who through the years has carried National Committeeman Kunze on his back had determined it is said to dethrone Kunze and have himself elected committeeman.

Kunz grown foxy through Walter's teaching, promptly went over to the lily whites and declared for Hoover. Then he instituted court action against Cohen and his followers delaying their organization. After he was freed from the injunction, Mr. Cohen held a state convention, but he was non commital. The committee refused his delegation a seat. A leader high up in the Hoover forces in a statement to the Associaten Negro Press said, "We were not against Cohen, but he was against us. This is a convention. We are seeking votes for Hoover. Therefore, there was nothing for us to do but defeat his group. We gave Cohen his seat because we wanted to show personal appreciation for him. There was nothing racial in our action. So that the mere necessity of getting Hoover votes proved fatal for those who were opposed to him. Cohen is making an appeal to the country asking that pressure be brought on the credentials committee to seat him. His plea before the committee is said by all who heard it to have been a masterpiece. But few think he has any further chance.

In Arkansas, Scipio Jones reports a more liberal attitude on the part of Committeeman Mallory and Wallace Townsend, who will go back as National Committeeman in this convention.

Lily white Tennessee, however, is fighting Bob Church with the most vicious propaganda they can muster. The daily papers of Memphis continue to excoriate him. The Memphis Commercial Appeal greeted his winning of

personally out of the convention."

A Catholic was called upon to offer prayer in preference to a protestant at the Republican Convention last week in Kansas, which only shows they don't hate them anything like as bad as they would picture the dark side to the democrats relative to Smith.—Fort Payne Journal.

NEGRO PRAISES HOOVER'S STAND ON SEGREGATION

Colored Republican National Committeeman Denies Lily White Machine Operated At Kansas City.

The following Associated Press news dispatch appearing in the daily papers last Friday brings more forcibly to attention Hoover's sympathy and encouragement to the negro voter through his stand on the abolishment of race segregation:

Washington, June 21.—Emphatic denial was made in a statement issued Thursday by Republicn National Committeeman, Perry W. Howard, of Mississippi, to charges that there was 'a Hoover Lily White Machine' at the Kansas City Convention.

Pointing out that the Mississippi delegation "was one-half white and one-half colored" as was that seated from South Carolina an that negro delegates from other states were recognized, Howard himself a negro, declared "that the Hoover people played the game fairly and squarely". And 'certainly kept faith with me in every particular."

Howard announced that he would take the stump "and defend Mr. Hoover without equivocation on the charge of Lily Whiteism attributed to his friends."

Mr. Hoover had taken a most forward step in abolishing race segregation, he declared "and has been on the square in all matters affecting our group."

It was not generally known, he said, that Mr. Hoover "had heard the cry" of Walter L. Cohen, Louisiana negro Republican leader whose seat was contested "and regardless of regularity his heart went out to him and a voice came from the Nation's capital to Kansas City saying "Don't turn Cohen

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Lily - Whitism Rampant At Rep. Meet

Few Race Leaders Attend G. O. P. Show

RACE VOTERS UNEASY

White Leaders Planning to Dethrone Negroes

Kansas City, Mo., June 12 (PNS)—The Republican national convention has let the world know it fully and completely endorses the program of lily-whitism. Practically every vestage of Negro leadership in the party has been driven out and the South has had its way. The political death of leaders in Texas, Louisana, Florida and Georgia bespeak the trend of affairs for the Negro and leaves small hope for the overthrow of lily-whitism. The white republicans of the South and the white men who recently have moved down there are determined to dethrone Negro political leadership in the South.

Race Leaders Absent

I don't want to give the impression that Negroes were not here attending the convention. They were here all right. But, very, very few of the real vote getters and influential race leaders were here. The delegates and alternates were here They had to be here, but the real race leaders, those who really count, were conspicuous by absence.

Leaders' Absence Significant

The absence of these leaders is really significant Very frequently you would hear the query, "where is so and so?" "wonder why he is not here?" "wonder why such and such person stayed away?" "Wonder what's wrong?" "It seems funny?" After hearing these various queries so frequently I, too, began to wonder what it was all about. Something must be cooking that we don't smell. Maybe the lid will come off the pot soon and we will know what the dope is. The situation is puzzling.

Show Went Over Big

In retrospect, the whole affair appears to have been pre-arranged and engineered by a clever theatrical press agent. "Mellon Holds Key," "Draft Coolidge," "Anti-Hoover" piffle seem to have been camofague catch phrases designed to rouse the rabble, create "copy," help continue to delude the disgruntled farmers while the lily-whites did their stuff in the prelude to the suns and daughters of Ham. The whole show went over big, each actor knew his lines, caught his cue. The result "brethren" were put out of political leadership in the South and Lily Whitism enthroned.

Race Leaders Smelled The Rat

Race leaders throughout the country must have been hep to the whole situation, smelled the rat as it were and politely remained away. I wondered why I could not find the big influential race leaders Wonder what they have up their sleeves? It's somewhat puzzling. Something must be cooking that I cannot smell. Time will tel.

GEORGIA NEGROES WAGE G. O. P. WAR

Joseph Watson Seeks To Oust Ben Davis; Wife of Albany Man Named Committeewoman.

BY OLIVER S. MORTON,
Associated Press Staff Writer.

Kansas City, Mo., June 9.—(AP)—Whatever comes of the insurgent movement that Joseph Watson, Albany negro, instituted against Ben J. Davis, Georgia's negro republican national cmomitteeman, tonight awaited the arrival here of Watson, who will be among the late comers.

Davis said Watson was endeavoring to oust him as national committeeman, but he was not committal except to assert that he did not expect anything to come of the movement. Watson is a delegate at large and his daughter, Sara W. King, has been nominated as national committeewoman.

Delegation Silent.

Members of the delegation on the ground were reticent about the movement. Some said Davis had "the upper hand with a majority of the delegates." Others said they did not know much about the matter.

It was generally understood among the delegates that Sara King had withdrawn her name from the nomination and this was looked upon as a move by the Watson wing to put the Albany negro in Davis' place. Watson's daughter likewise had not arrived.

Davis, who was sen about the Baltimore hotel where Herbert Hoover maintains headquarters, declared he still was uncertain whether all of the Georgia votes would be cast for Secretary Hoover.

Fifteen for Hoover.

"I believe, however, that Mr. Hoover will get at least 15 of the 16 votes," he declared. He did not say who might cast the single vote against Hoover.

Members of the delegation asserted that the Davis-Watson tilt had nothing to do with presidential candidates, but was a contest for leadership, if anything.

"The delegation was not organized pending the arrival of Watson and a caucus at which it was expected "everything will be settled."

C. W. Hager, United States district attorney for northern Georgia, and L. C. Crawford, United States marshal, were on the ground and said they would cast their votes for Hoover

William James, first district negro delegate, and E. F. Richardson, Marshallsville negro, likewise asserted they certainly would cast their votes for Hoover.

Republican.

High Point, N. C. Enterprise
June 13, 1928

50 Negro Delegates Republican Meeting

Fifty negro delegates and 10 alternates have seats at the Republican Natinoal Convention which is in session at Kansas City this week. This is a record. In previous years the Republicans in the South sent the most negroes to the National convention, but never before have so many States north of the Mason and Dixon line been represented by colored delegates. The migration of 700,000 negroes to the north, east and west after the World War has given Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio and New Jersey a large colored voting population.

The number of negroes by states is: Arkansas, 3; Georgia, 11; Illinois, 2; Kentucky, 2; Louisiana, 5; Maryland, 3; Michigan, 1; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 3; New Jersey, 1; Oklahoma, 1; South Carolina, 6; Tennessee, 1; and West Virginia, 2—Total, 50.

Alternates: Iowa, 1; Maryland, 3; Massachusetts, 1; Michigan, 1; New York, 2; and Pennsylvania, 2—Total, 10.

A majority of the negro delegates were for Secretary Hoover, but a stubborn minority held out for Lowden.

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.
JUN 12 1928

Out in Kansas City, as the Republican party enters on its convention, the Negro leaders, who wield a tremendous power with their votes in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania and some other States into which Negroes have poured during the past ten years, are causing some uneasiness. They are demanding "justice." While Senator Borah is cogitating his "Dry" plank, what are the Negro leaders cogitating?

"If the Republican party writes into its platform," they are saying, "a declaration for enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, it must include the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Negro leaders feel the amendments involving their suffrage rights are as sacred as the Eighteenth Amendment. The Negro voters throughout States where they exercise considerable influence have always looked with some degree of apprehension on the expenditure of millions of dollars by the Federal Government to enforce the Prohibition amendment while it has refused to give aid to the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth."

Southern "Dry" Democrats who want to listen to the "warnings" and heed the advice of the Anti-Saloon League, the Methodist Board and Bishop Cannon, to bolt their party in the event of the nomination of Governor Smith, because he is not "Bone-Dry," or because he is a Catholic, or because he is a member of Tammany Hall, and vote for the Republican party; Southern "Dry" Democrats who want to gang up with the G. O. P. and pal with "Negro leaders" who are going to contend for a plank in the Republican platform to attempt to destroy white supremacy in the Solid South are welcome to do so.

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.
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REPUBLICAN NORMALCY.

As the Senate Campaign Funds Committee ended its probing until after the conventions of the two major parties a day or two ago, it is not astonishing that the name of Secretary Hoover led all the rest in expenditures made in his efforts to win the Republican nomination for the presidency. His outlay, according to figures gathered by the committee, a purely bi-partisan organization, authorized by Congress in efforts to spot slush funds in political campaigns, shows the Hoover outlay as totaling $380,822, which it is stated, is a larger sum than that of all the other candidates in the race in both political parties combined.

There are fourteen active candidates in both parties for the presidency. The Hoover outlay is more than three times the sum spent for Governor Smith, and it is not far below the "scandalous" total expended by

former Governor Lowden's campaign committees in 1920. The difference in the totals is that while the uses of the Lowden fund in 1920 wrecked his bandwagon, the Hoover "expense account" seems to have been fairly normal for modern Republican contests.

One of the bitterest complaints in the Lowden camp at the present writing is that the Secretary of Commerce, through his Southern delegates-herder, Rush Holland, has handed out cash in blocks of $2,000 to such potent Negro National Committeemen as Ben Davis, of Georgia, and Perry Howard, of Mississippi, and that this system in 1928, has apparently been immune from criticism, while similar expenditures eight years ago spelled doom for Governor Lowden.

The Senate Committee's computations have been made by experts borrowed from the general accounting office of the government, and they have gone through all the assembled data of the committee. They give the total receipts of the fifteen (one, Willis, out by death) candidates investigating as $683,-023 and the expenditures as $731,087. The list is splendid data for this year's political scrapbooks. Receipts and expenditures for the fifteen candidates follow:

Republican:	Receipts	Expenditures.
Hoover	$339,028	$380,822
Lowden	68,123	60,922
Willis (deceased)	61,637	66,769
Watson	35,851	36,472
Curtis	12,255	11,539
Goff	None	2,979
Dawes	579	579
Norris	None	6,282
Democrats:		
Smith	$120,911	$121,471
Reed	41,430	38,752
Hull	1,845	845
Walsh (withdrawn)	1,257	1,690
Hitchcock	105	1,744
Pomerene	None	100
George	None	115

Total Republican expenditures come to $566,368.

The seven Democrats spent $164,728.

From these figures politicians who are fond of such indoor sport may make many classic deductions and arrive at some logical conclusions. For example is the Hoover pre-convention showing a forerunner of his post-convention running? In other words, if it takes a $2,000 ante to soften the track for Southern delegates in goose egg States, how much would it take for a similar purpose in a general election to satisfy Harlem negroes, who might turn a very favorable trick in a close vote in New York?

The last thing the Senate Committee did prior to recessing until after the conventions was to sift some more brain-storm charges of Senator Heflin, and then to decide, after the quiz, that such charges were without substance of truth. Senator Heflin had charged that through two commissioners, Governor Smith's personal friends, William H. Todd and William F. Kenny, both contractors, had profited heavily through New York City contracts.

Chairman Steiwer accordingly delved into that subject at length, discovering that out of $12,522,102 spent by the Commissioner of Plant and Structures since July, 1918, for boat repairs and construction, the Todd dry-dock, engineering and repair companies, which are outstanding, if not the leaders in their line, had done $2,290,926 of the work. The Kenny and Allied Hickey Construction Company had received contracts for $40,531 out of $509,714 spent for traffic control lights, &c.

Having pursued this line of inquiry, which is new to campaign fund investigations, and failing to substantiate the Heflin insinuations, the committee decided to shut up shop until the National campaigns get sufficiently under way to warrant reopening of the hearings. In passing it may be said the investigation has put all candidates in the open and it has muzzled the scandal-whispering squad effectually; having shown the Alabama harlequin up as a false prophet so unmistakably that Governor Smith's friends now look upon him as a real help in time of emergency.

CONVENTION LILY WHITE PROPAGANDA

Before the meeting of the Republican National Convention at Kansas City in some states in the South a struggle for control of the organizations ensued before the campaign for delegates fairly opened. In Texas and Louisana the regular organizations were in the control of men who favored Hoover; those fighting to secure control of the organization believing that if the control of the National Committee and the Convention should be anti-Hoover they would secure their seats in the National Convention and thus the control of the organization in their respective states aligned themselves with the opposition to Hoover. It was not a question of electing colored men on the delegation, the presence or absence of colored men was the incident which was used to further the effort to secure seats at Kansas City and the organization. Had colored delegates been amply spread throughout the so-called Lilywhite delegations the fight would have been made just the same without the mention of the color line.

It was a fight of the "outs" against the "ins" to get possession of the machine in order to control the patronage of the state the next four years.

The Republican organizations in both Texas and Louisiana came down with an unbroken chain of title of sixty years passing through the hands of Wright Cuney in Texas and Walter Cohen himself in Louisiana.

The real test of the attitude of the National Committee and the Convention towards lilywhitism is in the Mississippi case. Here Perry Howard, with an organization also with an unbroken chain of title of more than sixty years, was opposed bitterly by a lilywhite organization headed by a former Governor of a northern state, who baited his delegation with one or two colored delegates in order to conceal his purpose. The Howard, or regular delegation was uninstructed but favored Hoover while the lilywhite contestants were howling Hooverites, but the Howard regular delegation was seated and lilywhitism was rebuked.

The action of the Committee and Convention in seating contesting delegations could not have been different without overturning all precedents and violating long established rules of the party in such cases.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican

Says Perry Howard and Ben Davis Got $6,200 of Hoover $10,000 Fund

Rush L. Holland, Former Assistant Attorney General, Tells Senate Committee of Promotion of Secretary of Commerce's Campaign in South

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 21. — Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, and Benjamin Jefferson Davis, Republican national committeeman for Georgia, received a total of $6,200 out of a sum of $10,000 spent in Southern States to promote the Presidential campaign of Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, the special Senate Committee investigating campaign expenditures was told by Rush L. Holland, a former Assistant Attorney General, last Wednesday.

Amsterdam News

Mr. Holland has been active in the interest of Secretary Hoover in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and Florida.

He testified that he had received $10,000 at various times from Claudius H. Huston of Cattanooga, Tenn., for use in the Hoover campaign in Southern states. 5-23-28

He disbursed this money, he said, as follows: Mr. Howard, $2,000; Mr. Davis, $2,200; Oliver D. Street, white, Republican national committeeman for Alabama, $1,000; the Protective Tariff League of Florida, $2,500; Glenn B. Shipper, vice-chairman of the Florida state central committee, $500.

New York

Mr. Holland also testified that he had paid Mr. Howard the sum of $200 a week for the past 10 weeks for the maintenance of headquarters here to assist in the Hoover campaign.

Senator Alben W. Barkley, Democrat, of Kentucky, asked Mr. Holland if he had ever discussed with Mr. Howard the recent Department of Commerce order abolishing segregation of colored and white workers in the census bureau.

Mr. Holland replied that Mr. Howard had shown him a newspaper clipping telling of that order, but that he had no knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the incident.

NEGRO DELEGATE MAKES HISTORY

Represent Wealthy oBston District

(By Frank P. Chisholm)

Among the Negro delegates elected to the Republican National Convention in Kansas City in June, much significance is being attached to that of Walter Foster of Boston, Mass., who was recently elected as alternate delegate. Mr. Foster was elected on the delegation headed by Mr. Henry Parkman, Jr., of Boston. Mr. Parkman is a member of one of the oldest, wealthiest and most public spirited families of Boston. Mr. Parkman and Mr. Foster will represent the Eleventh Congressional District (Boston) Mass. This district represented by Congressman Tinkham now active on behalf of the 14th and 15th amendments. It is significant that the Parkman-Foster candidacy was the first successful challenge in more than twenty years to the uninterrupted political influence of the Charles H. Innes Boston organization. Mr. Foster was specially invited by Mr. Parkman himself to align himself with the Parkman forces.

Independent

5-24-28

Foster A Harvard Man

Walter Foster was born in Louisana, North Carolina in 1877. He came to Boston in a freight train September 1892 like a visiting hobo, his only baggage being 25 pounds flour sack containing all his worldly possessions. He was educated in the Rice Grammar school, Boston Latin School, Harvard College, and the Boston University Law School. Since 1909, he has been a practicing lawyer in Boston. He has been very active in the Republican party and in various campaigns has spoken all over the state of Massachusetts. He is a member of the Sons of North Carolina, Woodmen of the Union, and the People Baptist church in Boston. He has been active in the Boston Eastern Bible Association and was formerly a member of its executive board.

Since the days when he was the best friend and Harvard College roommate of the University beloved William C. Matthews, Walter Foster has been a fighter for the right socially and politically. In the last sixteen years his practice has been specialization in cases before the Supreme Judicial court of Massachusetts for final adjudication. In the famous suit of Jordan-Harah Company vs Collins and Sandler on suretyship, he argued for the defendant. The Supreme Court decided in his favor and it is said that this decision has determined a new principle in Massachesetts law.

Addresses Notable Gathering

During the campaign, Mr Foster spoke before many gatherings notably hose in the wealthy, exclusive back bay district of Boston. At these back bay meetings such names as the Parkmans, the Higginsons, the Shaws and the Ralloweller, were represented by the sons and daughters and the grand-sons and grand-daughters of men and women who were identified with the early abolition movement. They were profoundly impressed with Mr. Foster's thoughtful speeches and expressed deep interest not only in what he represented through his Harvard training but also in the fact that he espoused and embodied the cause of a race whose efforts to rise they and their fore-parents have always aided.

Eleventh Congressional District

The Eleventh Congressional District which Mr. Foster will represent is one of the most famous in Massachusetts. The whole country knows of the Bulfinch State House, the Boston Common with its Parkman bandstand and the public garden. In this district are monuments to Crispus Attucks and other heroes of the Boston Massacre and a monument to Robert Gould Shaw of Civil War fame. Also there are memorials to Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, William Lloyd Garrison and other distinguished sons of Massachusetts. The district comprises the back bay with its beautiful parks stretching aleng the famous Charles river, Old South End, historic Roxbury and beautiful Jamica Plains with its gorgeous lakes shady and winding drives.

Foster Makest History

Our hero not only spoke acceptably before some of the oldest, most distinguished and notable families of conservative Boston but also helped to defeat Charles H. Innes, himself a candidate, who is one of the best known political leaders in Massachusetts. Mr. Foster's victory completely upset the calculations of old, shrewd experienced politicians. It is a little too early to determine the significance of a Parkman-Foster victory in the best and broadest sense. Nevertheless, it is felt that Mr. Foster has made history in the sense that he and Mr. Parkman will become new types of political leaders of the Eleventh Congresional District in Massachusetts in which the generally of Boston colored people live.

CAN SOUTHERN VOTERS LINE UP WITH HOOVER'S NEGRO LEADERS?

(From Houston (Tex.) Post-Dispatch)

The adage that "politics makes strange fellows" is well illustrated in the case of a few Southern Democrats who are serving notice they will support Commerce Secretary Herbert Hoover in the event Governor Al Smith is nominated by the Democratic Party.

Independent

For Mr. Hoover, personally and through his campaign managers, is catering assiduously to Negro G. O. P. wardheelers and patronage dispensers throughout the South.

Atlanta

5-24-28

Only a short while ago, moved by the hope of winning states where the colored Republican vote is heavy, Mr. Hoover abolished the segregation arrangements prevailing in the Washington offices of the department of commerce and threw the Negroes indiscriminately among white workers, most of the latter being girls. Southern protests against the Hoover order abolishing segregation have been made in vain.

Among the campaign disbursements listed by Rush Holland, one of Hoover's organizers in the South, the heaviest handouts seem to have been made to Negro bosses whose activities have been under fire in connection with patronage abuses.

In various other ways Hoover and Hoover campaign organization have shown a tender solicitude toward the colored vote. It is doubtful if any other Republican presidential candidate of recent times has gone quite so far to emphasize views of social as well as political equality between the colored and white races. This yearning to please the Negro appears to be newly-born in Mr. Hoover's mind. The fact that it is politically inspired does not make it less conspicuous.

Southern Democrats who prefer to forget the color line rather than to support Al Smith in case he is nominated will have the privilege of contributing a Hoover campaign fund for Negro bosses of the Perry Howard type to spend.

By dropping into the department of commerce offices at Washington, D. C., they can see the Hoover ideal of social equality at work. In the campaign they can glad-hand various Negro national committeemen and other prominent colored members of the Hoover army. They can make an honest effort to deliver the Southern States over to G. O. P. rule, which in nearly every instance is on a black-and-tan basis.

By his own official action, taken at the express demand of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Hoover has said that he believes in the breaking down of segregation rules which protect the colored as well as the white race.

By his action through authorized agents, Mr. Hoover has made it plain that he will go any length to secure the Southern Negro vote. Naturally, he will be constrained to deliver in patronage what he receives in support.

If Governor Smith and Mr. Hoover are nominated by the respective parties, some of the strangest partnerships ever witnessed in the South will be formed. Southern Democrats, with the nightmare of reconstruction only one generation behind them, going over in at least an occasional instance to a Republican candidate who prefers to obey orders from the Harlem Black Belt rather than to heed the protests of the South against the mingling of Negro and white workers, elbow to elbow. Southern Democrats working side by side in the South with Negroes of the Perry Howard brand.

Truly, politics makes strange bedfellows.

Kansas City Telegraph
Monday, May 28, 1928

SOME WILL VOTE REPUBLICAN

Ben Davis, the Negro national committeeman of the Republican party from Georgia, received $2,000 for his services from the friends of a Republican presidential candidate. And yet some Southern white people announce that they will vote with Davis in the event the Democrats nominate a certain candidate for president. Well, we won't.—That's all—Adel News.

5-28

REPUBS SPLIT

DALLAS, TEXAS, May 22.—(AP)—Texas Republicans split their convention today under impetus of a heated wrangle between factions favoring the presidential nomination of Herbert Hoover and those holding out for an uninstructed delegation to the national convention at Kansas City.

Amidst scenes of disorder marked by the smashing of a plate glass door into the city hall auditorium and the arrest and release on $200 bond of C. C. Littleton, chairman of the Republican State Committee, for an uninstructed delegatoni, the followers of Littleton and Harry M. Warbach, the Lone Sta state's only Republican congressman, marched out to hold a convention of their own.

They left the Hoover adherents in charge of the municipal auditorium.

Both sides presented speakers at their conventions, however, to proclaim positive assurance of success when the matter of recognition was put before the national committee at Kansas City.

The Hoover supporters, headed by R. B. Creager, Brownsville, Republican national committeeman, met to name 26 delegates to the national convention and to instruct them for the secretary of commerce.

Those favoring an uninstructed delegation contended that only four delegates at large legitimately could be named, because 22 delegates recently were chosen at district conventions.

Those demanding an uninstructed delegation forced the reading of a minority report upholding their position, and then the trouble started.

TRIBUNE

MAY 1928

AFTER THE NEGRO VOTE.

The much discussed action of Secretary Hoover in ordering that negroes working in the census bureau be scattered among whites in the several offices is palpably a campaign gesture calculated to catch negro votes for him. There will be quite a few negro delegates at Kansas City, most of them from the South but some also from states like Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and other states necessary to Republican success. As close as the race for the Republican nomination now is the votes of negro delegates might easily prove decisive.

It could hardly be argued that Secretary Hoover has been on the job seven years and has just now found out that the negro employes had been confined to one section of the bureau. It took a protest from a quarter that indicated negro delegate strength to get the attention of the usually alert Mr. Hoover.

The new arrangement will probably last until after the election in November, and then no matter who is elected the negro census bureau employes will probably slip back into the basement to stay until another presidential election impends.—Lexington Dispatch.

Friends of the Commerce Secretary picture him as some gigantic being who cares nothing about public office or the high position that goes with such office. They picture him as a superior sort of man, with no ambition but one to serve his fellowman. They would make one think that Secretary Hoover would accept the presidency only as a sort of sacrifice.

All of which is pure bunk. He wants to be president and he is making the usual political gestures in his effort to land the nomination. We are confident the negro employes would be in their usual place today were it not for the approaching convention and election, and we are inclined to agree with The Dispatch in their belief that after November they will be segregated, regardless of who is president.

If Secretary Hoover is elected he will send them back, for they will have served their purpose. And if a Democrat is elected he will send them back on the cry that both colored and white employe are better off when in surroundings peculiarly fitting for each.

Mr. Hoover stooped to the level of the average politician when he made this bid for the negro vote.

NEGROES OF SIX STATES OPPOSE RIVALS IN CONTEST FOR PLACES

(Special to The St. Louis Argus.)—

KANSAS CITY, MO., June 7—Preliminary to the opening of the National Republican Convention in Convention Hall next week, the national committee began its important decisions on the contested delegations from the South Monday. Colored delegates from six states are among the group fighting for seats in the convention. Indications are that those of the Hoover following will be victorious, with the seating of most of the Negro delegates of the Hoover faction.

Florida Negro Loses

In the opening battle Monday the lily white faction of Florida, a Hoover group, was awarded the seats over uninstructed delegation of which S. D. McGill, a Jacksonville Race lawyer, was a member. A delegate of the lily white faction in describing the situation in Florida ascerted if the Republican party in that state ever was to obtain a recognized standing it must be under white leadership. McGill was a delegate-at-large.

Perry Howard Victorious

The second round of the battle Tuesday saw the victory of the group of colored contesting delegates from Mississippi led by Perry W. Howard, over the lily white faction, which had sought to prevent Negroes from taking any active part in the National Republican Convention. All of his delegation were instructed for Hoover Mrs. Mary C. Booze, Mound Bayou, National Committee woman being one of the delegates-at-large.

Walter L. Cohen, delegate-at-large, comptroller of customs at New Orleans was beaten by his opponent, Emile Kuntz, a Hoover man. Cohen was for Curtis, it was disclosed. Cohen got some consolation, however, when he was seated as a delegate from the first Louisiana District, Kuntz being instrumental in having a contest against him withdrawn.

Bob Church Scores Victory

Wm. M. MacDonald, Fort Worth, Texas, colored delegate-at-large, was a member of the uninstructed delegation that lost to the Hoover instructed group in the Texas contest. McDonald charged the victorious creager-Nolte faction with following a policy of discriminating against Negroes, which was denied.

Bob Church of Memphis, won a decisive victory over his opponents in the Tennessee contest. His right to sit in the convention had been challenged by Jim Quinn, also of Memphis, who accused him of sale of federal patronage and violating an agreement to divide Republican political power. Church's counsel insisted that he had been selected a delegate in an orderly way and was entitled to a seat.

LITTLE CASH CIRCULATED AT G.O.P. MEET

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 15.—(By The Associated Negro Press)—The Negro has profited little financially from espousing the cause of various candidates for the Republican nomination for the presidency of the United States if the reports circulating here are true. This, too, has revived the old report that white politicians had made a "gentleman's agreement" that they would not spend money among colored politicians."

Whether there is any ground for the report this correspondent does not know, but it is a fact that the brethren have not been on "the receiving end" to any extent. The Lowden group has spent literally nothing. In fact, it is said that their colored field agent, Melvin Chisum, was "donated" to them.

The Hooverites have shown a bit more liberality but the scant $2,000 which testimony revealed had been advanced Perry Howard and Ben Davis, which the daily press has been playing up, will do little toward paying the expenses of a campaign or a political convention, according to those who know. Perry W. Howard, Mississippi's astute national committeeman, presented expense accounts which showed that he was $4,000 "in the red," because of train fares, board bills, advertising bills, and the like which were necessary. On the other hand, Creager, the white committeeman from Texas, admits he received $7,500 from Hoover forces.

Political - 1928.

Party Affiliation

300 Negroes To Go To Work For Hoover Election

Largest Number Of Blacks Ever Organized Favor Repub Nominee

Work In All States

Washington Man Chosen Head Of Body

By RUSSELL KENT
Special Correspondent For The Advertiser

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2—The largest number of negroes ever designated officially as party committeemen will work for the election of Herbert Hoover and the Republican ticket in the present campaign. Announcement by Chairman Hubert Work of the appointment of the colored voters division of the Republican National Committee indicates appointment of more than 300 negroes, men and women, in all states of the Union.

This is by far the largest number of negroes ever named by the G. O. P. in a campaign, in modern times at least, although there has been a division for work among colored voters in each national campaign.

So carefully is the list of negro committee members being compiled that the first announcement, made Wednesday evening, does not include all the names, many of the committees being skeletonized until the full membership can be announced, which will be in the near future.

Hawkins Is Leader

The fight among the negroes for the post of head of the division has been won, as expected by John R. Hawkins, of Washington, who seconded Hoover's nomination at the Kansas City convention. Hawkins was attached to the New York City office of the G. O. P. in the Coolidge campaign four years ago. He is president of the Prudential Bank of Washington and is financial secretary of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Albon L. Holsey, secretary of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., and also secretary of the National Negro Business League, is made secretary of the executive committee of the division of which Hawkins is chairman.

R. R. Church, of Memphis, who has been a storm center of West Tennessee politics for years, is included among members of the executive committee, other members of which are Walter Foster, of Boston; Adelbert H. Roberts, of Chicago, who is an Illinois state senator; John E. Nail, New York City; Myrtle Foster Cook, whom the official notice from Republican national headquarters describes as a "prominent club woman of Kansas City;" Mrs. A. W. Hunton, of New York City, described as a "prominent civic leader;" and Dr. Emmett J. Scott, formerly special assistant to the secretary of war and secretary-treasurer of Howard University, Washington, D. C.

With the appointment of such an imposingly large committee of the colored voters division there is substantiation of reports that the Republican chieftains have abandoned hope of carrying any electoral votes of the "Solid South," by winning the votes of doubtful white Democrats and have decided to concentrate on states of the North and East, where the negro vote is a factor, the almost changing advice of Senator George B. Moses, Eastern manager, being laid aside with respect to the South. It is to be noted that negroes of the South as well as of the East and North are made members of the committee of the colored division, however.

Work's Views

National Chairman Work viewed the matter in these terms: "We are gratified that there has been such a fine voluntary response and pledge of support from the colored people. This committee is composed of leaders of thought and opinion representing their business, professional, religious and educational life. In my opinion, the election of Herbert Hoover will herald a new day of hope and opportunity for the group they represent."

Chairman Hawkins, of the division, took this view: "A spirited campaign in which business, professional and religious leaders of the race will have a prominent and active part is to be launched immediately. This program will give an effective voice to the rank and file of the race and will bring home anew to every colored man and woman voter the fact that the Republican party is our party, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the task of improving our civic and political status and condition. We must do our part in furthering its success as well as shaping its policies to fit the common need of our race and our country."

The division has committees on publicity, organization speakers, first voters, etc., whose chairmen and other officers are announced but whose full membership has not been completed. An advisory committee of 200 is being selected, with Charles W. Anderson, New York City, as chairman and Scipio A. Jones, of Little Rock, as vice chairman. Among other Southern negroes given places on committees, as announced thus far, is Lieut. George W. Lee, of Memphis, in charge of organization among colored ex-service men for the western bureau of the division.

The announcement from Republican national headquarters states that: "Mary M. Bethune, of Daytona, Fla.; Dansy Lampkin, of Pittsburgh; Sallie W. Stewart, of Evansville, Ind; Mary C. Booze, Mound Bayou, Miss.; Nannie N. Burroughs, of District of Columbia; S. Williams, of Savannah, Ga.; Hallie Q. Brown, of Wilberforce, Ohio and Lethia Fleming, of Cleveland, are among the outstanding women who, serving in various key capacities in the organization, are expected to develop great enthusiasm for Mr. Hoover among the colored women of the country."

Headquarters of the colored voters division will be in Washington in the Barr Building, where the Republican National Committee has its offices during the campaign, but branch headquarters will be opened in Chicago and possibly also in New York City.

Republican.

R. R. CHURCH FACING DOUBLE FIGHT IN TENN.

Lily Whites And Democratic Faction Train Big Guns On Republican Leader

WAVE RED SHIRT OF NEGRO DOMINATION

Hot Contest In Shelby County Over Votes Of 6,000 Race Democrats

MEMPHIS, TENN.—Facing a double bombardment from the Lily White Republicans and the Horton Democrats, R. R. Church, Reublican leader is making the fight of his life in the state primary elections August 2nd.

While Church and his lieutenants are centering their efforts on the fight again the Poole-True lily-white Republicans for control of the Republic State Executive Committee, he is also meeting the brunt of a fight being waged between the Crump and Clarence Saunders Democratic factions in the state-wide primary for governor.

Heads Ticket

Church is heading the regular Republican ticket and his running mates are Mrs. Grase Geldert, Mrs. Dave Hanover, and J. S. Shortle, all white. Running against them for places on the Committee are George H. Poole, E. M. Kinney and Mrs. Esther O. True, white. The Church organization is also behind Raleigh S. Hopkins for governor in the primary.

Doubl Eight

Making Church and Negro Democrats their target, the Horton faction of Democrats have injected the race issue into the primary fight being waged between Horton ann Hill McAlister for governor.

This fight has developed into one of the bitterest Shelby County voters have ever witnessed and under the leadership of Clarence Saunders, of Piggly Wiggly fame, the Horton faction. supported by the three daily papers. has sought to inflame white voters by broadsides in which Church is pictured as a herder of "ignorant Negro voters". Ed Crump, white, and former mayor of the city, is also said by the Horton faction to be lined up with Church to carry Shelby County for McAlister.

This Democratic factional fight against Church is based on the fact that two years ago under Church's leadership, 6,000 race men and women registered in the Democratic primary and voted for McAlister.

Republican Primary

The AFRO-AMERICAN learned through a lieutenant of the Church forces that the Negro voters will center their fight Thursday on the Republican primary and that because of the importance of the fight Church is making to keep control of the State Executive Committee, would allow the Crump Democrats to make their own fight.

It was learned, however, that a number of race voters, registered as Democrats, would participate in the primary.

Threats Ignored

Threats by the Horton faction to use strong arm methods to keep them from voting will be ignored, it was said. W. M. Staunton, white, chairman of the county Democratic primary Board has made a public statement that no registered Democrat will be barred from voting on account of race.

The Horton group have advocated barring the race voters and allowing only white Democrats to participate in the primary. Since the police depatment is under control of the McAlister faction, it has been assured that Horton watchers will not be allowed to interfere with race voters.

HAWKINS-HOLSEY WILL BOTH WORK FOR HOOVER

Dr. Work Officially Gives Names Of His Committee.

WASHINGTON, D. C., (By Wire) — Chairman Herbert Work of the Republican National Committee announces the appointment of a colored voter's division of the Republican National Committee to direct the Hoover presidential campaign.

John R. Hawkins, of Washington, D. C., at Kansas City has been made chairman of the executive committee. Albon Holsey, Sect. of Tuskegee Institute, and of the National Business League was chosen secretary.

The other members of the executive committee are Walter Foster, of Boston; State Senator A. H. Roberts, of Chicago; John C. Nalle, real estate operator of New York; Mrs. Myrtle Foster Cooke, clubwoman of Kansas City; Robert R. Church, business man of Memphis; Mrs. C. W. Hunton, of New York City, prominent civic leader; Dr. Emmett Scott, Sect-Treas., of Howard University.

"We are gratified," said Chairman Work, "that there has been such a fine voluntary response and pledge of support from colored people. This committee is composed of leaders of thought and opinion representing business, professional, religious and educational rights. In my opinion the election of Herbert Hoover will herald a new day of hope and opportunity for the group they represent."

Headquarters of the Colored Voters Commission will be in the Barr Building from which the National campaign is being conducted. Branch headquarters will be opened in Chicago and possibly also in New York.

In this campaign business, professional and religious leaders will have a prominent and active part.

Chairman Hawkins—"This token will give an effective voice to the rank and file of the race and will bring home a new realization to every colored man and woman voter that the Republican party is our party, conceived in liberty and freedom and dedicated to the task of improving our civic and political states and condition. We must do our part in furthering his success as well as his policy to fit the common need our race in our country. Other committees have been appointed to direct such activities among them.

The Publicity Committee

Robert Van, of Pittsburgh, Chairman; A Barnett, Chicago, Secretary.

Organization Committee—

Eastern Bureau

Fred R. Moore, New York, Chairman; Ernest T. Atwell, Philadelphia, Gen. Field Organizer; Lieut.-Col. S. T. Hamilton, D. C., in charge of organization for ex-service men.

Western Bureau

Carnelius R. Richardson, Richmond, Ind., Chairman; Homer G Phillips, St. Louis, Gen. Field organizer; Lieut. Geo. W. Lee, Memphis, in charge of organization for ex-service men.

Speakers' Committee, Eastern Bureau, George W. Harris, New York, Chairman.

Western Bureau, Roscoe C. Simmons, of Chicago, Chairman.

First Voters Committee, Raymond A. Alexander, Philadelphia, Chairman· Jesse Huslic, Toledo, Vice-Chairman.

Advisory committee of 200 with Charles W. Alexander, of New York, chairman. Scipio A. Jones, of Little Rock, Vice-Chairman, has also been named. Mrs. Mary M. Bethune of Daytona, Fla.; Mrs. Daisy Lampkins, of Pittsburgh; Mrs. Sally Stewart, of Evansville, Ind.; Mrs. Nannie Burroughs, of Washington; Mrs. Hallie Q. Brown, of Wilberforce; and Mrs. Lethia Flemings, of Cleveland, are among the women who are to serve in various capacities.

MARCUS GARVEY OUT FOR "AL" SMITH

NEW YORK—Marcus Garvey, head of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and editor of the "Negro World," wrote his paper from London last week advocating the election of "Al" Smith for president.

Garvey accuses Republicans of throttling Haiti so the National City Bank of New York can exploit it.

Hoover represents the party, says Garvey which "passes the buck," and makes false campaign promises.

Individually, says Garvey, Smith is better than Hoover.

Monticello, Ga., News
Friday, July 20, 1928.

SLUSH FUND FOR THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE NEGRO

(From the Athens Banner-Herald)

Fired with enthusiasm over the outbreak of supposed democrats in the South, joining the ranks of "Hooverism" the leaders of the republican party are planning a campaign for the enfranchisement of the negroes in this section of the country. It is a well known fact that the republicans are in possession of the largest "slush" fund that party has ever distributed during a presidential election year. Encouraged over the activities of the so-called Hooverites, recruited from the ranks of the democratic party, the republican leaders are planning a political amalgamation of the races that is bound will lead to the breaking of the "solid" South. To bring about such a condition however, it will be necessary for the new "lily-white" members of the republican party to co-operate and cast their ballots with the negro republicans. Even with a solid vote of those who may desert the democratic party along with the vote of the negro, loyal democrats do not believe that the use of the "slush" fund for the enfranchisement of the negro will overcome the democratic vote for the nominee—Governor Smith. However, it is a problem that can only be determined after the election and the votes counted. Should the political amalgamation process of the races prove successful it is but natural to presume that the negro would be restored to power and a period of reconstruction days, following the Civil War, enacted in every state of the South, carried by the republican candidate Hoover.

Recalling the scenes of the reconstruction period when federal bayonets guarded the ballot boxes and the flower of Southern manhood and citizenship were disfranchised, the action of Southern women in organizing and voting the republican ticket is conceivable. To desert a political party that freed them from negro domination; from the rule of the carpet-bagger and from force of negro equality is beyond a sane conception of duty they owe to their children and to the people of the South. If our womanhood forget the principles of democracy, which is dear to the hearts of every loyal Southerner, what hopes can we have for the preservation of white supremacy? Southern members of the Anti-Saloon League; the W. C. T. U., should scorn the dictates of these organizations to desert the democratic party on the grounds of prohibition enforcement. The wise leaders of the republican party, who are not friends to the prohibition cause, have capitalized these organizations for their use in deceiving the sentimental and blind dry forces of the South.

Those who desert the democratic party in the coming presidential election make themselves a party to restoring the dark days of the reconstruction period, when carpet-baggers ruled the South and negro domination reigned supreme.

The responsibility rests upon the voters of the South. Which shall it be? Negro domination and Hoover—or white supremacy and Smith?

A column of constructive criticism of men and measures in the hope of correcting errors and evils.

Mr. Robert Church, political leader of his people in Memphis, Tenn., is being made one of the most bitter issues in the campaign for the election of Tennessee's next governor. Anti-racial propaganda is being released by the page through the columns of the Memphis Commercial Appeal. Mr. Church has awakened his people to the power and value of their votes and has convinced the Tennesseans that the black people must be reckoned with. However he is meeting pernicious and fiendish opposition. Because the combined black vote has been placed behind fair-minded white caniddates opprobious and insulting language has been printed about the black people. Their friends among the white people have been styled "nigger lovers." This is the manner in which most white people who make an honest effort to be fair to their unfortunate brothers are described. Clarence Saunders, who started a chain of stores some years ago only to be wiped out by Wall street, is one of the most vicious and belligerent of those fighting Church. It clearly appears that Saunders, who is endeavoring to make a come-back, is mixing up anti-black propaganda with his business in the hope of gaining favor with the prejudiced southerners. It is an old scheme that has almost outlived its best days. Church is still in session nevertheless.

Lithonia, Ga., Journal
Thursday, July 12, 1928

The Macon Telegraph has made the most unalled for attack on the women of Georgia, and the members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in particular, in an abusive and belittling editorial, because these women, along with hundreds of thousands of others, will not swallow the Telegraph's candidate Al. Such unfair tactics as the Telegraph delight in engaging in will do his man no good. That paper said editorially: "The W. C. T. U.'s in Georgia are leaving the Democratic party on a question of 'moral issues' and are going to the Republican party without even holding their noses. Since, with them, prohibition is the only question in which a moral issue is involved, they are prepared to accept the leadership of the Negro whose sale of postoffices in Georgia provoked the patronage inquiry by the United States Senate that begins in Atlanta tomorrow. Since the W. C. T. U's are leaving the party in Georgia, they may not object to one bit of advice. They can save the money they are now spending on their official organ, The Signal, by abolishing it and making the Atlanta Independent, edited by Ben Davis, their organ." The insult in the closing lines of the tirade will not only be resented by members of that organization, but by men and women everywhere. The Telegraph does not tell you that there is no official Negro Republican organization in Georgia now. The Kansas City convention refused to re-appoint Davis' crowd or any other negro faction, and it would not be surprising in the least that before Mr. Anderson has the opportunity of voting for Governor Al(cohol) Smith, there will be a white organization functioning in Georgia, with leaders who have heretofore ranked high in Democratic circles. The big bug-a-boo about voting with the "niggers" won't get Mr. W. T. anywhere. Brother Anderson, don't you suspect, or know, that Al Smith will get as many negro votes in New York state alone, as will vote the Republican ticket in all the Southern states?

Political - 1928

Party Accilination

Republican

PROHIBITION AND DISFRANCHISEMENT

POLITICIANS strive to make the issues upon which they shall appeal to the electorate for a lease of power for their organization. In a democratic government, such as ours, we are governed through parties, and parties are usually dominated by the strong men in them, and not always for the public good. Indeed, politics is very much like any other business. Those engaged in it strive to get as much out of it, and to put as little as possible in it, as will insure their success. There are always two major parties, but in the last election it was shown that there are some fifty-seven varieties of parties, advocating all of the political isms in the latest unabridged dictionary. Every group of citizens with a grievance wants to get it healed in some way by legislation and form themselves into a party for that purpose. Many of these organizations are harmless, serving as escape valves for "the pent up Utica" of those who sponsor them, but others are dangerous and aim at the overthrowing of established government and radical rearrangement of the economic and financial systems which have become fixed as a part of our system of government. The two major parties, of course, are the Republican and Democratic parties. As far as the Negro is concerned, there is little difference in them and their alleged principles.

As the Presidential election approaches both of the major parties are striving for advantage in selecting issues that will appeal to the greatest number of voters. But it is noticeable that both the major parties are striving with might and main to keep Prohibition and Prohibition enforcement and disfranchisement of the Negro in the Southern States out of consideration as party issues. The leaders of both parties are afraid of those issues, because they are not sure on which side a majority of the voters stand with regard to them. The Southern Democrats, apparently, stand solidly for Prohibition and Prohibition enforcement and for Negro disfranchisement, while the Republicans of the other States are divided on Prohibition and Prohibition enforcement and very indifferent on Negro disfranchisement. And the Negro citizens is himself not unanimously in favor of Prohibition and Prohibition enforcement and vastly more indifferent to the question of Negro disfranchisement than appears good for him and his best interests. Negro disfranchisement may be kept out of the campaign as an issue, as it has been since 1877, because the leaders of the Republican party are afraid to force it, but it looks as if the people of the country would force both parties to make some decisive statement of policy on the question of Prohibition and Prohibition enforcement, because of the scandalous condition of affairs which has developed in the effort to enforce the Volstead act over the protest of a large part of the voters of the country.

The Negro citizens of the United States are vitally concerned in the outcome of the Presidential election, but for one reason and another they will exercise a smaller part in nominating and electing candidates than ever before since the election of 1876. Neither party appears to much care what the Negro wants or does not want, as a matter of justice and fair play, and, as a disorganized body of voters, he needs to pull himself together and take his bearings. He can't expect others to do it for him, as they are very busy attending to their own business, of getting as much out of politics and putting as little in it as possible.

NEGROES WILL RESENT THIS INSULT

—o—

Republican chances in the national election are being threatened by what is going on in Kansas City. Just as surely as "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" first uttered in an obscure meeting by a partisan, defeated James G. Blaine for the presidency in 1884, so a fairly certain victory for republican national nominees is being jeopardized by the failure of the party's representative in Missouri to demand decent treatment for all the republicans who come here to determine the party judgment. Dr. E. B. Clements, republican national committeeman for Missouri, broke into print recently in St. Louis, saying the Negro policemen there, appointees of a republican administration, were no good. Except for that one utterance, in all the years he has been national committeeman, he has not said one word which indicated that he knew Negroes even existed, and certainly no word which showed that he valued their support to his party. Now when Kansas City through the Chamber of Commerce committee invites the republican party promising hospitality by inference and by direct statement and follows that by insulting the Negroes, Dr. Clements says not a word.

What Kansas City does has no political significance. The whole people here, democrats as well as republicans, are host. But what the republican leader in Missouri accepts, segregation of Negroes for instance, is the party's. A slight put upon Ben Davis of Atlanta, by Conrad Mann of Kansas City is more than a personal matter. Dr. E. B. Clements will be like Saul holding the cloaks of those who stoned the Christians if he lets the insult stand unrebuked.

A Negro coming to the republican convention, representing a constituency, ought to be honored in his office however thought of as an individual. And it is because Missouri's national committeeman does not insist that this office be respected, that Negroes in the crucial states, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and others, will pay back at the ballot box, what is done against the race in Kansas City.

There is no reason why we should care for individual or organization that does not care for us. It is no favor the Negro delegates ask when they insist upon perfect freedom to do in this convention what they have done in Chicago and Cleveland. It is a play upon words when the Chicago dailies and Mr. Mann say that Negroes in other republican conventions were housed in Negro hotels. Of course they were, but not all of them. Given a free choice, some went to Negro hotels, and others to white. There is plenty of evidence and no denial that Negroes in Cleveland and Chicago stopped also at white hotels. There is no excusing mistreatment of Negroes from New York or from Georgia because Kansas City is in the habit of discriminating against us here at home. It is the segregation, the restriction against our going where we please, the intentional insult, the implied condemnation, when we object to, and which we now prophecy will cost the republican party victory in November if the republican national committeeman in Missouri, Dr. E. B. Clements, does not wipe it out.

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Kansas City Mo.

3-23-28

Cohen Carries Fight To Supreme Court

New Orleans, La., March 21.—(By the Associated Negro Press.)—A preliminary injunction enjoining and restraining Walter Cohen, comptroller of customs and men of his followers from interfering with the Republican State Central Committee and from attempting to name delegates to the National Republican Convention in Kansas City in June was made permanent Friday by Judge William H. Byrnes, Jr., in the Civil District Court. Cohen, through his attorney, W. O. Hart, says he will appeal to the Supreme Court. Eleven Republican committeemen affiliated with the faction represented by Emile Kuntz (Lily Whites) applied to the state court for the order.

LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS
MAR 18 1928

REPUBLICANS HAVE ACHIEVED HARMONY

Negroes Will Have Satisfactory Representation in Party Conventions.

A satisfactory arrangement for participation by negroes in the mass county convention of Republicans at the Chamber of Commerce auditorium Friday will be agreed upon, it was predicted yesterday by Wallace Townsend, chairman, and George L. Mallory, secretary of the Pulaski county Republican Central Committee.

Friction developed in the past few county conventions because of exclusion of negroes, but the problem practically has been solved through conferences with representatives of the negro Republicans, party leaders said. A delegation of 25 or more n will attend the convention, it w dicated.

Negro Republicans will be rep ed also on the delegations fro laski county to the Congressio trict convention at Russellville and to the state conventio May 3, according to the plan county is entitled to 20 deleg as many alternates at the di the state meetings.

Arkansas to Have 11 Votes.

One delegate and alternate to th national convention in Kansas Cit next June will be chosen at the dis trict convention, and four delegates a large and their alternates will b named at the state convention. Wit each Congressional district allowed on delegate, Arkansas will have 11 vote in the presidential balloting.

Mr. Mallory, national committeeman A. J. Russell, internal revenue collecto and state chairman, and other part chieftains for several months have ad vocated an uninstructed delegation t the national convention. It would b presumptuous for Arkansas Repub licans to sponsor any candidacy if i conflicted with the attitude of a ma jority of other delegations, Mr. Mal lory said, because the state has bee so strongly Democratic.

Herbert C. Hoover and former Gov. Frank O. Lowden of Illinois are continuing activities throughout the state, with the former apparently in the lead so far as assurance of friendly, though not instructed, delegates is concerned. Mr. Lowden's principal strength is in the eastern counties where he owns large plantations.

His personal representative, Ralph Bradford of Pontiac, Ill., visited Little Rock again last week, calling upon Mr. Mallory, Mr. Russell and Osro Cobb, secretary of the Republican state Central Committee and organization secretary of the Hoover-for-President League in Arkansas.

While the maneuvering for favorable delegates has been limited largely to the Hoover and Lowden forces, there has been increasing talk of the possibility that Vice President Charles G. Dawes may receive the nomination. Indications among Republicans here are that the Arkansas delegation would make no fight against the vice president if the trend should be toward him.

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.
JAN 30 1928

Baltimore, Jan. 27.

Foxy Old G. O. P.

To the Editor of The Evening Sun:

Sir—Considering the letter of "a Negro Reader" relative to Negro disfranchisement, I would like to know what good the vote will do the Negroes in any State of the Union. Several hundred thousands of them vote the Republican ticket every year and every four years they decide the issue for the Republican nominee—but what do they get in return? You never hear of one even being mentioned as a member of the President's Cabinet, although they are entitled to some recognition for handing their vote over without a struggle.

Any sensible person knows that Bill Broening would not appoint a Negro to any of the "cabinet" jobs in the City Hall nor would any Republican President even consider having a Negro in his Cabinet.

One thing you have certainly got to hand the Republicans—they are clever and foxy. They keep Catholic, Jew and Negro pacified, but after election they certainly also keep them out of the picture.

Baltimore, Jan. 26. Student.

NEGRO DELEGATE SUBJECT STILL UNDECIDED

KANSAS CITY, Mo., March 28—A query as to whether Negro delegates and visitors to the Republican national convention would be denied the privilege of visiting white delegates in their hotel rooms was presented Conrad Mann, chairman of the local convention committee, Monday.

Mr. Mann explained that the problem was for the hotels to handle. Local usage which does not permit regular use of hotels to Negroes, other than hotels for Negroes, would govern, he guessed.

The Negro delegates will be quartered by a local committee of Negroes assigned to the duty.

"It is my personal view," Mr. Mann says, "the Negro situation offers nothing different in convention times than in the usual case. I suppose Negroes desiring to visit white delegates in their rooms on convention business will be accorded the hotels' facilities as usual. When the convention was solicited, we made it plain that Negro delegates would find ample housing and restaurant facilities."

Blakely Ga News
W/ MAR 8 1928

Two white men and two negroes have been elected as delegates at large from Georgia to the National Republican Convention. The white men are T. N. Hendricks, of Edison, and G. F. Flanders, of Swainsboro; the negroes, Ben J. Davis, of Atlanta, and J. H. Watson, of Albany.

An Appeal To The Voters Of The 22nd Congressional Dist

EDWARDSVILLE, Ill., Apr. 4.—The day upon which the citizens of this, the 22nd Congressional District will nominate their candidate to represent them in the United States Congress is near.

In view of this fact, there are two aspirants of the Republican party, and I deem it my duty to speak to my fellow citizens in behalf of one of them, namely Attorney Perry H. Hiles with whom I am intimately acquainted.

Owing to the fact that he is not generally known to our race thruout this district, I feel it to be my duty to tell you something about this good man, yet, however, he is well known among the 10,000 Negro citizens of Madison County, who say only commendable things about him.

His generosity is well known and acknowledged by all citizens of this county regardless of race, creed or color.

In mind the paramount question?" Is he safe? Can we trust him in any official capacity with our interest? We should know the attitude of any person toward our race as a whole because some of us are aware of the fact that the majority of men elected to office act friendly to a few and are not in spirit and indeed friendly to us as a race group, but use a few of us to decoy the rest to accomplish their aim and then their friendship and interest ends.

Now then, I can attest to the unwavering friendly attitude of Mr. Perry H. Hiles to our race as a whole.

Several times in this city and county he has championed our rights educationally, politically and patriotically.

In referring to the latter, which refers to him taking the initiative in behalf of establishing a monument to the memory of a former Governor of Illinois for his generous act of freeing several score of slaves on the present site now occupied by the Lincoln School of this city.

The state Legislature appropriated $5000 to erect this monument, but no one seemed to be particularly interested until a local Negro organization interested itself to have it erected upon the above mentioned spot; and immediately a contest ensued by persons of have it placed where he, as well as the citizenry, of this city and in fact the country, believed it properly should be. He has worked untiringly for twenty-five years to improve our economic condition He, with other outstanding citizens defied and prevented the county jail from being stormed and men of our race group accused of crimes for being deprived of the due course of law. Such is the kind of representative you will have in Congress providing voters of my race, which is one of the greatest on earth, cast a solid vote for him. He stands four square on the race question.

He is not bias toward any race or group. He is interested in the welfare and prosperity of all citizens The things for which he stands are in keeping with his big heart for humanity. He believes every race man and woman in America should be permitted to vote according to the constitution of the United States. Therefore he stands for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and fifteenth amendments.. These amendments will not be enforced so as to allow our fellow race group in the south to exercise their franchise until those of us who are permitted to vote send men like Mr. Hiles to Congress who will vote for, speak and demand our rights. Last but not least, what ever local recognition the race is entitled to he will not hesitate in using his influence to secure it.

His nomination on April 10th and election in November will mean a victory for the Negroes of the 22d district as well as our friends of the other race and another real friend in the Congress of the United States.

The following individuals and organizations unhesitatingly endorse attorney P. H. Hiles: Rev. Charles Tinsley, former pastor of Wesley Chapel A. M. E. Church of this city; Phillis Wheatley Club Womens Federated Club; Progressive Club; welfare Ass'n. Baptist Ministers Alliances of East St. Louis; Ministers of the A. M. E. Church of East St. Louis District Conference.

Yours for race loyalty under circumstances,
[illegible] Gaines. —Adv

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

Klan Organ's Special Hoover Edition Proves A "Dud"

Was Advertised To Show Al Smith's Friendship For The Negro.

WASHINGTON. — The Fellowship Forum's muchly over-advertised "special edition", designed to show Al Smith's friendship for the Negro, made its appearance without creating the hoped-for sensation.

It proved to be a dud. In this issue, which advocated the election of Mr. Hoover and the defeat of Mr. Smith, there was published a picture of the Republican Presidential candidate.

Most of the articles were largely a hash of what has been appearing in the Klan's national organ throughout the campaign. A picture of Civil Service Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton of New York dictating to a white stenographer was again prominently displayed.

Race Mixing

In large type, reference was made to Negroes "rushing to Al Smith's ranks in the hopes of gaining race mixture."

"The evidence of the truth of this strange situation has been piled up so high that Smith's pro-Negro leanings are now generally accepted thruout the country, and political writers, even in the strongest pro-Smith newspapers, no longer seek to hide the real condition," reports the Fellowship Forum.

"On the other hand, in almost every report on the campaign from almost every State where the Negro votes, 'How the Negro Will Vote', is invariably mentioned — with the added comment that 'the bulk of the colored vote will go to Smith'."

Smiths' Address

In another article the Klan organ publishes what is purported to be a statement from the New York Times, made by Governor Smith at Liberty Hall, New York City, November 5, 1923, when addressing 5,000 Negroes.

"There is not a man in this State today who so firmly believes in the Declaration of Independence as I do, and I take it when the Constitution says, 'all men were created equal' it means what it say," Governor Smith is quoted as saying.

Copies Given Free

This statement by the Democratic Presidential nominee is published by the Fellowship Forum to prove that he advocates "social equality".

Copies of this issue of the Forum are being given away at Republican gatherings North and South, and in many instances where Republican Negroes have attended the meetings were handed one of these scurrilous sheets.

IT'S HOOVER

The great majority of American black voters are expected to vote for Hoover in the coming election next week. They have been bombarded from within and from without during the campaign as never before. They have listened to the diatribes and invectives of the campaigners, they have heard scholarly exhortations over the radio and they have read column after column of propaganda released through the newspapers. The religious issue has been whispered, the imigration problem has been shouted, the prohibition question has been thundered, the nullification possibility has been cryptically reviewed. Farm problems, segregation, and the bourbon south have also come in for their share. The Ku Klux Klan has been painted with word wizardry and the virtues of Abraham Lincoln have been paraded before the black voters with new and surprising artistry and the black voters are going to stay in the Republican ranks. But the most compelling reason that has been advanced is the threat and fear of Senator Joe Robinson. The thought of him in the presidential chair haunts the mind of black people. He looms up as a grim spectre of evil who spreads lynching, slavery and pandemonium all over the land. The black voters flee from Governor Smith when they think of the possibility of his demise in office, if elected, and the advent of Joe Robinson in the white house.

The black electorate distinctly remembers that Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in office in the Adirondack mountains when an assassin's weapon felled President William McKinley. They remember that Calvin Coolidge, the man of destiny, was sworn in in the White mountains when the Grim Reaper threw his mantle of death over the stalwart figure of Warren Harding. And they fully realize and appreciate that life is uncertain and only a flimsy thread separates us mortals from the eternal shores. They know that it exists within the range of the possible for our next president to fall in the service of his country and that the vice president would then be sworn in to finish his term of office, and with the thought of Joe Robinson taking his oath as president of the United States of America in the pestilential flat lands of Arkansas throws them into convulsive shudders of wild-eyed fear. It is a horrible thought, and therefore unthinkable for the average voter to put his cross in the Democratic circle.

There are other issues that carry weight and force but this is the one question that the glib-tongued orators cannot answer. Governor Smith is recognized as a man of ability and there are many who believe that he has the will to serve all the people of the nation but the black voters fear his associates. They know that "evil association corrupts good manners" and those who have entertained thoughts of bolting the Republicans retrace their steps, for the most part, and put their faith in Hoover and Curtis.

The black electorate has made a fairly accurate analysis of the present campaign and the Democrats have been given a listening ear to find out what the party and the east side of New York had to offer and since nothing whatsoever has been promised of a specific nature no good reason has been submitted to show why anything progressive and remedial was to be expected. On the other hand Mr. Hoover and his party have the precedents of the past. The people feel that the Republican party has done something in the past and they are hopeful that Mr. Hoover will carry out the traditions. They believe that he is cast in the mold of a humanitarian and they do not fear him. We will not expect our rights to decline under him.

Because of our economic situation the questions of water power, "state socialism," farm relief and tariff do not give us immediate concern. We are more interested in the ballot, segregation, discrimination and representation in the affairs of the government. Reason, common sense, history and hope line us up in the Republican ranks. If Mr. Hoover is elected we trust that he will serve all of the people without regard to race, color or creed. Its Hoover for us.

White People of South Face Most Critical Era Since 1860, Crisp Says

If Ranks Split, Social and Political Disintegration Will Follow, He Warns

Macon, Ga., November 1.—(Special.) — Representative Charles R Crisp told a large audience of voters here tonight the south is in the midst of the "most critical national campaign since 1860" in an address appealing to democrats of Georgia to stand by the national ticket next Tuesday.

"If our white people decline and the republicans succeed in the election," he declared, "our social and political civilization is endangered."

In his address the congressman lauded the qualifications and record of Governor Smith and excoriated the history of the republican party with regard to the south.

The speaker flayed tactics of the republican candidate, declaring:

"The republicans, realizing the desperateness of their cause, by a campaign of whispering, misrepresentation, and abuse, are making herculean efforts to divide the south. If the whites divide, the negro will be brought back into politics, his vote will be the balance of power between the parties, and our white supremacy over local affairs will be endangered.

"I appeal to the white people of the south to ponder well this situation and to do nothing themselves to light the torch that might bring political chaos upon our beloved southland."

Continuing, the speaker said:

"The democratic candidate for president, Governor Smith, is an able, honest, bold, courageous statesman the prototype of Andrew Jackson, a true tribune of the people. He possesses remarkable executive ability; he is warm-hearted, magnetic and a leader of men. His discharge of the duties of chief executive of the state of New York for eight years has demonstrated remarkable qualities of leadership. He has humanized the government of New York and has accomplished more real reforms for the benefit of the citizens of that state than any of its chief executives.

"His campaign for the presidency has demonstrated a marvelous grasp of national issues and a real capacity for leadership. If elected president he will humanize the national government and will accomplish, through his leadership, legislation that will redound to the benefit of the masses of the American people."

Compares Qualifications.

The congressman delivered a graphic descriptive comparison of the qualifications of Governor Smith with regard to those of other national leaders and predecessors in the white house. "It has been charged," he said, "that the only business qualification or experience that Governor Smith has had to equip him to discharge the duties of president was that as a boy he sold newspapers, at 16 drove a dray to support his mother, for three years was a clerk in a fish market at $75 a month, and later was president of a truck association.

"This assertion is cruelly unjust

and totally inaccurate. The promulgator of it evidently does not consider as business experience Governor Smith's long, honorable and creditable service in the New York legislature, as speaker of that body, as sheriff of the city of New York (which office President Cleveland also filled) nor his tenure for the last eight years of the governorship of the state of New York.

"It must be conceded by all that the duties of the chief executive of the state of New York more nearly approach the duties of president of the United States than those of any other position in the United States. As such he presides over the destiny of practically one-tenth of the people within the United States. That he has measured up to the responsibility to the highest degree of efficiency is testified to by such distinguished New Yorkers, republicans in politics, as Charles Evans Hughes, Elihu Root, Francis Peabody and Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia university, who has recently conferred its highest degree upon Governor Smith for his efficiency as governor.

"It may be of interest to note that President Coolidge was never connected with any business, but, from early maturity, was in state politics in Massachusetts, serving in both branches of the legislature; as lieutenant governor, and as governor, from which office he was elevated to the vice presidency and, upon the death of President Harding, became president. The duties of governor of Massachusetts are incomparable to the duties and responsibilities of the governorship of New York.

Hoover's Qualifications.

"Now, what are Mr. Hoover's business qualifications? He is a distinguished mining engineer, all of his activities in this line having been exercised in foreign countries, and, notwithstanding his knowledge of mining engineering, as a member of the cabinet, the government did not receive the benefit of his expert knowledge when the oil rights of the United States were bartered away by Secretary Fall!

Ingratitude of Hoover.

"He came into the limelight as food administrator under appointment of Mr. Wilson, and yet in his speech of acceptance and other public addresses he has never had the gratitude to say one kind word about President Wilson, the man who made him. In the discharge of his duties as food administrator, he had the assistance of thousands of the ablest business executives of the nation, who, through patriotism, were serving their country as dollar-a-year men; and, in the discharge of his duties in this capacity, business economies were not considered, overhead charges were enormous, expenditures were lavish, the sole object being to send the food abroad, this food being paid for by appropriations from the federal treasury and contributions by charitable people of the nation.

"As secretary of commerce, Mr. Hoover has discharged his duties with ability, but this is only one of the many governmental activities. Mr. Hoover's experience falls far short of that of Governor Smith to discharge the responsible duties of president. Friends, you need have no fear as to the democratic candidate's qualifications to make a great president of the United States!"

The paramount issue before the voters in this campaign, Mr. Crisp asserted, is remedial farm legislation. "The economic situation on the farms is deplorable," he told his hearers. "Farms are being abandoned, lands and homes are being sold for taxes, bankruptcy is facing thousands of our farmers; and, unless something is done to ameliorate these conditions the rural sections of our country will become peonized and pauperized.

"Governor Smith, realizing the gravity of this situation, has pledged himself to support and work for farm legislation, and, in my judgment, the surest way to get farm legislation is through the democratic party. Governor Smith's election will give immediately to the southern cotton farmers this rellief—that Secretary of Agriculture Jardine will walk the plank—Jardine, who last year, by his unauthorized, illegal announcement that the price of cotton was too high, caused the southern farmers a loss of over one hundred millions of dollars. Republican success means that Mr. Jardine will continue secretary of agriculture and again be in a position to crush the southern cotton farmer.

G. O. P. Farm Policy.

"For seven and a half years, the republicans have been in power. They have played political football with farm legislation and, if entrusted with power again, the farmers of the nation cannot look to this party of the special interests, the party dominated by the manufacturers and preeators wealth of the country, to give relief. Cheaper fertilizer would be a boon to the agricultural interests of the country. For eight years the power trust and fertilizer interests have defeated the manufacture of cheaper nitrates for agricultural purposes at Muscle Shoals. The last congress submitted a bill to the president, which would have given the farmers nitrogens at one-half the present cost, but President Coolidge pocket-vetoed the bill. Governor Smith publicly advocates the manufacture of nitrogen at Muscle Shoals for cheaper fertilizer and pledges himself to support and advocate farm relief legislation, carrying out the farm plank of the Houston democratic platform, which the ablest farm leaders of the United States agree will restore agriculture to a prosperous basis.

"The republican party was organiz[illegible] in opposition to the south and, up to this present hour, has been antagonistic to it. As an evidence of this, in the Kansas City platform is a plank favorable to the Dyer anti-lynching bill, a law aimed directly at the south. It does not apply also to the gangster gunmen of Chicago and Philadelphia and elsewhere who commit murder for a pittance. . . . I am opposed to lynching and, as a citizen, would do anything in my power to prevent one, for I believe in law and order and the courts, but this is an infamously unjust and outrageous law. In every lynching there are two principals—the unfortunate victim, usually a woman, who has suffered worse than death followed by death, and the brute lynched.

How the Dyer Act Works.

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G. O. P. HALTS OPENING OF DELAWARE SCHOOL

WILMINGTON, Del. — There has been excitement galore in Wilmington the past week over the opening of a new colored high school, which has been built and equipped by Pierre S. du Pont at a cost of over $1,000,000. Politics is said to be at the bottom of the trouble.

Du Pont is a supporter of Smith for President and recently gave $50,000 to his campaign. Republicans who are in power in the school and municipal offices are accused of being dilatory in appropriating the money to take up the administrative work in connection with the opera-tion of the school.

Citizens are holding protest meetings and have had several conferences with members of the School Board, which carried its complaints before the School Board is headed by Dr. J. B. Stubbs, Dr. H. B. Jamison, and Charles H. Colburn. The feeling is general that Mr. du Pont and they municipal offices are not being given fair considera-ing dilatory in appropriating the money. There are seven members of the School Board, six of whom are work in connection with the opera-Republicans and one Democrat. tion of the school. The Howard High School has twelve classrooms, eleven special rooms, a cafeteria, modern apartments, rest room and store room. It is the most modern and up-to-date school building in the city.

and totally inaccurate. The promulgator of it evidently does not consider as business experience Governor Smith's long, honorable and creditable service in the New York legislature, as speaker of that body, as sheriff of the city of New York (which office President Cleveland also filled), nor his tenure for the last eight years of the governorship of the state of New York.

"It must be conceded by all that the duties of the chief executive of the state of New York more nearly approach the duties of president of the United States than those of any other position in the United States. As such he presides over the destiny of practically one-tenth of the people within the United States. That he has measured up to the responsibility to the highest degree of efficiency is testified to by such distinguished New Yorkers, republicans in politics, as Charles Evans Hughes, Elihu Root, Francis Peabody and Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia university, who has recently conferred its highest degree upon Governor Smith for his efficiency as governor.

"It may be of interest to note that President Coolidge was never connected with any business, but, from early maturity, was in state politics in Massachusetts, serving in both branches of the legislature; as lieutenant governor, and as governor, from which office he was elevated to the vice presidency and, upon the death of President Harding, became president. The duties of governor of Massachusetts are incomparable to the duties and responsibilities of the governorship of New York.

Hoover's Qualifications.

"Now, what are Mr. Hoover's business qualifications? He is a distinguished mining engineer, all of his activities in this line having been exercised in foreign countries, and, notwithstanding his knowledge of mining engineering, as a member of the cabinet, the government did not receive the benefit of his expert knowledge when the oil rights of the United States were bartered away by Secretary Fall!

Ingratitude of Hoover.

"He came into the limelight as food administrator under appointment of Mr. Wilson, and yet in his speech of acceptance and other public addresses he has never had the gratitude to say one kind word about President Wilson, the man who made him. In the discharge of his duties as food administrator, he had the assistance of thousands of the ablest business executives of the nation, who, through patriotism, were serving their country as dollar-a-year men; and, in the discharge of his duties in this capacity, business economies were not considered, overhead charges were enormous, expenditures were lavish, the sole object being to send the food abroad, this food being paid for by appropriations from the federal treasury and contributions by charitable people of the nation.

"As secretary of commerce, Mr. Hoover has discharged his duties with ability, but this is only one of the many governmental activities. Mr. Hoover's experience falls far short of that of Governor Smith to discharge the responsible duties of president. Friends, you need have no fear as to the democratic candidate's qualifications to make a great president of the United States!"

The paramount issue before the voters in this campaign, Mr. Crisp asserted, is remedial farm legislation. "The economic situation on the farms is deplorable," he told his hearers. "Farms are being abandoned, lands and homes are being sold for taxes, bankruptcy is facing thousands of our farmers; and, unless something is done to ameliorate these conditions the rural sections of our country will become peonized and pauperized.

"Governor Smith, realizing the gravity of this situation, has pledged himself to support and work for farm legislation, and, in my judgment, the surest way to get farm legislation is through the democratic party. Governor Smith's election will give immediately to the southern cotton farmers this relief—that Secretary of Agriculture Jardine will walk the plank—Jardine, who last year, by his unauthorized, illegal announcement that the price of cotton was too high, caused the southern farmers a loss of over one hundred millions of dollars. Republican success means that Mr. Jardine will continue secretary of agriculture and again be in a position to crush the southern cotton farmer.

G. O. P. Farm Policy.

"For seven and a half years, the republicans have been in power. They have played political football with farm legislation and, if entrusted with power again, the farmers of the nation cannot look to this party of the special interests, the party dominated by the manufacturers and preators of wealth of the country, to give relief. Cheaper fertilizer would be a boon to the agricultural interests of the country. For eight years the power trust and fertilizer interests have defeated the manufacture of cheaper nitrates for agricultural purposes at Muscle Shoals. The last congress submitted a bill to the president, which would have given the farmers nitrogens at one-half the present cost, but President Coolidge pocket-vetoed the bill. Governor Smith publicly advocates the manufacture of nitrogen at Muscle Shoals for cheaper fertilizer and pledges himself to support and advocate farm relief legislation, carrying out the farm plank of the Houston democratic platform, which the ablest farm leaders of the United States agree will restore agriculture to a prosperous basis.

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Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Negroes Use Hoover Money In Fight To Beat Whites In Southern States

WASHINGTON, May 29—(AP)—While the Senate campaign funds committee was delving today into uses made of money given Southern negro Republican national committeemen to further the campaign of Herbert Hoover, the investigation suddenly became a two-headed affair.

The House injected itself into the heretofore almost exclusively Senate field of inquiry by adopting the Snell resolution calling for appointment of a committee to investigate the campaign expenses of candidates for the vice-presidency, the House and Senate as well as those for president, now being examined by the Senate.

When the new investigation will get underway is not determined. Under the chairmanship of Representative Lehlbach, Republican, New Jersey, the committee will determine its own course, being directed under the resolution of Chairman Snell, of the rules committee, to report its findings by next Jan. 1.

Serving with Lehlbach will be Newton, Minnesota and Nelson, Maine, Republicans, and Ragon, Arkansas and Black, New York, Democrats.

$15,000 Spent In Georgia.

In a session broken by the necessity of the inquisitors rushing off to participate in a vote on adjournment the Senate committee learned from Ben J. Davis, negro Republican committeeman for Georgia, and Perry W. Howard, in the same role for Mississippi, that $15,750 had been spent by them in those states on behalf of Hoover.

It learned also something of the fight there between negroes and whites for control of the Republican organization.

Both witnesses said they were not so sure now as they were a few months ago that Hoover would get the support they had counted on in their home states.

Davis related that opposition to him had sprung up in Georgia and that delegates were being told that he had received large sums of money from the Hoover campaign chest and had not divided fairly with the other delegates. He denied that the reports were true, but said he was not certain that the complete delegation could be delivered to Hoover.

Mississippi Gets $11,000

Howard, a special assistant to the attorney general here, said $11,800 had been spent in behalf of Hoover in Mississippi and added that a "lily white," organization had sprung up, backing Hoover's candidacy and fighting his organization. The fight, he said, would be carried before the Republican National Credentials committee at Kansas City and there, he said, if he finds that he has "been double crossed" in favor of the "Lily Whites," he might not vote his delegation for Hoover.

Davis told of receiving $2,200 from Rush L. Holland, a former assistant attorney general and one of Hoover's campaign managers. Of this sum $200 was for his traveling expenses, the witness said. He was on the stand about two hours and was often confused by questions fired at him by the inquisitors. First he said the money he received had been used to pay campaign expenses including stenographic hire. He admitted that the stenographers already were employed in his office and then he said the money had been turned over to the Georgia state committee to meet expenses of delegates to the state convention. He presented bills for having printed, as advertising, calls for the National and State Republican conventions in the paper of which he is editor, the Atlanta Independent, amounting to less than a thousand dollars.

In addition to the money received from Holland, the Georgia committeeman testified he had received $750 from J. H. Watson, another Georgia negro, $200 from G. F. Flanders and about $800 collected throughout the state. He said he kept no books of his campaign expenditures and could not tell just how the money had been spent.

Howard said he had received $2,000 from Holland to be spent in promoting Hoover's campaign in Mississippi, $2,000 for his office here, most of which had been spent in Mississippi from the Hoover national committee and said he expected $1,000 more. He presented a copy of the expenses of the Mississippi Republican committee which showed $2,900 had been expended and that the committee had a deficit of $4,900. All of this, he said, had been expended in behalf of Hoover's candidacy.

Fought By White Men.

Both negroes told stories of how white men had endeavored to take control from them and how they fought such attempts. Davis said Clark Greer, a white man of Washington, went to Georgia and announced he was there to run the Hoover campaign. Davis said he then came to Washington and called on Postmaster General New who advised him to see Holland. Davis then visited Howard who arranged for him to meet Holland after which the Georgia negro received two payments to be used "legitimately" in favor of Hoover. He got $1,200 the first time and $1,000 the second time. He added that Greer did not succeed in getting control of the Hoover campaign in his state.

Howard told the committee that L. O. Crosby, a white man and former Democrat of his state who had become a close friend of Hoover's during the floods last year, had organized a party to support Hoover. He went to see Crosby, the witness testified, at Holland's suggestion believing Crosby would finance his organization's fight in Mississippi. Howard said Crosby agreed to help only if Howard would consent to step out and let Lamont Rowland, a partner of Howard's become the Republican national committeeman.

Howard said he declined to accede and left the conference, after which Crosby organized a "Lily White" Republican party. Each faction, the witness said, had selected delegates to the Republican national convention and their fight would be decided at Kansas City. Howard also told the committee that he believed Crosby's organization had spent more money than his.

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD
MAY 6 1928

MAYOR HELD ISSUE IN G. O. P. PRIMARY

Broening's Political Prestige In City At Stake, Friends Seem To Feel.

DEMOCRATS DISTURBED

They Await Action Of Merit Board In Albert K. Sherman Case.

By WALTER L. ALEXANDER,
City Hall Reporter of The Sun.

Mayor Broening's friends seem to feel that his political prestige will be at stake when the Weller-Tait and Jackson-Lowndes-Marchant forces come to grips in the battle of the ballots in the Republican primary tomorrow.

Fear that the success of the Weller-Tait candidates for delegates to the State convention will eliminate the Mayor as a political factor in the city appears to be the compelling force behind the fight of his friends. The Mayor may be described as the issue in the primary, so far as the city is concerned. He, more than any other individual, seems to be the issue with the Weller-Tait wing of the party, according to indications at the City Hall. The bitterness of the contest is worrying the independent element of both sides. They are afraid it will lead to party disaster in November.

"We Must Win City" Slogan.

Nevertheless, "We must win the city" is the slogan of the Mayor's followers. With equal fervor the Weller-Tait camp is shouting:

"We must win the city!"

Both sides were confident yesterday, but each claimed that the other was "whistling to keep up courage."

The Jackson-Lowndes-Marchant group claimed all six of the city districts on the popular vote, but said they were willing to concede "a delegate here and there" to the other side.

Negroes Given Jobs.

The primary has had the effect of almost filling the spring laboring force in the Department of Public Works with Republicans and bringing to the Negroes of the city the recognition they have been clamoring for these many years, and which was denied them in Mr. Broening's first administration.

There are more Negroes in official positions and in the laboring forces than ever before in the history of the city. They are working in the "white wings" gangs of the Street Cleaning Department for the first time.

Worried By Sherman Case.

To Democrats in and out of the City Hall the most disturbing event of the week was the abolishment by the Board of Estimates last Tuesday of Albert K. Sherman's position as chief assessment clerk of the Appeal Tax Court and the creation of a position as secretary to the court for a Republican worker.

Mr. Sherman, who has been in the employ of the Tax Court for fifteen years, is the Democratic executive of two precincts in the Twelfth ward. The Democratic members of the Board of Estimates—Howard Bryant, president of the City Council, and R. Walter Graham, City Comptroller—live in the Twelfth ward.

Action Unanimous.

They did not vote against the motion to abolish Mr. Sherman's position. It went through by unanimous consent after the Appeal Tax Court had reported that the change would save the city $500 a year in salary. Mr. Sherman was paid $3,000 a year, whereas the secretary to the court is scheduled to receive $2,500.

Inasmuch as there is no such classification as secretary of the Appeal Tax Court, the Democrats are wondering whether the City Service Commission will create it and approve a temporary appointment, which the Tax Court must ask for after May 15. Refusal of the commission to create the position would carry with it a rejection of the court's request and the upsetting of its plans in this respect.

Refused To Create Job.

It was recalled yesterday that not many weeks ago the Commissioners for Opening Streets received from the Board of Estimates authority to appoint an assistant condemnation examiner, to which position a Republican worker in Southwest Baltimore was named. There was no such classification, and the commission declined to create it, ordering the Republican stricken from the pay roll.

Creation of the classification of secretary of the Appeal Tax Court and the approval of a temporay appointment to the position would establish a precedent through which every Democratic employe at the City Hall could be dismissed by the abolishment of his position and the creation of a new one with a different name and slightly changed duties for a Republican.

It is being pointed to as one of the methods any administration could employ for the nullification of the Merit System, and it is for this reason that the Democrats, as well as the friends of the Merit System, will watch the action of the Service Commission in the Appeal Tax Court case.

Padgett Not Faring So Well.

It develops that Robert J. Padgett is not faring so well with the Broening administration, although he is said to have aided Mr. Broening and the Republican ticket in the municipal election last May.

Records of the City Comptroller's office disclose that the Pen-Mar Company, controlled by Padgett, has sold the city only $711.90 worth of the general construction supplies that have been bought in the open market, through the Central Purchasing Bureau, this city.

The city has bought $6,853.93 worth of these supplies from the Hudson Building and Supply Company, of which the Mayor's son, William F. Broening, Jr., is vice-president and secretary.

Failed To Get Order.

So it would seem that the Hudson Company virtually has supplanted Padgett's Company in the matter of open-market purchases amounting to $500 and less at one time. Padgett's company, however, has fared better in the competitive bidding before the Board of Awards, obtaining in this way approximately $16,000 worth of business, chiefly cement, since the first of the year. His company is said to have been the lowest bidder for an order for steel lining for street curbs, but did not get the order for reasons that have not been made public.

Padgett's paving company got its share of the sheet-asphalt street repairs this year, but under the terms of an old agreement whereby the work was divided equally among all three sheet-asphalt companies operating in the city, on equal terms, for the purpose of facilitating the repairs.

His company is awarded new paving contracts only when it is the lowest bidder before the Board of Awards. Otherwise these are lean days at the City Hall for the former Democratic district leader.

RESTATING OUR PARTISAN POSITION

Having been the first colored editor of this state and section of the country to openly espouse the candidacy of Hon. Herbert C. Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination and having worked in conjunction and harmony with the regular Republican organization in Harris County, headed by R. B. Morris, after a truce was agreed upon during the late winter to unite the two belligerent elements or factions in this county and work out a program of partisan harmony (which was ultimately consummated), this writer was chosen as one of the 30 delegates from Harris County to the recent state convention.

For the first time in eight years there was no genuine split in the local Republican forces, and, while a few dissatisfied and disgruntled Republicans of color essayed to hold another county convention here, their own defenders, Captain John Elgin and C. C. Littleton, took the position before the state executive committee at Dallas, Monday, May 21, that these colored "bolters" really had no case, the captain making the motion to seat the Morris delegation and Mr. Littleton seconding the motion.

Having been elected and seated as regular delegates, there was nothing else for the Harris County colored delegates and alternates to do honorably except to remain in the deliberations of the convention to which they were elected as representatives. To have done otherwise in the face of our local harmony program would have been the grossest act of perfidy and treachery.

While this editor and paper have endorsed the Hoover candidacy; worked in harmony and harness with the local Hoover leaders; insisted upon an instructed delegation, if the uninstructed group were anti-Hooverites, neither this editor nor The Informer has ever endorsed the Creager-Nolte administration of partisan affairs—often stating in our editorials that our position was somewhat paradoxical in this situation.

With approximately 12 Negroes in the Creager-Nolte convention as delegates and alternates (with about 5 or 6 votes between them), criticism is being hurled and will be hurled at those who were members of this convention, due to the fact that the Creager-Nolte regime did not consider a single Negro when it came to appointing committees and electing delegates and alternates, or presidential electors.

This editor, starting months before the convention, began an agitation for racial representation on the Republican delegation from Texas to the national convention of the party; and, as secretary of the Independent Colored Voters' League of Texas, which held a statewide conference at Dallas, March 4, 1928, it befell our lot to introduce a "harmony resolution" setting forth our objectives and naming or suggesting two colored men for positions on the delegation from the state-at-large. This resolution was adopted, and there the matter virtually ended, though a few colored Republicans kept up a constant and persistent agitation for this type of recognition.

When National Committeeman R. B. Creager, titular head of the Texas party, refused to confer with some of the leading Negroes of Texas in an effort to patch up the internal differences and affect a united party, The Informer saw the handwriting on the wall, as it related to Negro delegates, or to a Negro delegate and alternate from the state-at-large to the national parley of the party.

In refusing to place a single colored Republican on his delegation to the national convention, either as delegate or alternate, Mr. Creager is merely living up to his well-earned reputation as being a confirmed believer and firm advocate in the "lily-white" doctrine; and when some of the leading white Republicans of the state and nation were unable to swerve Mr. Creager and some of his Nordic Negrophobes from this course and show them the wisdom of pursuing a real Republican and American policy, it is absurd and preposterous to criticise and hang in effigy a handful of black men for not being able to get the race representation on the Creager-Nolte "lily-white" delegation.

This writer was not a candidate for any such position, per se, but we believed before the convention and still believe that such action on the part of the Creager convention was not only unwise and unrepublican, but that such procedure will dwarf the growth of the party in this state, and seriously hamper the candidacy of Mr. Hoover in doubtful and pivotal states, where Negroes constitute the balance of power in national elections, if this "lily-white" delegation is seated at Kansas City and their action given official approval and endorsement.

Mr. Creager, having pulled off this stunt before and gotten by with it, seems to be of the opinion that he knows his lines; but we have a hunch that such unrepublican and unfair actions are laden with many dangers, if not in reality loaded with dynamite or nitroglycerine.

Sixty Negro Delegates in Attendance At Republican National Convention

Number From South Smaller, but Northern States Send More — United on Enforcement of Amendments to Constitution

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 11.—Fifty delegates and ten alternates are the Negro's representation in the Republican National Convention, which convened yesterday.

In previous years the South sent more than it has here now, but never before have so many states north of the Mason-Dixon line been represented.

The number of Negro delegates by States is:

Arkansas, 3; Georgia, 11; Illinois, 2; Kentucky, 2; Louisiana, 5; Maryland, 3; Michigan, 1; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 3; New Jersey, 1; Ohio, 1; Oklahoma, 1; South Carolina, 6; Tennessee, 1, and West Virginia, 2—total, 50.

Alternates: Iowa, 1; Maryland, 3; Massachusetts, 1; Michigan, 1; New York 2, and Pennsylvania, 2—total, 10.

As at former conventions the charge has been made that the Southern delegates are sold out at so much per to the highest bidder by candidates these delegates oppose, and by those who want to see the Negro entirely eliminated from politics.

Most of the Southern delegations containing Negroes were seated, except in the case of Walter Cohen, Collector of Customs at New Orleans. Cohen himself was seated but the rest of his delegation was defeated when the contest was brought before the committee last week.

"If the Republican Party writes into its platform a declaration for enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, it must include the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments," is the slogan of Negro leaders here.

S. D. Redmond, delegate selected for the Mississippi member of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, said he would insist on pledging the Republicans to a more vigorous enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

"Why should there be any discrimination?" said he. "It is well known to Senator Borah and other prominent party men that these are being ignored. Every Negro delegate here should resent any plan to favor the Eighteenth over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments."

Thoroughly aroused over this matter, the delegates were busy today calling on their friends from other States, urging them to stand by them in their efforts to get justice.

John R. Hawkins, delegate to the Republican convention from the District of Columbia, seconded the nomination of Herbert Hoover last night in Convention hall. Mr. Hawkins finished his speech at 10:23 o'clock. He drew a parallel between the Anglo-Saxon, who arrived at Plymouth Rock and the Negro who came about the same time to Jamestown, Va. (The former; he said, tied the waterfalls and rivers of New England to the drive wheels which made the prosperity of the north while the labor cleared the wilderness and tilled the fields which enriched the south for the country. made great by their joint endeavors. He said he counted Hoover the ideal president.

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Political - 19

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

HOOVER AND CURTIS WANT VOTES, NOT RACE PREJUDICE

There is nothing being done in the state for Hoover and Curtis really substantial, except that which the Anti-Smith democrats are doing.

The Republican Organization is doing nothing worthwhile, because information from Washington stated, that the powers that be wanted to make some helpful suggestions in the matter. The Organization yielded. The next oracle we heard of, United States Marshal Crawford was boasting that the matter would be handed over to him, Hendricks, Meikleham et al. The Marshal made a trip or two to Washington, and sought the aid of the Klan to cinch the management. The organization let it be known that it had enough of lily whiteism and officious federal office holders, and the lily whites and bolters dropped out of the picture. The Organization then selected H. G. Hastings to head the campaign, because it understood that Washington wanted him. Mr. Hastings accepted, and the committee of five selected along with Mr. Hastings by the Republican Executive Committee, proceeded to enlarge itself to twenty-one. But, we have not heard of the activities of this Campaign Committee. If it has done anything for the ticket, it was strictly confined among the whites, absolutely no attention has been given to the electors, though they con- nty-five per cent of f the Party in well

the South, and is an issue of race hatred peculiar to the South, and is without the knowledge, consent, or approval of Hoover and Curtis.

The men in Georgia in charge of the Republican campaign cannot, and do not want to carry the state for Hoover and Curtis. They are simply gambling for control of federal patronage, if Hoover and Curtis win. If they are in dead earnest, why do they want to organize and conduct a white man's party? Don't they know that a black man's vote counts as many as a white man's? Don't they know that Al Smith and Jake Raskob are moving Heaven and earth to capture the Negro vote? If so, why draw the color line?

Lily whites and the pernicious activities of meddlesome federal officeholders are doing more to handicap the republican ticket in the state than any other factor. Common decency cannot stomach offensive federal officeholders, nor damnable lilywhiteism.

Federal officeholders are entirely too pernicious when they take it upon themselves to appoint themselves a committee to wait upon the Secretary of State to undertake to displace the electoral ticket filed by the regular organization. These men are wilfully pernicious. They opposed Hoover before his nomination, and they were keeping up their pernicious conduct when they succeeded in striking D. C. Cole's name and inserting a Mr. Noble's. It is time to call a halt. If the Attorney General declines to act against these violators of the Civil Service law, the Civil Service Commission, and the President's attention ought to be called to the political log-rolling by federal officeholders in Georgia.

er's interest is suffer- because of med- the at- drive

the state worthwhile, except what the Anti-Smith democrats are doing as a protest against the destructive forces that seized the Democratic Party at Houston.

The Negro is part and parcel of the Republican Party, and will not be eliminated. It is the party of our fathers, and we are going to keep faith. We will agree with Douglas, " that the Republican Party is the ship, and all else is sea."

PERRY HOWARD PROTESTS CAUSE STARTLING REVELATIONS

(By A. N. P.)

By the time the Senate's special patronage probe committee gets back on the job after the November election, there are signs now that evidence already in the hands of the committee will involve some "big white folks" just as the information put to use directly after the Republican National Convention resulted in the indictment of Perry W. Howard, Republican committeeman for Mississippi, and some embarrassment for Benjamin Jefferson Davis, Howard's Georgia contemporary.

After the onslaught on Davis and Howard, protests that the action of department of justice officials was political and contemplated the subjection of Negro Republican leaders in the South to "Lily White" influences brought about a change in the direction of the attack, and active work was postponed until after the election.

But Postmaster General New, who has many office holders throughout the South, set about to find out just ing their positions. He is now said to have evidence in the form of affidavits from postmasters and others in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, substantiating in large measure s of a wholesale traffic in fed- ppointments in southern states. subordinates had been obtain- ffidavits, which are closely

guarded and will not be made public until the committee resumes its investigation after the elections, were made, according to Senator Brookhart, chairman of the Senate Committee, in response to an order issued by Mr. New, calling upon every postmaster in the four states to say, under oath, whether money was paid for their appointments and who made the demands upon them.

The disclosures in the affidavits have been so surprising that it is probable Mr. New will be asked to extend his order to include postmasters in at least two other southern states.

Republicans in Alabama Pick Democratic Electors

Precedent Is Established When Party Bolters Are Welcomed by G. O. P. With Open Arms. Editor Is Included in the List.

By The Associated Press.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 30.—Convinced that the Republican vote in Alabama is safe for Herbert Hoover under any circumstances, the executive committee of that normally minority party in this state today dipped into the ranks of their heredity foe, the Democrats, for the personnel of their presidential electoral slate, in the November election.

In doing so, a precedent unheard of to the oldest "rock ribbed" Democratic state was established. The move was a strategic one, C. D. Street, Republican national committeeman, said, with the view toward having Democrats cast their votes for Democrats, who had aligned themselves with the Republican cause. The selections will be by unanimous vote of the committeemen.

The personnel of the electoral slate also provides Democratic chieftains with food for thought. It includes men and women prominent in the business, professional, social and political life of the state. One of them, J. S. Benson of Scottsboro, editor of the Progressive Age, was a delegate to the Democratic national convention at Houston while another is Mrs. J. B. Wadsworth, of Gadsden, whose husband was a delegate to Houston but since has joined the Republican ranks.

The entire slate of electors as listed at state Republican headquarters here follows:

George H. Malone of Dothan, banker and former member of the Legislature from Houston County and a life-long Democrat, and Mrs. Mary T. Jeffries, president of the Alabama W. C. T. U., electors from the state at large.

District electors:

Mrs. Martha Yerger, Mobile, daughter of Chief Justice John O. Anderson of the Alabama Supreme Court.

Seconds, Dr. A. P. Webb, prominent physician of Atmore and a life-long Democrat.

G. O. P. HEADS IN SO. WILL REMAIN FOR THE PRESENT

Party Undecided What To Do About Leadership In Southern States

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 12.—Although Republican campaign heads are divided on the question of ridding southern states of colored leadership, it is considered virtually impossible to do so at this time and probably will not be attempted now, it was learned here Thursday.

No action will be taken now because it is considered impossible to wipe out a single campaign system in use for 50 years. There is a sharp division among Republican leades as to how to handle the situation.

Would Carry South

One group believe that former Secretary Hoover to achieve victory must carry at least two of the 10 old Confederate states, "secession states" as they used to be called. They would have him root out the colored leaders, who, they insist, have earned their living in the past largely by trafficking in federal jobs and national convention delegates, and go after the white votes.

The other group looks askance at the idea of obtaining electoral votes for Hoover from the solid south. This group thinks the principal result of a southern campaign would be to increase the popular vote without increasing the electoral vote. They point out that 10 states in the south have a population of 25,415,000, and yet in 1924 they cast fewer votes for Coolidge than he received in the one state of Iowa.

Klan Control

It is also argued that it would cost too much money to carry on an effective campaign in the south. Furthermore, in many of the southern states under colored leadership, ousting of that leadership would mean joining hands with the Ku Klux Klan, which is leading the fight against Al Smith. As a result, colored voters would stay away from the polls in many sections. As a result colored vote for a Klan backed candidate or Smith with Robinson of Arkansas as vice president.

With the exception of Walter Cohen of New Orleans, the 60 delegates to the Kansas City convention went there as Hoover backers. Perry Howard of Mississippi and Ben Davis of Georgia formed the nucleus for Hoover strength. Although Howard is having trouble at present in Mississippi because of lily-white Republicans, Mrs. Mary Booze, national committeewoman from Mississippi, is working hard for the Republicans. Ben Davis is also hard at work, placing in the field a full slate of Caucasian electors, including two Democrats who were delegates to the Houston convention.

VETERAN TENN. WAR HORSE DEFINES POSITION

Eulogizes Memory of Col. "Link" Johnson

Washington, D. C.
September 8, 1928.

R. R. Church, leader of the ancient and unchanging Republicans, when shown a copy of the "Pittsburgh Courier" carrying an attack on him because of his refusal to serve on the colored executive committee of the G. O. P., broke the rule of his political life. He decided to reply.

The following statement was dictated by him and carefully gone over:

"I have seen the article in the Courier, written I am informed by Dr. Emmett J. Scott, before the Courier representative brought it to me. It is a document of a kind familiar to all who know the fine African hand of its industrious but elusive author. For 30 years his brick-bats have been hurled from behind the coat-tails of protectors.

"What Dr. Scott may think of me or of my reason for withdrawing from the hand-wrought 'committee' now directing and distressing Mr. Hoover's cause is without importance and will not, I feel, supplant the record I have made in an effort to advance our lines on the political field. I have never held an office except through election by the people. Dr. Scott never held an office at all, and such positions as he has filled came from kind hearts unable to turn a deaf ear to his cry.

"Whether Dr. Scott continues to operate Howard University or run good Dr. Hawkins or frock coat diplomatic receptions as Minister to Haiti is not the slightest concern to me. My interest in the present situation is exactly my interest in Mr. Hoover as our candidate and in the Republican party whose fortunes have long been mine. I got off the committee, not because I had been refused a leadership for which no man can say I ever applied, (and which no man can bestow upon another), but because I could not in conscience associate myself with political parasites and pretenders.

"To the charge that I am not a good follower, I plead guilty if I am asked to follow to the ballot box men who have no ballot to cast and who have not the moral courage to attempt to cast one or cry out against the crime of disfranchisement in their states. Men who fight don't follow those who run. There is not a colored Republican voter whom I would fail to follow or support if called to his standard. There is not a colored political apologist I would follow, not even at the request of Mr. Hoover, unless he was leading a procession to the public square there to receive the condemnation of an outraged people.

"Another point, that is too scandalous to be ignored, I touch. Dr. Scott brought in the name of the late Henry Lincoln Johnson, referring to him as my associate in party struggles, and linking his great name with gentlemen of the present political arrangement, there we have sin at war with absurdity. Mr. Johnson, one of the great men in all history of great men, should be spared a comparison so odious. His memory should be more sacred than that. To mention the names of Dr. Hawkins, Dr. Scott and Dr. Holsey in the same breath with that of 'Link Johnson' is a challenge to the patience of honest men.

"Mr. Johnson was a leader, a great lawyer, and a voter. He was Republican National Committeeman at the time of his death and under the laws of Georgia he could not have been unless he was a registered voter. No year passed without his return to Georgia to register as a voter and keep his citizenship clear.

"Neither Dr. Hawkins has returned to North Carolina, Dr. Scott to Texas nor Dr. Holsey to the Court House in either Georgia or Alabama to register his citizenship and play the full man.

"The main point must not be lost sight of. I stated that I retired from the committee because, first, I wanted Mr. Hoover elected, and secon[illegible] because those in front of the vo[illegible] were themselves not voters. I s[illegible] want Mr. Hoover elected and [illegible] gentlemen are still without a vot[illegible]

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.

SEP 7 1928

NEGROES FORM CLUB TO WORK FOR SMITH

All Democratic Candidates Indorsed At Eighteenth Ward Meeting

A club of Negro voters that will work in the Eighteenth Ward for the election of Gov. Alfred E. Smith, Democratic candidate for President, and the entire Democratic State ticket, was formed last night at a meeting attended by approximately forty Negroes at 840 West Saratoga street. The organization was named the Eighteenth Ward Colored Democratic Club.

The meeting was one of three Democratic rallies held in the city. Representative Vincent L. Palmisano, candidate for reelection in the Third Congressional district, addressed the Women's Bohemian Club of the Seventh Ward. The Twenty-eighth Ward Democratic Club held a meeting with "harmony" as the keynote of the speakers.

Negroes Okay Full Ticket

Those present at the organization of the Negro Democratic club declared it represented the desires of a number of Negroes to break away from their old political alignments and to vote for Governor Smith. All the Democratic candidates for office in the Fifth district were indorsed.

The officers of the club are Richard Smith, chairman; Edward Johnson, vice-chairman; James Syler, secretary, and John H. Moore, treasurer. All are Negroes.

Other Club Enrolls Fift[illegible]

Fifty new mem[illegible] at the meeting [illegible] Ward Club [illegible] avenu[illegible]

days on his triumphal march through Europe." Former Mayor Howard W. Jackson and Daniel Loden also spoke. Edward Gross, clerk of the Criminal Court, who recently returned from a trip to the Northern and Southern States, said he found a strong sentiment for Governor Smith.

Ritchie To Speak

The club will hold a meeting on September 28 at the Community Hall, Gwynn Oak Junction. Gov. Albert C. Ritchie will be among the speakers. A women's auxiliary also will be formed to work among the feminine voters in the interest of the Democratic ticket.

Representative Palmisano attacked the Harding-Coolidge administration, declared that existing immigration laws favored certain European countries and urged his hearers to disregard the "mouth-to-ear campaign" in his address to the Women's Bohemian Club, which met at 838 Chester street. Other speakers criticized the "political parsons" and their efforts to obtain a larger prohibition budget.

Young People Begin Monday

The Young People's Democratic League of Maryland will open its active campaign for the full ticket on Monday at a luncheon meeting at the Hotel Emerson. Governor Ritchie will be the principal speaker.

Following the meeting the league will begin intensive work in each precinct to bring out a large registration of young men and women voters, with particular attention to those who have just attained their majority.

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation

Republican.

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.

AUG 28 1928

PICK YOUR COMPANY.

Ben Davis, National Committeeman and Republican boss of Georgia, is a very eminent Southern Negro politician. He was wiser in his generation, at the Kansas City convention, than was Honorable Joe Tolbert, leader of the "Black-and-Tans" in the Palmetto State. Ben Davis delivered his Georgia delegation to Herbert Hoover and received the blessing of his chief. Mr. Tolbert was not so compliant, at first, but had to come around in the long run. This may explain why Mr. Tolbert is so active now in the attempted organization of Hoover Clubs in South Carolina, and it may explain why, for the first time in the history of his party, so far as we can remember, a "Lily White" electoral ticket has been put out in this State.

A great effort is being exerted to enveigle white Democrats to line up with the supporters of Herbert Hoover. The snare is spread; the amiable spider sits and smiles and ogles, and perhaps jingles a few odd coins in his pockets, just within the threshhold, and any Democrat disposed to stray from the fold will be welcomed with a handshake, and rewarded perhaps, with a postoffice. Mr. Joe Tolbert is out to make amends for his miscalculated treason to Mr. Hoover. In the end, we have no misgivings that Mr. Tolbert and Mr. Hoover, with Mr. Ben Davis, of Georgia, to contribute to the harmony of the occasion, will all kiss and make up. That is the Republican method. That is what makes and keeps them Republicans. There is never a rift in the Republican loot.

There appears, however, to be a basic lack of agreement between Mr. Joe Tolbert and Mr. Ben Davis, with regard to the tactics to be pursued. Mr. Tolbert, the white leader of the Republican forces in South Carolina, is trying assiduously to flatter and cajole Democrats into the Hoover column. Mr. Ben Davis, the black leader of the Republican cohorts in Georgia, on the contrary, is thoroughly contemptuous of the Democratic party, and he does not hesitate to say so. Perhaps he has ascertained that Georgia Democrats are more select with regard to their political bed-fellows than some South Carolina Democrats are, and so, unable to induce them to go along with him, he makes a gesture of scorn by giving them the air.

Let us say that Ben Davis is the editor of a newspaper called *The Independent*. In the last issue of his paper Editor Davis pays his respects to the Democratic party thus:

> Sometimes we may vote for a Democrat because of the man, but we can never vote for the Democratic party, so long as it stands for meanness, ignorance and race hatred, as exemplified in Memphis, Texas, Georgia and Mississippi. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic party.
>
> Al Smith is no better than the Democratic party. His record does not disclose a single favor that he has done for the Negroes in New York. He (the Negro) knows that the Democratic party is his sworn enemy.
>
> As infamous and as wrong and cowardly as lily-whitism is, it is no worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic party against the Negro.

We trust that this tribute to the Democratic party, from Herbert Hoover's Negro ally and supporter over in Georgia, will be appreciated by the Richland County Hoover Democratic Club which is endeavoring to portray Alfred E. Smith as the idol of the Negro, seeking social equality, and Herbert Hoover as the champion of white supremacy.

We trust that the picture, painted by Herbert Hoover's Negro lieutenant in Georgia, of the "robbery and outlawry," and the "meanness, ignorance and race hatred," of the Democratic party, will prove especially palatable and delectable to the diligent "Dry" Democrat of Columbia who is having anonymous anti-Smith circulars printed for circulation in this vicinity. Of course, he is doing it very confidentially and secretly; his name is not supposed to be revealed. He is a brave man. He has the courage of his convictions—under cover. We hasten to compliment him on his choice of political bed-fellows, and we hope that he will live to enjoy having the record of his activities made public for the edification of his fellow-Democrats.

JOURNAL
Jersey City, N J
SEP 1 1928.

Colored G.O.P. Men Endorse Candidates

At a special meeting of the Colored Men's Republican Club, held in the headquarters at 629 Communipaw Avenue last night, the members, directeed by President James W. Roberson, planned for an intensive campaign from now on to election day in the interests of the Republican party.

The organization went on record as endorsing the Republican candidates from Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis to Hamilton F. Kean and Morgan F. Larson and all the way down. Plans were made to string a banner bearing the names of the Republican candidates across Communipaw Avenue in front of headquarters.

JOURNAL
Lithonia Ga
AUG 13 1928

BACKED BY BEN

It is interesting to note that the secretary of the Republican meeting that met in Macon Saturday to select the Republican electors was Ben Davis, the negro Republican national committeeman from Georgia.

"Calico" Charlie Brown, of The Cordele Dispatch, who went to Houston a supposed-to-be Democrat and returned to Georgia an anti-Smith Republican, was named a Republican elector by Ben and his master minds.

"Calico" speaks of principles and morals in politics. Yet, he as a delegate, was morally bound to the nominee.

In elevating the Republican party to dignified heights in Georgia, it is interesting to note that Ben Davis is a prominent black in this white, black and tan movement.

And "Calico" Charlie and the other electors are now backed by Ben!

And, we suggest this for a campaign song:

"We Hoover-Democrats are the stuff,
We'll stick like chiggers,
Before we'll vote for a Catholic,
Damn if we don't vote with the niggers."

—Greensboro Herald-Journal.

TAMPA, FLA.
Times
SEP 1 1928

"SREEB" IS WRONG.

In his latest Public Pulse offering, carried today, "Sreeb" makes some remarkable statements.

Were he posted he would know that it is not the fact, as he states, that "the Smith democrats in their desperate effort to hold the democratic line intact have called up or awakened the memories of reconstruction days." The truth is that what is here involved was brought into the presidential campaign when, in view of his subsequent nomination as the republican candidate, Herbert Hoover for selfish political ends, according to such an authority as the Washington Post, issued the now widely known of order throwing white and negro workers in the department of commerce into close contact; when the republican national convention adopted its platform deliberately dangling its anti-lynching plank as a bait before "THE NEGRO," and when Senator George Higgins Moses, of New Hampshire, decidedly anti-southern in his political thinking, was made a leading figure in the Hoover campaign management.

However much democrats may regret that this thing has been lugged into the campaign they can do nothing less than meet and combat it, since the republicans have brought it in.

It is somewhat difficult to decide just what "Sreeb" means, or would have inferred, when he says that "reconstruction was a policy of hide bound, corrupt politicians of the Tammany stripe." In the absence of a capacity for mind reading it is only to be concluded that his purpose was to insiduously suggest that Tammany is and was responsible for the reconstruction period. Nothing could be further from truth. The fact is that Tammany was the one and only friend the south

had in those devilish days, as has been stated time and again—and as "Sreeb" must know, if he knows enough to advise at this moment. There is neither reason nor justification for "Sreeb" or anyone else insinuating political and historical inaccuracy into the present situation.

The Times agrees that reconstruction as it was "had no kinship with the spirit of Lincoln." It believes that had Lincoln lived reconstruction would have been vastly different from what it was. But Lincoln did not live, and reconstruction was precisely what republicanism encouraged it to be—if not precisely what it wanted it to be. Reconstruction, with its shame and outrages, was a thing of joy to Thaddeus Stevens and those of his school who were the mighty powers of republicanism in those days. Should it be that "Sreeb" does not know this he needs to read up before loosing another Public Pulse article from his system. Tammany, as an organization and through its individual members, helped the south in many ways during those days.

Nor is that all there is to the story of the republican effort to humiliate the south and of Tammany's standing by and lending such aid as it might to prevent the accomplishment of that end. The southern people had barely obtained control of their state governments and overcome negro rule when that Massachusetts hater of the south, Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge, introduced his force bill, the design of which was to again take away from the white people of the south the control of their state governments—by the use of federal troops at the polls. This bill was introduced June 14, 1890; it came on for final vote in the house on July 2, 1890—a case of remarkable speed for those days. It carried by a vote of 155 to 149. Among those voting against it was the solid Tammany delegation, composed of Amos J. Cummings, James W. Covert, Thomas F. Manger, John Quinn, Charles Tracy, Edward J. Dunphy, Felix Campbell, C. H. Turner, W. G. Stahlnecker, Roswell P. Flower and J. B. McCarthy.

The bill went over to the senate. It was defeated there by a filibuster led by John T. Morgan, of Alabama, the details of which it is not necessary to relate. Among the senators who favored the bill and voted yea on every motion looking toward its passage were the two from New York—William M. Evarts and Frank Hiscock, both republicans.

There are the facts—New York republicanism as represented in the senate favorable to the enactment of a force bill and every member of the Tammany delegation in the house voting against its passage.

In the light of that record—which can be verified by the Congressional Record for the dates involved—"Sreeb" places himself far afield when he insinuates reconstruction to have been the offspring of Tammany.

And "Sreeb" says of "the Smith democrats" that "they also cry aloud negro domination." He says we have lived under a republican administration for these past eight years and asks "where has been our negro domination?" The answer to that depends upon what one considers negro domination. It is past dispute that during the Harding and Coolidge administrations Ben Davis, a negro, has been dominating things no further away than Georgia, making white women and girls pay him and his machine tribute money in order to secure and retain postmasterships and the like, and that the Hoover order—placing whites and negroes in close contact in the commerce department has been issued. And there are those in plenty who are willing to cut down the south's representation in congress or put this section under a force bill, or both. There are many different kinds of negro domination, and many who are not averse to social equality.

Despite all that "Sreeb" and others who think like him have said to the contrary, The Times continues to maintain that prohibition is not a proper issue for a presidential campaign. This position is taken upon the authority of the constitution of the United States. Under that document, of which The Times still has a very high opinion, there is no possible chance for any change in the eighteenth amendment unless, as a beginning, two-thirds of the membership of both the national house and senate are favorable thereto. If such a proportion of the membership of those bodies favor starting a movement to change this section of the constitution the president—whether he be Herbert Hoover, Alfred E. Smith or "Sreeb"—has no power whatever to interfere. Such is plainly the provisions of the constitution upon the matter. In view of that we cannot for the life of us see that the legalized liquor traffic threatens us, as "Sreeb" contends.

It strikes us very forcibly that "Screeb" is seeing "varmints" where there are none and failing to see some that are but poorly hid—if hid at all. And it strikes us, further, that assertions are easy to make but that one can make them much more safely in some cases if one first stops to get history straight and to acquaint oneself with the constitution of the United States of America.

We are sorry to have to say that "THE NEGRO" is an issue in this campaign, having been made one by the republican platform. And we are compelled to say that prohibition is not a real issue in it but has, it pretty plainly appears to us, been injected in as one by resourceful republicans for the purpose—among other things—of distracting the attention of some from the fact that the other thing is an issue.

Chattanooga, Tenn., News
Tuesday, August 28, 1928

Hoover Club Organized by Colored Thirteenth Warders

A Herbert Hoover club was organized by the colored voters of the Thirteenth ward (Fort Cheatham) Monday night at the Colored Methodist church. Those attending passed resolutions to make every effort to increase the total vote in Fort Cheatham in the November election, with a huge majority for Hoover. A mass meeting was called for Tuesday night, Sept. 4, at which time some of the leading negroes in the city will speak.

The following officers were elected: The Rev. A. L. McIntire, president; Harry Ferris, vice-president; James Monroe, treasurer, and the Rev. T. J. Wynn, secretary.

NEGROES AND WHITES THROWN TOGETHER BY ORDER OF MR. HOOVER

The editor of The Tribune had a long talk with United States Senator Walter F. George during a railroad journey last week and was greatly impressed by his earnest support of the national democratic nominees as well as with his splendid grasp of national problems as a whole.

Senator George talked informingly of Hoover's act in throwing together the whites and blacks employed in his department and stated that Hoover himself was directly responsible for this shameless condition of affairs.

After Hoover got in the race for president he was visited by some negro politicians from Ohio and told that unless he abolished the order segregating the races he was likely to lose the negro vote of that state.

The order was abolished and the races thrown together almost immediately afterwards. The day after it went into effect Senator George was visited by a poor little white woman from Alabama who broke down and cried when she told him that she had been put to work right beside a burly negro man. The woman had to work somewhere, and there was nowhere else for her to go. Visits of white women from Georgia and other states followed, but of course there was nothing that the Senator could do.

There has been some attempt to deny that Hoover has made any changes in his department affecting the two races, but the facts above set out are vouched for by Senator George, who personally knows the situation as it exists, and will be substantiated by every member of congress from Georgia at Washington.

The whites and blacks were thrown together and are still working together, and at Hoover's order. And to make the situation worse, the republican candidate did not issue his order throwing them together until he was threatened by the negro politicians from Ohio.

As we understand it, the mixing of the races occurred in the census department, a section of the department of commerce, which is administered by Mr. Hoover.

Four Seek Assembly Seats From Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Sept. 6.—(A. N. P.)—An unusual number of Negro candidates for political honors, seats in the State Assembly, were balloted for Tuesday in the Republican primaries. In the Seventy-third district Sidney Dones and James Allison are the colored candidates. The whites are Charles Lewis and James Stockwell. In the Seventy-fourth district there are no white candidates but J. B. Bass, editor of the California Eagle, and Fred Roberts, editor of the New Age Dispatch, an incumbent for the past ten years, who are opponents, with indications of Bass winning. Voters in this district have become dissatisfied with Roberts' showing and Bass followers have adopted the slogan "Get Somewhere."

Political - 1928.
Party Affiliation

Republican.

REPUBLICANS NAME FOURTH NEGRO TO RUN FOR CONGRESS

E. A. Johnson Has Every Qualification for Office—First Negro Elected to New York Assembly — Reputed Wealthy

Although three prominent Harlemites declined to run for Congress on the Republican ticket from the Twenty-first congressional district, the designation has now been tendered to a fourth, who is expected to accept it. The latest designee is Edward A. Johnson, lawyer, educator, historian, author and politician, who made history in 1917 when he was elected by the Republican party as the first Negro Assemblyman in the State of New York.

Mr. Johnson was out of town when the choice was made known Monday, and at press time it could not be ascertained definitely whether or not he would accept the designation. Apart from his other qualifications, Mr. Johnson is widely reputed to be a millionaire.

EDWARD A. JOHNSON

Has Had Remarkable Career

Mr. Johnson was born sixty-eight years ago in Raleigh, N. C., the son of Columbus and Eliza A. Johnson.

At an early age, he showed a remarkable aptitude for his studies, and at the age of ten was enrolled as a student at Washington High School of Raleigh. Later he attended Atlanta University of Atlanta, Ga., and Shaw University of Raleigh, graduating from the latter institution with the degree of bachelor of laws in 1891.

He has been active as an educator, having been a principal in the public school systems of Releigh and Atlanta. At one time he was an instructor and Dean of the law school of Shaw University.

His political career began in the early Nineties. He has served as an assistant in the United States District Attorney's office of the Eastern district of North Carolina for two years, and also as a Republican chairman for the Fourth congressional district of that State.

He was an Alderman in the City of Raleigh at one time and has been sent as a delegate to the Republican National Conventions at Minneapolis, St. Louis and Philadelphia.

In 1907 Attorney Johnson came to New York to practice law and was soon actively engaged in the political affairs of this city. In 1917 he was elected as an assemblyman for the Nineteenth asembly district, achieving the honor of being the first member of his race to occupy a seat in the Assembly at Albany.

As a member of the Legislature he was instrumental in the successful passage of four bills, one of which was the Civil Rights Act, stipulating equal privileges for all in practically every public place, and of another which provided a free employment bureau with an appropriation of $30,000.

He is also gifted as a writer and has acquired many friends through his authorship of the following books: "History of Negro Race in America," "History of Negro Soldiers in Spanish-American War," "Negro Almanac and Statistics," and "School History of the Negro Race."

His devoted wife, Lena, to whom he was married in 1894, is largely credited for his many achievements and varied successes. There is also a daughter, Adelaide.

He is noted for his undauntable interest in civic affairs and held many enviable positions in various community, church and fraternal organizations.

He is a member of the Harlem Board of Trade and Commerce, the Upper Harlem Tax Payers' Association, the Southern Beneficial League, and is also vice-president of the West 135th street Y. M. C. A., and a Mason. He makes his home at 17 West 132d street.

Sun

INDIANAPOLIS
INDIANA
AUG 15 1928

Nullification In 1928

Hoover's employment in his acceptance speech of the word nullification arouses interest in the historic significance of that term.

It first sprang into being in the days of Jackson and Calhoun over an issue that still is with us—the tariff. South Carolina threatened to ignore the tariff provision of that day and went so far as to move toward withdrawal from the Union. Jackson countered with a promise of force. The crisis finally passed with a compromise.

Since that time the term has been used with more or less frequency as the issue of State's rights has arisen.

Now it appears again in 1928 and is applied to the prohibition question.

The dictionary defines nullification as "a rendering void and of no effect."

As a matter of fact, nullification is by no means absent from our legal scheme of things today. And strong forces are abroad with efforts to foster it. Even the law itself is employed to bring about nullification of the Constitution.

The grandfather clauses of the South that excluded from voting any Negro whose grandfather could not read or write nullified the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that there shall be no discrimination against the voters because of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

That finally was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

Other laws accomplished the same exclusion of Negro franchise—educational tests, and this and that.

In most Southern States, despite the Fifteenth Amendment, the Negroes do not actually vote and, since many of the Southern political leaders are the loudest in their demands for preservation of the Eighteenth Amendment, there always is an embarrassing pause when a Northern wet raises the point that what is fair for the goose is fair for the gander.

And in still other directions nullification occurred.

The Fourth Amendment of the Constitution provides against unwarranted search and seizure. Yet the fanatical drys in the same breath with which they cry for sustaining the Constitution as it applies to the Eighteenth Amendment, uphold the raiding of homes for liquor without search warrant.

The Seventh Amendment of the Constitution provides for trial by jury, and yet in the judicial system itself we see courts, whose duty it is to support the Constitution, employing contempt proceedings and the injunction to circumvent the constitutional guarantee. A man sentenced to jail for contempt gets no jury trial. And that is nullification.

The First Amendment of the Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and of the press. Yet we find those arrests having to do with cases involving freedom of speech and of the press. A conspicuous example is the Roger Baldwin case recently decided in New Jersey. Nullification was effected for many months in the prosecution of Roger Baldwin.

In the main, the more fanatic a person is, the more he declares simon-pure, 100 per cent adherence to the particular law he is fanatical about, the more of a nullificationist he is toward other laws that interfere with a short-cut enforcement of his own pet statute.

It therefore is high time that the term nullification gets back into common usage and consideration.

We agree with Hoover against a treatment of the prohibition subject in a way that would mean nullification.

And we desire at the same time to go further and to say that should Hoover be elected President of the United States it will be as plainly his duty to stand against all forms of nullification with the same firmness that he promises against nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Political - 1928.
Party Affiliation

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A Lily White Party

(From the Charleston News and Courier)

A Lily White Republican electoral ticket in South Carolina is something new. That the ticket contains no negroes may have considerable significance. Presumably "Joe" Tolbert had his orders from Washington—it has not been his way to discriminate against the colored people, and it would not be his inclination. No one imagines that Tolbert would have the Republican party in South Carolina augmented by a considerable number of white voters, as that would mean the certain if gradual separation of the Tolbert tribe from the Tolbert jobs.

Orders from the Republican authorities that the negroes be excluded from the electoral ticket would on its face be construed as the baiting of the hook for discontented Democrats in the state. The Republicans see a chance of improving, at least temporarily, the position of their party, and hardly would they spurn it for the sake of Tolbert or of the negroes. They would reason, correctly, that in the long run the negroes would profit from a division of the white people, that if two vigorous white parties can be substituted for the one now existent, negro participation in politics would be invited by both. To this plan the negro leaders of the North probably would not consent.

The plan is another that may be described as an experiment noble in motive. If a large number of white South Carolinians should respond to this lure, the Republicans quietly for a few years would shove the negroes into the background. Probably in 1932 would be another Lily White electoral ticket, but in that year many negroes would vote, some of them for the Democratic candidates. Besides, Republican candidates for congress would appear in all or most of the congressional districts as well as a Republican candidate for United States senator.

National Republicans have nothing to lose by playing, temporarily, a Lily White game in the South, and, of course, they feel no solicitude for the political interests of the negroes, though they will leave nothing undone to gain negro voters wherever their votes count. It is only the people of the Tolbert stamp, whose share of the offices is the greater as the Republican vote is small, who stand to lose.

This gesture of the Republicans has its dangers to the national Republican ticket. It is a frank overture to the latterday Ku Klux Klan sentiment in South Carolina and would make fairly sure that a new and white Republican party would begin its career under the domination of Klan sentiment and influence. Those Republicans in the Northern states to whom the Klan is objectionable would not be pleased with the prospect of a Klansmen's party in the South exerting power in national Republican councils. The effect of Mr. Hoover's declaration against religious intolerance would be wholly neutralized once it should be understood that the Northern Republicans had allied their party with the Southern Klansmen.

Evidence is available that the Republicans are doing just this. Not all or nearly all the disaffected white Southern Democrats are Klansmen, but the elements sympathetic with the Klan's principles would be chiefly active and aggressive in Mr. Hoover's interest. Bishop Cannon, Bishop Mouzon and the Rev. Mr. Barton are preachers, eloquent and moving, but they are not practiced in the art of marshaling voters to the polls. Their value is as agents of propaganda, and the workers must be found outside of the ranks of ecclesiastics.

A white Republican party in South Carolina would be essentially a Klansmen's party in its beginning. Probably not all or a majority of the Klansmen would join it, but those who did join and manage it would be engineers of the Klux movement.

The *News and Courier* has suspected for the last six months, or twelve months, that Hiram W. Evans is an agent of the national Republican party. His motive may be not so much to elect Hoover as to defeat Smith, but regardless of motive, the fruits of his work would be to the advantage of the national party controlled and directed by Big Business and privileged wealth.

The national Republican party is purely a commercial organization, not less so than is United States Steel or General Motors. A newspaper made the keen point the other day that when Mr. Raskob of General Motors became Democratic chairman, his retirement from office in General Motors was expected, if not required. On the other hand, the selection of a "magnate" of business to conduct the Republican campaign is expected, is taken for granted. Men like Mark Hanna, Cornelius Bliss, the late George W. Perkins, the late E. H. Harriman, and Secretary Mellon usually work openly in Republican campaigns, but when a rich man becomes a Democrat, it is taken as a kind of scandal, as an example of shameless apostacy.

If these rich men can use the Klan in the South they would do so and think nothing of it. If they appraise Hiram Evans as an asset, they include him in their inventory. They are out to handle voters exactly as they handle employees, that is, to handle them in the earning of dividends, for they regard the government of the United States, including the presidency and the congress, as no more and no less than an important, if not the most important, subsidiary corporation in the carrying on of their various corporate undertakings. Hence, organizations of bishops and preachers, Klansmen, and other associations and groups are all one to them. When the negro group in particular localities is of no service they throw it overboard.

If the people of the United States could understand the nature of the national Republican party, and it is very simple—just a closely knit and articulated aggregation of vastly rich men and corporations—no Republican at any time could be elected president. These people in numbers are a negligible part of the eletcorate, but included among them is not only an enormous proportion of the money of the country but an equal proportion of the country's brains. Money buys brains. Thus the Republican party even succeeds in convincing millions of people that it creates and maintains prosperity, that without it, the country would soon be poverty stricken. Mr. Hoover's virtual claim that his party provides the people with automobiles, radios, freezeboxes, and talking machines is swallowed whole by great numbers of folk. Sensible people, who think for themselves, do not believe it. But sensible and thinking people are comparatively few. Besides, when they open their mouths, they are often accused of being socialists, radicals, and bolshevists.

Nevertheless one doubts if the Lily White scheme revealed in Joe Tolbert's electoral ticket will succeed. The Republican national committee is making an experiment noble in motive because there is nothing to lose by it.

THIS BIT OF INFORMATION SHOULD BE SOOTHING TO THOSE WHO FEAR SO-CALLED "NEGRO DOMINATION"

From week to week readers of the daily newspapers and many other publications have noted the persistent and patiently repeated statements that Secretary Hoover had abrogated President Wilson's segragation order as to the seating of white and colored employees in the Department of Commerce. To "abrogate" means to repeal or discontinue or change, and in this statement it was definitely meant to convey the idea that Secretary Hoover had disregarded the feelings of his white employees and put the white and colored clerical workers alongside each other as, it is claimed by the same doubtful authorities, was done in the old days. It is a little surprising that Southern newspapers of otherwise high standing, would take up and publish a statement so utterly unfounded, when it is so easy to obtain correct information, as proved to be the case in this instance. And it is noted that some of our leading Southern politicians have taken up this baseless and unworthy campaign material and are attempting to use it as one of their "democratic" war cries.

Below is reproduced a letter from Frederick J. Haskin, director of the information bureau of the Atlanta Journal, Washington, D. C., which should cause open-minded readers to hesitate before accepting the average run of political propaganda which is being used to "whip recalcitrant democrats into line" at this time. The name of the local citizen to whom this letter was addressed is withheld by request, but the letter may be seen at the office of this newspaper. It is reproduced below:

Frederic J. Haskin, Director,
Information Bureau,
Washington, D. C.,
August 3, 1928.

Mr.
West Point, Ga.,

Dear Mr. _____:

The Department of Commerce says that no order has been given in regard to racial segregation in the Department of Commerce. No change in the seating arrangement was ordered by Mr. Hoover.

Yours very truly,
FREDERIC J. HASKIN,
Director.

Columbia, S. C., State
Saturday, August 18, 1928

HOOVER ORDER OFFENDS SOUTH

Abolition of Racial Segregation in Commerce Department Loses Voters in Dixie.

Charlottesville, Va., Aug. 17 (By A. P.)—Many Southern votes would be cast against Hoover in the coming presidential election because of his order abolishing race segregation in the department of commerce, Miss Lavania Engle, secretary of the Maryland League of Women Voters, declared today before the round-table on political parties of the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia.

The South had come to look upon the Republican as the party which appoints Negroes to offices, Miss Engle continued.

Taking part in the same discussion, Prof. Arthur R. Hatton of Northwestern university, leader of the conference, said that the North was no more anxious to interfere with the policies of the South than it was to have the South dictate to it.

Problems that "loom most ominously in the fture of Pan-Americanism were pointed out by Victor S. Clark, editor of The Living Age, of Boston in the round-table discussion on "Our Latin-American Relations."

Gulfs between rich and the poor might be made broader throughout both Ameri as, Mr. Clark continued, when economic advances "create a community of interest between the wealthier, governing classes of the Latin-American countries and the United States and Canada.

"If you have a universay treaty to prevent war, why should not the South American states come in?" asked Prof. John H. Latane, leader of this round-table. In the two active areas of imperialistic expansion the anti-war pact does not apply."

Frederico Pezet, former ambassador to the United States from Peru, sounded a warning when he declared, "Spanish-speaking countries will in the future be some of the largest nations of the world, and if the United States ignores and belittles them today, tomorrow you may awaken to the fact that you have at your side not friends but enemies."

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

State G. O. P. Proving Puzzle To Washington

Close Political Observers Wonder How Tangle Will Turn Out

'Real Works' Out

Street-Thompson Maze Is Watched With Interest

By RUSSELL KENT
Special Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5.—Washington political observers are wondering what is going to happen to the Republican organization in Alabama now that the executive committee has chosen 12 "bolting" Democrats as Hoover-Curtis electors this year.

True enough, Judge O. D. Street, Republican national committeeman, is at the head of the campaign committee which will fight for the election of these 12 erstwhile Democrats as presidential electors, but in the background and not so very far back at that, there looms the figure of Joseph O. Thompson, one-time chairman of the state committee and later "Bull Moose" national committeeman for Alabama in the days of the Rooseveltian campaign.

Oliver D. Street is the nominal head of the G. O. P. anti-Smith Democratic drive in Alabama. As Republican national committeeman and federal patronage referee Judge Street has a certain pride.

Thompson "Real Works"

It is rather suspected here, however, that the "real works" of the combination ticket in Alabama this year is Joseph O. Thompson, who has announced he will open an office in Montgomery for the campaign. Judge Street's power as patronage referee necessarily would have to be divided with Mr. Thompson, even if not surrendered completely, in the event of victory for Herbert Hoover next November—even though Alabama remained Democratic, as it is confidently believed it will.

Joseph O. Thompson is somewhat of a "man of mystery" in this Alabama campaign. He is functioning, it is believed, under the guiding hand of that real "master of mystery" in the Republican campaign, Horace A. Mann, formerly of Tennessee and now of Washington, who is quite evidently in charge of Southern affairs for the G. O. P. national committee but maintains separate offices here and regarding whose official status there has been complete and somewhat significant silence on the part of National Chairman Hubert Work and his lieutenants. Mr. Thompson came here in July, immediately after the state Republican convention at Birmingham and he conferred with Mr. Mann, at which time it was hinted that the Alabama Republicans would name "outstanding prohibitionists" as Hoover-Curtis electors and certain plans which subsequently have been put into operation were suggested, even down to inclusion of the name of George H. Malone, of Dothan, formerly prominent as a Democrat and who has just been named one of the Hoover-Curtis electors for the state at large.

What Of Street?

With Joseph O. Thompson such a large factor in the Alabama G. O. P. situation, the question arises: What is to become of Oliver D. Street. Mr. Street was a pre-convention Hoover man. He had a solid Hoover delegation at Kansas City with the exception of one delegate, who finally came into the camp when Frank O. Lowden withdrew to spare himself the sting of defeat on the nominating ballot. Judge Street had Hoover pre-convention offices in Birmingham, financed by the $1,000 which Rush Holland, former assistant attorney general of the United States, handed him.

It remains to be seen whether all will be harmonious in the new line-up of the Alabama G. O. P. Judge Street's friends may not take so kindly to future events as they appear to be doing at the moment. Perhaps there may be glory sufficient for two leaders in Alabama's Republican ranks in this campaign; maybe, on the other hand, it is calculated that two sets of shoulders will be necessary to bear the weight of the defeat which most observers predict faces the new political combination.

E. E. Winters, Republican All Life, For Smith

Union Veteran, County Committeeman, Can't Stand 'Mugwumps'

Voted For Lincoln

Condemns Leaders For Yielding To Klan

Maj. E. E. Winters, of Montgomery, life-long Republican, and veteran of the Union army in the War Between the States, yesterday announced that he would vote for Smith and Robinson.

Maj. Winters, in his statement, denounces the anti-Smith Democratic electoral ticket which the Republican party organization in Alabama has accepted, saying that he does not understand "how any self-respecting Republican (unless he be an office holder) can swallow the 'Mugwump' combination."

Maj. Winters cast his first vote for Abraham Lincoln and has been regularly Republican ever since, "but this is more than even a 'hardened sinner' like me can stand."

Maj. Winters' could is a tart condemnation of the Republican leaders of Alabama for yielding to the demands of bolting Democrats that they be allowed to name all of the presidential electors on the ticket. It has been charged that while all of the candidates for elector on the Republican ticket are not klansmen, they were all picked by high klan officials and forced upon Judge Oliver Street, Republican national committeeman from Alabama, once noted for his outspoken antipathy for the klan and its methods.

Maj. Winters is a member of the Republican County Executive Committee of Montgomery County, though not active in its affairs at present, and has long been a prominent figure in Republican politics in Alabama. His statement, written for The Advertiser, is as follows:

Editor Montgomery Advertiser:

If called upon to choose between the regular "dyed in the wool" Democratic electors representing the two presidential candidates, I shall vote the straight Democratic ticket.

I can't understand how any self-respecting Republican (unless he be an office holder) can swallow this "mugwump" combination.

I cast my first vote for Abraham Lincoln 64 years ago and have been voting the Republican ticket "early and often" ever since, but this is more than even a "hardened sinner" like me can stand.

Sincerely,
(Signed) E. E. WINTERS.

Herbert Hoover's tortuous policy in regard to Mississippi flood relief has been publicly shown up by Colonel Robert Ewing, the publisher of the New Orleans States. There is no denying the truth of Colonel Ewing's charge, because too many men in Mississippi and Louisiana are familiar with the facts. Mr. Hoover repeatedly declared, both in public and in private, while he was in the flooded district, as Colonel Ewing states, that the Federal Government should assume the entire financial responsibility for relieving the wrecked States. When it was suggested that there be immediate action looking to the organization of public opinion to this end, Mr. Hoover privately asked all who came to him to do nothing, to leave it to him, and he would attend to it and put it through. Then he returned to Washington. Did he thereupon state to the press how he felt about the matter? He did not. Did he rush to the hearings before the Senate committee which was taking testimony as to the flood situation and ask to be heard? He did not. On the contrary, he dodged the committee, and left Washington for ten days. Finally, when Senator Willis insisted that he should come before it and publicly demanded him, Mr. Hoover appeared, a most taciturn and reluctant witness. He thought that the policy to be followed in preventing future floods should be determined by the Army engineers and ventured no opinion of his own. Then it was discovered that he had completely forgotten his promises and thought the financial responsibility should be shared by the States in the flood district. It is a most unhappy chapter in Mr. Hoover's political record, but unfortunately it is not a unique one.—The Nation.

NEGRO VOTERS CAUSE MUCH CONCERN IN THE REPUBLICANS' RANKS

G. O. P. Leaders Worried by Growing Tendency. To Desert the Party. Evidence of New Trend

NORTHERN STRONGHOLDS THREATENED BY MOVE

Democrats Taking Bolters Into the Fold. New Party Organization Arises in the Confusion

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 4.—For the first time in the history of present day politics, Republicans are beginning to worry over holding the majority of the votes of colored Americans in a presidential election.

Far-seeing Republicans see a possibility of the Negro vote breaking away in November and thus upsetting calculations in New York, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio,

Mix-Up Arises

In the Empire State, for instance, Tammany Hall has cultivated the Race sections of Harlem. How many colored voters have been won away from the party to which they were attached traditionally is a mooted question.

During the preconvention campaign Republicans in the South opposed Negro leaders, with the result that many of the State organizations now are a "lily white basis. Soon after the convention, also Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, assistant Attorney-General, made a personal

visit to Mississippi. The indictment of Perry W. Howard, national committeeman from Mississipppi, and others followed.

Howard has powerful connections and it has been concluded by most Negroes that he is being persecuted because of his color.

Suggestions Made

Out of this has resulted Negroes put over Presidential ticket of their own in the field with the backing of the Elks.

The waiting policy at Republican national headquarters on the Race question probably is influenced by the belief that eventually the Democrats will solve the problem for the Republicans. Already the cry of "white supremacy" has been raised by southern Democrats who are trying desperately to save their States for the South. The more that cry is uttered in the next few months the less inclined will be the Negroes of the North be to desert the G. O. P.

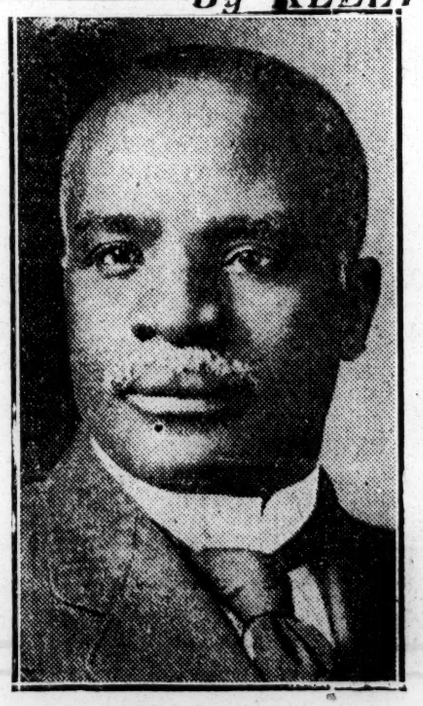
-:- Why Fools?

By KELLY MILLER

THE erudite editor of The Crisis has said that any Negro who votes for Herbert Hoover is a fool. A great many Negroes will undoubtedly vote for Hoover at the risk of bringing down upon their heads the malediction of the wise and prudent editor, who upbraideth all men who dissent from his infallible judgment without stint or parsimony. The Good Book tells that he who sayeth to his brother "Thou fool" shall be in danger of the hell fire. Those self-deluded fools who persist in voting for Herbert Hoover, despite this maledictory admonition, will doubtless extend to the self-appointed political censor an urgent invitation to pay an immediate visit to the place that burneth with brimstone and fire.

On the other hand, it is decreed that those who vote for Al Smith should imitate the execrable Judas and commit immediate suicide. I think that all will agree that he who commits suicide is a fool; therefore, all Negroes who support either the Republican or the Democratic ticket in the approaching campaign, according to The Crisis' logic, will fall under the condemnation of that awful designation. After all, was not Shakespeare right when he exclaimed, "What fools these mortals be!"

The Negro is dressed up in his political clothes, which he puts on every four years. It is one of the failings of human nature that, when one is dressed up, he will inevitably find some place to go—even though he goes to the wrong place. It is unbearable boredom to endure the ennui of the Yankee yawl—"Nowhere to go, and nothing doing to home." Dr. Du-Bois' dictum would involve the Negro in a double acting dilemma. The Republican party is his traditional political home. If he stays there he is a fool; if he fares forth he will commit suicide. The Negro, in the midst of his bewilderment, wants constructive advice; his would-be guide, philosopher and friend confounds him with the counsel of despair.



— Kelly Miller —

As a matter of fact, this is the most perplexing campaign in the history of the American electorate. The Negro is no whit more confused than the great bulk of white voters. There will be no voters next November who can support their party with 100 per cent loyalty and devotion, unless it be the white and black Bourbons, who never learn anything new nor forget anything old.

Few, if any, voters will support either Mr. Hoover or Mr. Smith because he believes in all the things that either candidate stands for. It is no longer a question of party, but one of principle. Each voter must select that particular principle or set of principles which he deems most vital to the local and national welfare and vote for the party which for the time espouses these principles.

The agrarian will vote for the party and the candidate which he thinks will bring readiest farm relief. Those who do not believe in prohibition will support Al Smith, who embodies their hopes. On the other hand, the genuine advocates of prohibition will line up with Hoover, who stands with both feet on the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Negro's befuddlement may be a little more confusing than his white fellow electors. He must vote with Republicans, notwithstanding their abandonment of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, or stand for Smith, who is wet. While he thinks of the recreancy of the Grand Old Party, he cannot forget the traditional hostility of its Democratic adversary. Al Smith, who believes in political equality in the North, is silent on the same question in the South. Mr. Hoover, who abolished segregation in the Department of Commerce, does not dare defend his principle in face of the "lily white" demand in the South.

Although the Negro is bound by every consideration of racial self-respect to bring the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments back into the picture, he finds that it has been ignored by mutual connivance. So far as concerns the human rights issue in this campaign, dishonors are even. Prohibition is the residuary issue of divisive significance.

If the Negro deems this question vital to the welfare of the Negro and of the nation, as I do, then, despite all other drawbacks and disadvantages, he will support that party which makes most of that vital issue. Not only will he not be a fool for such advocacy, but he will thereby evince the highest political wisdom. Achilles sulking in his tent won no battles before the walls of Troy; Achilles buckling on his armor in behalf of the one thing that affected him most, despite his list of grievances against the leader of the Greeks, brought victory to his cause and glory to his name.

The Negro, while not a fool, has been fooled for the past forty years by the blandishments of pre-election promises. In this respect he can be fooled no longer. Let him keep both eyes open and vote for the sound principle of prohibition; he will thus escape the predicted folly of the fool and the tragic fate of the suicide.

OBSERVER

AUG 17 1928

COLORED REPUBLICANS PLAN FOR CAMPAIGN

An enthusiastic meeting of the Colored Men's Republican Club of Hudson County was held at Arcanum Hall, Jackson and Clinton avenues, Jersey City, last night. Close to 200 persons were in attendance and were addressed by prominent speakers.

Among the speakers, besides President Roberson, were Counselor August Zeigner, deputy superintendent of the Bureau of Elections of Hudson County; Mrs. Bessie Mention of Princeton, who was alternate-at-large to the Republican convention at Kansas City; Frank B. Chapman, candidate for Boulevard Commissioner; Counselor Aaron A. Melnicker, Benjamin Dowden, A. S. Thomas, colored, who was ousted as a member of the staff of the Bureau of Elections by former Superintendent Thomas McDonald, only to be reinstated by Superintendent John Ferguson, who is candidate for the Assembly; George Trotter, secretary of the Eighth Ward Republican Club of Jersey City; Rev. W. A. Byrd, Rev. W. A. Epps of the Zion Baptist Church of Jersey City, Mrs. Iola Epperman, organizer of the Ladies' Auxiliary, and Mrs. Alice E. Byrd.

In order to attend the meeting Mr. Chapman came to Jersey City in an airplane from Sea Girt, where he attended the awarding of medals to two members of his staff. His talk was also along the issues of the campaign.

The headquarters of the organization are located at 629 Communipaw avenue. Besides President Roberson, the officers are Fred N. Carter, vice-president; C. Bion Jones, secretary; Herbert Williams, assistant secretary; H. A. Bowley, treasurer, and C. A. Hyte, chairman of the executive committee.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

AUG 21 1928

COLORED G. O. P. VOTERS' OFFICE OPENED HERE

Dr. John R. Hawkins and Albon L. Holsey in Charge of Headquarters of Division.

Headquarters of the colored voters' division of the Republican national committee were opened here yesterday with offices on the first floor of the Barr Building, 910 Seventeenth street.

Dr. John R. Hawkins, chairman of the executive committee, and Albon L. Holsey, secretary, are in charge.

Dr. Hawkins is now in Tennessee attending a Republican conference in Nashville, but will return here Thursday.

POST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AUG 21 1928

Colored Voters' Division Of G. O. P. Opens Offices

The colored voters' division of the Republican national committee opened headquarters here yesterday with Dr. John R. Hawkins, chairman of the executive committee, and Albon L. Holsey, secretary, in charge. The division is located on the first floor of the Barr Building. Its chairman and secretary are serving with no honorarium, a fact which marks a "new era" in organization of colored voters' divisions of the national committee.

The other personnel consists of three stenographers, three typists, two messengers, a file clerk and bookkeeper, and a field working or contact man, aggregating a salary expenditure of approximately $3,000 during the forthcoming campaign. Dr. Hawkins is now attending a conference of Tennessee Republicans in Nashville. He will return here Thursday.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

Democrats Given Electors' Places On G. O. P. Ticket

Mrs. Marvin Williams, Charles E. Brown and Others Are Appointed by Flanders Faction.

BEN DAVIS ADMITS DEFEAT IN GEORGIA

Says Party Cannot Expect Success Until Year 2,000; G. O. P. Factional Strife Continues.

While two rival "republican state central committees,"—their differences still unharmonized, held meetings Saturday, one in Atlanta and the other in Macon, two facts were brought out of unusual interest in Georgia politics.

First Mrs. Marvin Williams, of Atlanta, and Charles E. Brown, of Cordele, who were delegates from Georgia to the democratic national convention at Houston last June, have been named as republican electors in the November election.

Second, admission by Ben J. Davis, negro, former republican national committeeman for Georgia, that Hoover cannot carry the state of Georgia against Al Smith, and that the republicans cannot hope to gain a victory in Georgia "until the year 2000."

G. O. P. Situation Tangled.

The republican situation in Georgia became more tangled than ever Saturday when the two "state central committees" met to name electors for the Hoover-Curtis ticket for the November election. The Flanders-Ben Davis faction, convening in Atlanta, endorsed 14 electors, including the two Georgia delegates to the democratic national convention and the Pickett-Joe Watson faction met in Macon and named a committee to select a second set of electors.

Selected by a special committee and approved by H. G. Hastings, chairman of the Hoover campaign committee for Georgia, the Flanders-Davis list of electors was filed with the secretary of state Saturday morning by J. T. Rose, vice chairman of the state central committee. This faction claimed a quorum with 30 present and 23 proxies.

The Pickett-Joe Watson faction, at Macon, named Roscoe Pickett, of Jasper, and Louis H. Crawford and C. P. Goree, both of Atlanta, as a committee to choose the presidential ticket, the committee being empowered to file its list. This meeting claimed 35 present and several proxies to make up a quorum of the 71 members of the state central committee. A quorum is 36 members.

Executive Bodies Named.

Both committees named executive committees for the next two years. Advices from Macon were that Pickett's meeting selected L. H. Crawford, of Atlanta, S. C. Clemmons, Macon negro, and B. F. Cofer, Albany, negro, as an executive committee. Both factions went on record as indorsing the selection of the Hoover-Curtis campaign committee for Georgia, headed by H. G. Hastings, and pledged cooperation with the committee in the campaign.

Mrs. Williams is president of the state W. C. T. U., while Brown is editor of the Cordele Dispatch. In addition to Mrs. Williams and Brown, the list of electors filed by Rose includes several democrats, among them members of the "Anti-Smith Dry Democrat" organization, as follows: Dr. E. J. Forrester, of Sparta; Mrs. Mary Harris Armor, widely-known temperance lecturer; George S. Jones, of Macon; Mrs. C. A. Vernooy, of Athens, and Dan T. Cowart, of Waycross. Mrs. Williams said Saturday afternoon that she had accepted the invitation to serve as a republican elector, and had sanctioned the use of her name on the list.

While admitting that some of the electors had been chosen from the ranks of dry democrats, it was stated that this had not been taken into consideration in making up the list. "We merely selected a strong, outstanding ticket of white electors," said Postmaster E. K. Large, a member of the committee. "We did not consider with what party they may have been identified."

Republican.

Frank admission that he does not believe Georgia will go republican in November was made Saturday by Ben J. Davis, negro, former republican national committeeman, at a meeting in the Fulton county courthouse at which the G. F. Flanders, of Jasper, faction claimed victory over the Roscoe Pickett, of Swainsboro, wing, with a quorum of 53 members in person or by proxy.

G. O. P. Victory Not Expected

Davis, secretary of the central committee, made a brief talk in which he expressed the opinion that while Hoover probably will draw a good vote in Georgia, the state will not go republican until "the year 2000," because it "will take that long to educate the white folks to the fact that the colored folks make good citizens."

Davis told the committee that he took the floor to "make some observations." "You hear a lot of talk about what folks are going to do," he said, "but when the time comes to vote the white people are going to vote democratic."

Asked by a negro committee member if the republican party would put out a state ticket, Davis said that it would not be any use to put one out because the negroes do not want to run for state office and the party is not strong enough to carry the election.

Davis explained that the vote campaign would get underway soon, and that the party would offer "a select and high class list of white electors," for, he said, "white folks don't want to vote for negroes. But to my knowledge our party has not had a colored elector since 1900. We always offer white electors."

Stating that the negroes were interested in William D. Upshaw's campaign "since he has come out openly for Hoover and against the national democratic ticket," Davis said, however, that he believed Congressman Leslie Steele would make a better office-holder.

Expel Pickett.

The session of the committee under Flanders was featured by adoption of resolutions affirming the actions of the executive committee at its recent meeting when Pickett and several other members opposed to Davis were reported to have been ousted from the committee. The Macon meeting called by Pickett was termed "illegal," and Flanders was empowered to declare vacant the places of any committee members who attended the Bibb county session Saturday.

Coincident with the meeting of the committee here, names of 14 republican electors, including Charles E. Brown, editor of the Cordele Dispatch, and Mrs. Marvin Williams, Atlanta, president of the state W. C. T. U., members of the Georgia democratic delegation, were filed with George Carswell, secretary of state. Action of a committee in filing the list was approved by the central committee members at the meeting here, while reports from Macon were that the Pickett wing was also selecting a list of "high class, white" electors.

Mrs. Williams to Serve.

Mrs. Williams said Saturday that she has consented to serve as an elector, and has given permission to the republican committee for the use of her name as filed with the secretary of state. Selected by a committee which included Postmaster E. K. Large, of Atlanta; J. T. Rose, collector of internal revenue, and Clint W. Hager, United States district attorney for northern Georgia, the 14 electors have accepted with only two exceptions, it was announced. The committee said it would vouch for the acceptance of two persons who have not been reached with notifications, one of these being Mrs. Mary Harris Armour, widely-known temperance lecturer, who is now in Europe.

The list of the electors, all white, follows: Charles Adamson, Cedartown, and Mrs. Mary Harris Armour, Eastman, state at large; Frank Durden, Savannah, first district; J. M. Patterson, Putney, second district; Charles E. Brown, Cordele, third district; Henry O. Lovvorn, Carrollton, fourth district; Mrs. Marvin Williams, Atlanta, fifth district; George S. Jones, Macon, sixth district; D. C. Cole, of Marietta, seventh district; Mrs. C. A. VerNooy, of Athens, eighth district; W. A. Carlisle, of Gainesville, ninth district; E. J. Forrester, of Sparta, tenth district; Dan T. Cowart, of Waycross, eleventh district, and J. H. Rush, of Lumber City, twelfth district.

The committee meeting was called to order by Flanders, who then turned the gavel over to O. M. Duke, of Flovilla. In addition to the customary roll call, committee members present signed a sworn affidavit to the effect that they were present in order that that point might not be disputed by the other faction meeting in Macon. Announcement was made that there were 30 members present in person, while 23 proxies made up the balance of the total of 53 answering roll call out of the total committee membership of 71.

Resolutions indorsing the actions of the executive committee at its recent meeting and recognizing the power of the committee to transact business of the committee between meetings of the full membership were presented by Dr. W. H. Harris, of Athens, seconded by William Long, of Douglasville, and adopted unanimously.

These resolutions ratified the appointment of a campaign committee headed by H. G. Hastings, Atlanta seed man, and including M. O. Dunning, C. W. Hager, O. M. Duke, G. F. Flanders, Dr. W. H. Harris, H. A. Hunt, B. J. Davis, A. T. Walden and T. C. Williams. The meeting recognized the following executive committee for the next two years: G. F. Flanders, J. T. Rose, B. J. Davis, W. J. Shaw, John W. Martin, A. S. Anderson, Jr., Dr. W. H. Harris, C. W. Hager, O. M. Duke and A. T. Atwater.

The purpose of the resolutions was to show that the executive committee acted within its authority and that the full committee approved its actions and is bound by its doings, the resolutions said. The resolutions confirmed the ousting of Pickett, J. H. Watson, L. H. Crawford, T. N. Hendricks, B. F. Cofer, R. C. Williams, Sol C. Clemons and E. J. Turner for alleged violation of instructions to vote for Ben J. Davis as national committeeman, and also ratified the election of C. S. Wigfall, W. S. Harris, D. A. Winston, J. B. Dove, William James, R. P. Hufstetler, A. W. Barrow and H. A. Hunt to succeed the removed members.

Joe R. Lovejoy, of Greenville, fourth district, was elected to the central committee to succeed Callie Crittenden, of Cordele, who did not accept membership on the committee.

Praising Ben J. Davis, negro secretary of the committee, for his loyalty to the party, J. B. Dove, white, of Atlanta, urged the committee's indorsement of Davis, which was given in a verbal chorus. Dove scored Pickett and the other "bolters," and reviewed the fight on Davis as national committeeman by Joe Watson, Albany negro, who also sought the national committeemanship.

Cordele Dispatch Aug 6-1928

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

The Dispatch in its entire career has never been stormed so with protests against a candidate for public office as it is now being beseiged with complaints against Al Smith and Tammany's program for the democrats. We have been in newspaper work for more than twenty years. It has not all been done here—some of it has touched larger newspapers. We have t osay tha tthe writer of these lines has never seen such a revolt.

People come often throughout the day's labors to tell us of their interests--to lend encouragement in the cause we are fighting. The write letters from all over this state. They send us fighting material—great loads of it. Here is a letter just in. It says: "I read your editorials appealing to the public in the Hoover-Smith nominations and I wish to say that I admire your stand and pluck and coming out as you did, that I heartily endorse your stand and statements. Keep the good work going. My vote goes to Hoover and every other one I can in any way influence is going, too."

This is from an outstanding citizen we never knew had any interest at all in the issue. He believes in the democracy of the south as truly as do any of us, but like most of us, he cannot believe that the interests of democcay of this country can be safe in the hands of Al Smith, Raskob, and Tammany. Women join in the same expressions. A good woman

showed a mark of distress in her face the other day discussing the terrible future—the injustices, the destruction of all that southern people had placed in their higher political ambitions for the party of their choice. Romanism and liquor make up all that Tammany has to offer southern people in the program with Al Smith at the head—and this good woman knew it.

We know what it means—that there is no future for the democracy of southern people in the hands of the Tammany element. Leadership was bought by the liquor and Romanist elements that went to Houston representing the democracy in this country. Georgia came within one moment of sending just such a delegation to Houston—came near doing it after she had a favorite son to offer. With but one vote the situation was saved. Al Smith money was being spent in Georgia to steal the delegation from Senator George. There is a row and a grudge yet—Smith peopde say now that the manner of selecting the delegation was all undemocratic and absolutely preposterous. Surely, it was—in the eyes of the Al Smithites who who were here to buy up the delegation. We can name Al Smith "speakeasies"—know them by name. They were here trying to make sure of a Smith delegation from Georgia when Senator George had already been selected and given the authority to name his own delegation. That thing was prevented by one lone vote in the state executive committee.

All over this country that went on—money, money, money, in limitless amounts. It went to make Houston certain for Al Smith. Where did it come from? How many millions of dollars went to securing the nomination for Al Smith against the best interests of decent government, to say nothing of the absolute destruction of representative procedure there?

How many more millions will be expended to put that same ticket across in November—how much of it in Georgia? We cannot help what comes, we are not going to stand for it. They may lick us, but we shall stand for the ideals of a democracy brought us by our forefathers. We want clean, representative government. We are going to tell about it when we see such stuff being offered Georgians as is being thundered by the mighty Marse Hoke Smith in Atlanta. He may deny till his full blown face is red, but he cannot make us believe he is not getting many thousands of dollars for his marvellously unselfish and patriotic stand in keeping Georgia democrats in line.

This is true: There are now campaign headquarters with men in charge. Marse Hoke is popping the whip at the office holders—every mother's son of them. They have done something never before required of them in Georgia—taken the oath of allegiance to the party—the Al Smith end of it. All these unusual programs mean the expenditure of huge sums of money. And they are doing that to carry the state of Georgia for the Tammany democracy! Why all that?

It is because so many people are going to detour. They mean to leave the Al Smith ticket to Marse Hoke and the office holders. They are going another way. The revolt is complete—state wide. And it isn't going to take piles of campaign money to make it a complete revolt. It is already a decided issue—that on the conscience of the individual voter.

What we hope with all the courage in our souls today is that it remains a revolt till November. We've seen republican politics which we heartily condemn—will always condemn, but if we know ourselves today, we soleemnly affirm to our readers that there is nothing promised in the Hoover program that can ever heap upon the democrats of the south such degradation, such complete surrender of representative government, such scandal, or more corrupt political pedigrees. And the [redacted] credit in the south to the type Tammany coddles and holds dear.

The Dispatch has never seen such a wide general revolt. It is a determination not to support the Al Smith rum and Romanism program. Marse Hoke and his paid lieutenants may yell—may sound the bugle call to loyal democrats—but loyal democrats believe that the safety of their political future and the party of their fathers will best be conserved in voting the Hoover ticket in November. And they are right. We've been through enough of Al Smith and Tammany to know.

The editor of the Dispatch seeks no office. Nobody can buy the voice of this newspaper. What appears in these columns goes there after honest deliberation—after years of battling the Tammany Al Smith gangsters. We shall continue to warn our friends. Then, if they swallow the dose now confronting southern people and the democratic party in the Tammany ticket, we cannot help it. But, friend, if you knew we are sure somebody would have to argue with you on this subject. Al Smith is the greatest menace to clean, representative government that has ever been offered the people of this republic.

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
Sunday, July 29, 1928

Constitution
Atlanta
Ga.
8-19-28

8-12-28

WHEN MRS. HOOVER WAS A SCHOOL GIRL—Mrs. Herbert Hoover, wife of the republican nominee for president, when she lived in Whittier, Col., and attended school there. Mrs. Hoover, indicated by arrow, is shown with part of her graduation class. There was one negro in the class. (International)

NEWS
Chandler, Okla
AUG 17 1928

A NEW LEADERSHIP

Chairman Hubert Work, of the republican National committee, has named an executive committee, to handle the work of the colored division during the presidential campaign. These men will serve without pay. The Negroes of America should take off their hats to John R. Hawkins and his colleagues, because of their

Republican.

unselfish attitude in this matter. The day has come when Negro America can tie to leadership which will not bind and compromise itself with the "loaves and the fishes" to the extent that later it unfits them to make demands for the race as a whole, having to do with the common weal.

It was this sentiment that the writer voiced at Kansas City, in such meetings as the colored division had there, and in following our judgment as to the type of man who should lead out, we placed our name on the dotted line asking that John R. Hawkins be selected.

In the selection we have a man as big as his job. Banker, financial secretary of the great A. M. E. church, and one of the most substantial citizens of the District of Columbia. Mr. Hawkins could not be doing more than making a personal sacrifice to give his time and mind freely to this task and without pay, in organizing the negro republican voter in a solid phalanx for the coming November election.

But in doing so. In rendering unselfish service, Mr. Hawkins will be in a position, if the republican party is successful, to make demands for his race that under other conditions he would not be able to make. If he were a job hustler, as some of his predecessors, he would immediately place himself in the position of the mendicant, who after he has filled his own mouth, has not the courage nor the right to ask for succor for any one else.

The negroes of America want the republican party to take a firm stand on the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution of the United States. While agitation is on the enforcement of the 18th amendment we want to awaken the conscience of America as to the enforcement of all of the amendments.

The great question of liberty, freedom and the underpinning of everything that is dear in American government depends upon the enforcement of all laws, and at the fountain head, at the throne of government, we should demand leadership, courageous and unafraid, leadership of the type of John R. Hawkins.—Black Dispatch.

Church Declines

Tennessee's republican boss, R. R. Church has declined a place on the Hoover campaign committee because it is headed by Mr. John R. Hawkins, of Washington, D. C., who can vote only once in four years.

Mr. Church says he objects also to the way in which this committee was selected.

The Tennessee boss has just conferred with both Mr. Hoover and Mr. Curtis. His letter of declination is therefore an inference that his appeal to them to change the personnel of the committee or add to its membership has been turned down. No other recourse remained except publicly to resign the place proffered on the committee.

Democrats will draw comfort from the Church letter, altho Mr. Church will not bolt the party. It is another sign of the independent spirit so evident in this presidential campaign.

NEW YORK HERALD

Republican
and
8-23-28

AUG 18 1928

Racial Laws Called Blunder By Northerner

Dr. Hatton, of Illinois, Tells Virginia Institute That AmendmentsAreDictation

Candor Marks Debate

New York Business Statutes Are Pointed to as Model

Special to the Herald Tribune

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va., Aug. 17.—The enactment of the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth Amendment was a colossal blunder, Dr. Arthur R. Hatton, of Northwestern University, told the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia to-day.

Dr. Hatton added an admission that the working out of the racial relations problem was largely a matter to be left to the South, wherein the real problem has always pressed. Such an admission from a Republican of Illinois was regarded as real candor and an important contribution to the discussion of this theme which has effected politics in this country for sixty years.

"The North," said Mr. Hatton, "is no more anxious to interfere with the

policies of the South than it is to have the South dictate to it. Four-fifths of the North will realize that many of its reconstruction reforms have been blunders."

Dr. Hatton said that a sectional difference does not mean necessarily a difference of interest.

Mrs. Aurelia H. Reinhardt, of Mills College, California, illustrated this by pointing to the Japanese situation in California, which was sectional and yet vitally affected the nation's interest as a whole.

South Fears Negro Postmasters

Two queries were put forward by Dr. James K. Pollock jr.: First, if race is the one thing that keeps a Solid South, what is there to prevent the South from voting for Hoover, and, second, why does the South think that Smith would keep up racial barriers any more than Hoover? In the discussion that followed it was pointed out that the average Southerner connected racial equality of Negroes and whites with the Republican party and that they feared Negro postmasters in the South during a Republican administration.

Dr. Hatton pointed out that the Negro population is predominantly Republican, but he is breaking away from it and voting to his best advantage.

Asserting that he did not favor social equality between the races, Dr. Hatton said he recognized that some Negroes are capable. He saw nothing wrong in the idea that some racial stocks show a lower political capacity than others.

Replying to a query by Ralph Lounsbury, as to why the Negro can't be controlled within the party in the South, Hunsdon Carey, of Norfolk, Va., said that if the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution were repealed, the South would go Republican.

Many votes in the South will be cast against Mr. Hoover in the coming Presidential campaign because of his order abolishing race segregation in the census bureau of the Department of Commerce, said Miss Lavinia Engle, Secretary of the Maryland League of Women Voters.

The future of Pan-Americanism was discussed by Victor S. Clark, editor of "The Living Age," of Boston, before the round table on "Our Latin-American Relations, where he called attention to "problems that loom most ominously."

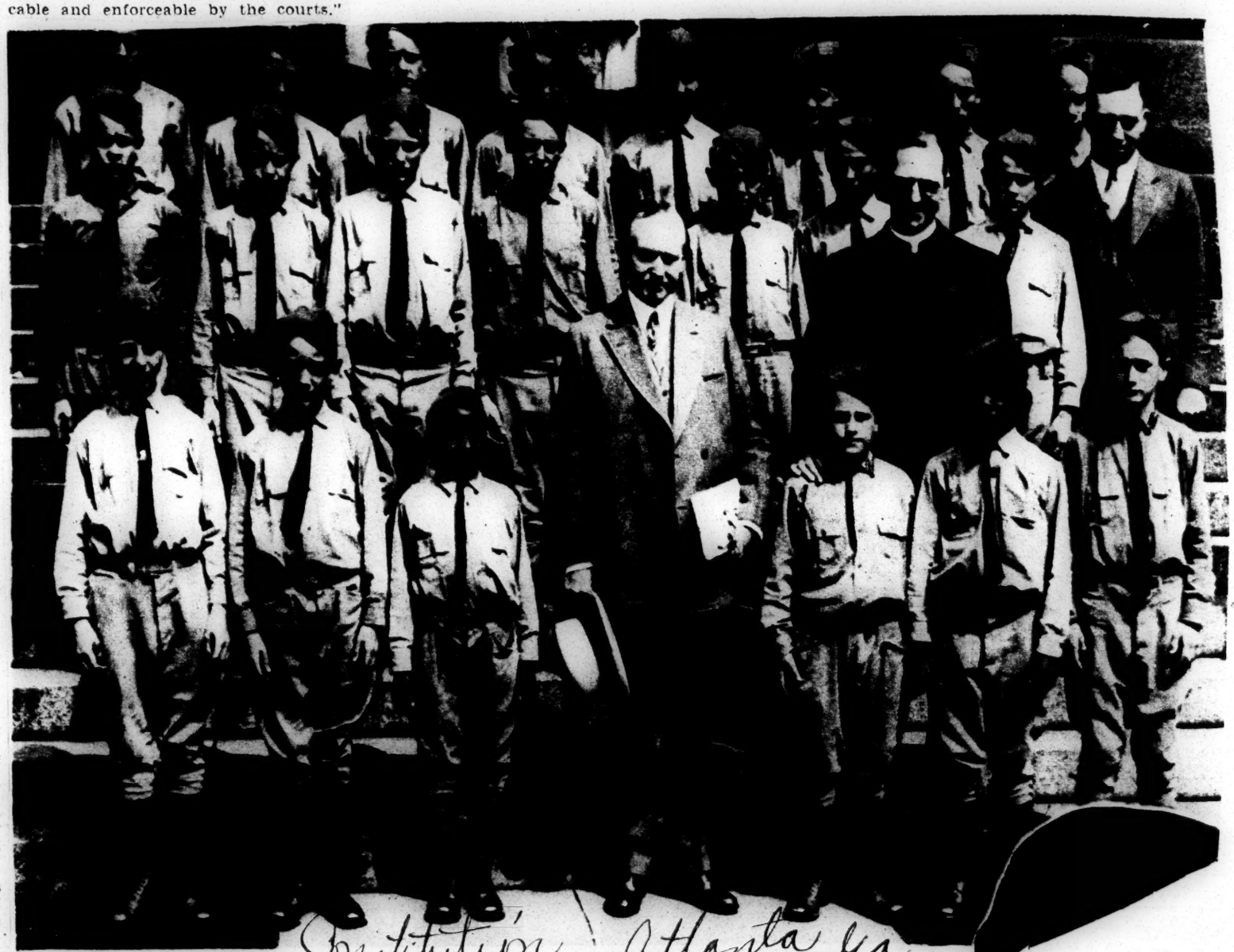
Utilization of Land Vital

The abandoned forest was the theme of George M. Rommel, agricultural consultant of Washington and New York, who said that the economic utilization of land is vital to the nation's welfare. The prosperity of farming, he declared, depends largely on the success with which farmers are able to utilize the land they operate. "Land pays a large share of taxes and it is obvious that unproductive land, unprofitable land, means unproductive, unprofitable communities or no communities at all.

Mr. Rommell asserts that the South is showing the way to the development of a constructive forest and land utilization policy for the entire nation.

Daniel Bloomfield, manager of the retail trade board of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, stated that there is a tremendous waste of time, money, energy and resources for which litigation and congested court calendars are responsible and that "business ethics" is more than a matter of pious creeds and pronouncements lacking flesh and blood. In the history of commercial arbitration, he said, the New York Chamber holds an enviable place.

"What we need is statutes similar to those in effect in New York, providing that awards shall be final and irrevocable and enforceable by the courts."



Constitution Atlanta, Ga. 19-28

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND HIS FRIEND, THE REV. FATHER FLANAGAN, were entertained recently by this boys' band at the president's headquarters in Superior, Wis. The same band played for Mr. Coolidge last year at his summer home in the Black Hills.

Baltimore, Md., American
Date August 23, 1928

NEGROES TO PROTEST TREATMENT OF BLACK VOTERS BY THE G.O.P.

(By Associated Press)

CHICAGO, Aug. 3.—A permanent organization of the National Negro Voters' League is to be formed tomorrow at a conference of negro leaders from 40 states called together by J. Finley Wilson, negro, to protest against what he termed "mistreatment of negro voters at the hands of the National Republican party."

The meeting will be a sequel to a conference held at Kansas City after the Republican convention at which a territory organization was formed.

"The purpose," Wilson said, "is to find out where the negro stands in the Republican party. We are all Republicans but we want to find out whether we are going to be allowed to stay in the party. All we ask is a square deal."

TELEGRAPH
Starke Fla
AUG 31 1928

300 NEGROES ARE NAMED TO WORK FOR GOP TICKET

The largest number of negroes ever designated officially as party committeemen will work for the election of Herbert Hoover and the republican ticket in the present campaign. Announcement by Chairman Hubert Work, of the division of the republican national committee indicates appointment of more than 300 negroes, men and women, in all states of the Union.

This is by far the largest number of negroes ever named by the G. O. P. in a campaign ,in modern times at least, although there has been a division for work among colored voters in each national campaign.

The fight among the negroes for the post of head of the division has been won, as expected, by John Hawkins, of Washingtoin, D. C., who seconded Hoover's nomination at the Kansas City convention.

Political – 1928

Party Affiliation

DR. HAWKINS IS GIVEN VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

Republican Leaders Pass Resolution Favoring Executive Committee Head

SCOTT AND HOLSEY ALSO COMMENDED

Program Outlined For Nation-Wide Campaign Among Colored Votesr

(Special to The Herald)

Washington. — A resolution was unanimously passed Tuesday by Negro leaders of the Republican Party expressing implicit confidence in the ability of Dr. John R. Hawkins, chairman of the executive committee of the Colored Voters Division of the Republican Party.

The resolution also expressed confidence in A. L. Holsey, secretary, and Dr. Emmett J. Scott, a member of the executive committee.

Expresses Confidence

The resolution was as follows: "In view of the criticism from certain individuals reflecting upon Chairman John R. Hawkins, Dr. Emmett J. Scott and Secretary A. L. Holsey as non-voters, we do hereby record our implicit confidence in them and their ability to conduct an enthusiastic and effective campaign for Hoover and Curtis; and we pledge to them our unanimous support and further pledge to cooperate in every possible way to accomplish this purpose."

Among those who attended the conference were Dr. John R. Hawkins, chairman of the executive committee, State Senator Adelbert H. Rogerts, Chicago; director of the Western Bureau; Mrs. Addie Hunton, of the Eastern Women's Bureau; Mrs. M. F. Cook, of the Western Women's Bureau; Attorney W. A. Foster, Boston, Dr. Emmett J. Scott, A. L. Holsey, Mrs. George S. Williams, National Republican Committeewoman of Georgia.

Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, Pittsburgh, of the Women's Division; Robert L. Vann, Pittsburgh, Chairman of the Publicity Committee; W. T. Andrews, Vice Chairman of the Publicity Committee; Claude A. Barnett, secretary of the Publicity Committee; Fred R. Moore, New York, Chairman of the Eastern Bureau; Ernest T. Atwell, Philadelphia; Col. West A. Hamilton, of the ex-service men of the East, Judge James A. Cobb, Joseph Johnson, John T. Risher and Attorney Whilfield McKinlay, of Washington.

Mrs. Yost Introduced

Mrs. Ellen L. Yost, National Committeewoman of West Virginia, was introduced to the conference by Mr. E. Mitchell and spoke. Mrs. Yost has been prominent in the educational and political life of Virginia and has done constructive work in the interest of the race.

Plans Perfected

Organization plans were completed for an active campaign among colored people. During the conference Dr. Hawkins presided. Various department heads told of the activities in the different sections of the country and outlined a program for a nation-wide campaign for the support of the colored voters for the Republican Ticket. Reports showed that active work had been started and that the colored citizens would play an active part in the forthcoming election.

Dr. Work Speaks

The meeting was held on the tenth floor of the Barr Building and included addresses by Dr. Hubert Work and Mrs. Alvin T. Hert, chairman of the women's division.

Dr. Work, Chairman of the National Republican Committee, pointed out that the sole purpose of the party ticket in the forthcoming election was to effect the success of the party.

Race Vote Important

He referred to the importance of the colored vote and said, "we must not forget that we are opposing one of the strongest organizations the Democratic party has ever boasted. Therefore we must bring before the voters, not the imaginary issues, but the real issues. We have selected Herbert Hoover as our standard bearer because we believe that he is a better, a bigger and stronger man than his opponent.

Republican.

Old Time Politician Out

"The type of men in your organization are the examples of the best American citizens who are interested in the affairs of the nation. The old time politician is out of this campaign. We are depending this year upon the partiotism and the loyalty of the American people to the Republican Party and the present government."

Women Play Part

Mrs. Hert pointed out that the vote of the colored women is of vital importance. The women of the colored race are tremendously important. They posses organization possibilities of which even the men cannot boast. Bring them into the organization and make them an integral part of it." ueclared Mrs. Hert.

THOMAS H. R. CLARKE DEFINES ATTITUDE OF OF RACE VOTERS

I have just concluded reading Mr. Bargeron's article in which he outlines the plan of campaign to be conducted among the colored voters of the country by the political management of the Republican party. I have this to say that if the Republican leaders between campaigns would give one-tenth as much attention to the colored vote as they so ostentatiously exhibit upon the eve of the greatest political struggle since 1896, their sincerity and good faith might not be questioned.

There are 15,000,000 colored people within the United States, nearly three times as many people as compose the present Austrian nation since its dismemberment. They are contributing their share in the productive power of the United States, and yet the Republican leaders have so manipulated the political situation that they have "jockeyed" every colored man in the Nation out of individual political power. There isn't a single one left with anything like the power formerly exerted by Frederick Douglass, B. K. Bruce and Booker T. Washington.

A Republican Senate refused to confirm Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, and had it not been for Robert M. La Follette, the Progressive, and David I. Walsh, Democratic Senator of Massachusetts, Mr. Cohen's name would have been rejected for the third time.

Senator Walsh got on a train and traveled 500 miles to reach the Senate in time to put over Mr. Cohen's confirmation, while Republican senators stood by and cynically voted against him. Mr. Cohen is the last colored Republican in the South holding a distinguished political appointment.

I wish furthermore to say that former Chief Justice White, of the Supreme Court of the United States, himself a Southern Democrat, gave colored America its first judicial victories before that tribunal. From the Dred Scott case to the appointment of Mr. Justice White, all of our cases were lost before that tribunal, and we did not begin to get favorable decisions until this great jurist appeared in the seat of judicial power.

I intend to support in this campaign the most brilliant gubernatorial officer in America—Alfred E. Smith, for three reasons:

(a) I am tired of Republican humbuggery.

(b) Gov. Smith has given the Nation a clear-cut referendum on the prohibition folly.

(c) His election will give no encouragement to the gallant gentlemen of the Klan.

Thomas H. R. Clark.

OUST HOWARD FACTION AIM OF LILY WHITES

Eliminate Negro Control, Is Cry of G. O. P. Leader.

ELECTORS ARE INDORSED

Republican Meeting at Greenville Brings Party Members From Over State—Predictions for Election of Ticket Are Made.

Special to The Commercial Appeal.

GREENVILLE, Miss., Aug. 28.—Republicans from the four corners of the Magnolia State gathered here tonight in a formal inauguration of the Republican campaign of this state. Two presidential electors representing the "white wing" of the Mississippi party were indorsed.

Charles C. Gordon, president of the Southern States Republican League, in one of the keynote addresses of the evening declared that the "Mississippi people have been watching the movement for the re-establishment of the Republican party in this state, that contemplates complete elimination from control of new leadership, as in the past for years, by a man whose name should not be mentioned in a Republican meeting of this character, and who is now under indictment by a federal grand jury and awaiting trial."

Two Distinct Factions.

Gordon said "there had been two factions, one led by Sheldon, Rowlands, Hawkins and that group who seek to have a party that will appeal to the good judgment of the people of the state; the other under the leadership of a mulatto and a coterie of his satellites, a faction that has by manipulations sunk it to the lowest level and placed the Republican party in Mississippi in contempt with all people who desire to see the right type of people occupy public positions."

In closing Gordon advocated the two party system in the state, declaring that Mississippi recognizes the disadvantages of the one party form of government and is eagerly looking forward to the time when she will become politically normal by the establishment of two major and evenly divided political parties.

The speaker predicted that many Mississippi Democrats will odorize their preogative and cast their votes for the nominees of the Kansas City convention, Hoover and Curtis. However, he made no predictions as to whether or not the Republicans would break into the state with a victory.

Ernest McCall Hawkins, chairman of the Mississippi state Republican executive committee, predicted that with the "lily white" electoral ticket to vote for Mississippi will poll a greater vote than has ever been polled by any Republican presidential electors in Mississippi.

"We are sure," he declared, "that those who favor the election of Hoover for preside... ...n gladly support this ticket because it represents the best in thestate."

Hawkins said it was well known public offices in this state were being bought and sold and traded and that it was a direct reflection on the citizenship of the state, and that men like Rowlands, Gordon and Sheldon and others who had taken a decided stand toward cleaning up the Republican party in Mississippi were entitled to the everlasting gratitude of the people of the state and that it took men of their pluck to call a halt to the mismanagement of the Republican party in Mississippi.

The other principal address of the evening was made by George L. Sheldon, of Petitt, former gov-

ernor of Nebraska. Sheldon declared that the Republican party in Mississippi is facing a new area and a bright future. He commented on the mismanagement of the party that has been disgracing the Republican name. The former governor forecasted a victory in November for the Hoover-Curtis combination, but realized that they had a hard fight ahead.

Race Question Hurts Hoover

Speaker Says He Will Lose Votes Because of This

Charlottesville, Va., Aug. 18 (AP). Many Southern votes will be cast against Hoover in the coming Presidential election because of his order abolishing race segregation in the Department of Commerce, Miss Lavinia Engle, secretary of the Maryland League of Women Voters, declared yesterday before the ground table conference on political parties of the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia.

The South has come to look upon the Republicans as the party which appoints negroes to office, Miss Engle continued. Taking part in the same discussion, Prof. Arthur R. Hatton, of Northwestern University, leader of the conference, said that the North is no more anxious to interfere with the policies of the South than it is to have the South dictate to it.

Problems that "loom most ominously," in the future of Pan-Americanism, were pointed out by Victor S. Clark, editor of The Living Age, of Boston, in the round table discussion on "Our Latin-American Relations."

Gulfs between the rich and poor may be made broader throughout both Americas, Mr. Clark continued, when economic advances create a community of interests between the wealthier, governing countries and the United States classes of the Latin-American and Canada.

"If you have a universal treaty to prevent war why should not these Latin American states come in?" asked Professor John H. Latane, leader of this round table. 'In the two active areas of imperialistic expansion, the anti-war pact does not apply."

Frederic Pezet, former ambassador to the United States from Peru sounded a warning when he declared "Spanish speaking countries will in the future be some of the largest nations of the world and if the United States ignores and belittles them today, tomorrow you may awaken to the fact that you have at your side, not friends but enemies."

THE CONGRESSIONAL SITUATION.

The designation for the Congressional nomination on the Republican ticket in the Twentyfirst district of New York seems to have gone begging for acceptance, so far as a racial candidate is concerned, the Rev. William P. Hayes having joined Alderman Hawkins in declining the honor. Dr. Hayes' reason for his decision, the welfare of the church of which he is pastor, which requires undivided attention and care, is all sufficient and his choice will be approved by those conversant with the situation. The committee will have to find another candidate to make the fight.

In Chicago Former Alderman Oscar DePriest, who was slated as the regular Republican nominee to succeed the late Representative Madden, is threatened with opposition within the party at the primary, but the Thompson machine will probably carry him through. The movement to nominate a Negro on the Democratic ticket to oppose him does not appear to have met with acceptance among the leaders of the opposition. In another Chicago district, William Harrison will be the regular Republican candidate, with good chances of election.

A peculiar situation will be presented in St. Louis, where a young colored lawyer named McLemore has been named for the regular Democratic nomination to oppose Congressman Dyer, the author of the Dyer anti-lynching bill. This will precipitate a curious contest and clashing of opinions. If Missouri Democrats support the regular ticket, they will be voting for a Negro representative, and if they jump to the Republican side they will put the stamp of their disapproval on lynching. The Negro voters will be placed in a dilemna almost equally awkward, of either voting against a race candidate or turning down the anti-lynching advocate.

Out of this conglomeration of mixed motives and conflicting interests, the race should emerge with one or more representatives in the next Congress, which may mark the beginning of a new era in politics.

COLORED WOMEN VOTERS MEET IN NATIONAL CAPITAL; PLEDGE TO SUPPORT HOOVER AND CURTIS

By RUBY MOYSE KENDRICK
(For the Associated Negro Press)

Washington, D. C.—Declaring for a program of organization, education and registration of Republican Negro women in the coming campaign, Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, president, opened the 2nd biennial convention of the National League of Republican Colored Women here.

More than 300 women were present, all representing organized political clubs, and many connected with state central organizations throughout the country. These women, sweltering with heat, yet smiling with hope, rolled up their sleeves and formulated plans by which they could be of service to the party in the coming campaign.

Ovation To Dr. Hawkins

An ovation was given to Dr. John R. Hawkins, recently appointed director of Republican campaign activities among colored people. Among other things in his message to these women, Dr. Hawkins said: "Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats can hope to win without the support of the women. The giving of citizenship rights to women has been the longest step forward in recent legislation."

A provisional list of women workers in both the Eastern and Western divisions was read, with an invitation to the assembled convention to submit names of prospective workers for consideration.

The convention voted a hearty endorsement of Dr. Hawkins and pledged its support of the Republican party.

Visitors From National Headquarters

Honorable Franklin Fort of New Jersey, secretary of the Republican national committee, speaking as a representative from national headquarters, said that in his mind "Hoover is the greatest man of any time before reaching the presidency."

Mr. Fort also asserted that in the performance of public service, Mr. Hoover always recognized the rights of people as people.

He recounted the record of the Republican presidential nominee in managing the problems of the food administration during war times and the Mississippi flood relief in 1927, both services being rendered without hope of reward. The convention was also reminded of a statement made by Thomas A. Edison that as secretary of commerce, Mr. Hoover had saved the American people more than one hundred million dollars without their being aware of it.

In speaking of the vice-presidential nominee, Mr. Fort said that because of his 35-year record as senator and as congressman, Senator Curtis has had the finest training to prepare him to step into the White House in the event that such a step should become necessary.

The speaker was continually interrupted by applause, especially from the Western delegations.

While introducing to the assembled women, Mrs. Alice Graham Robinson, assistant to Mrs. Alvin T. Hert, Mrs. George S. Williams, national committeewoman from Georgia, expressed appreciation of the fact that every official courtesy shown any other member of the committee has been accorded the colored members.

Mrs. Robnison read greetings from Mrs. Hert, who is attending a conference of Western political leaders at Chicago. The National League of Colored Women tendered, through Mrs. Robinson, a vote of appreciation to Mrs. Hert.

Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, assistant attorney general, was the next speaker. During the open session of the afternoon, the convention questioned the attitude of Mrs. Willebrandt as to the place she thought the race should occupy politically.

Other speakers were Mrs. E. E. Gann, sister of Senator Curtis, Miss Coleman, and E. H. Priest, press representatives, Mrs. Victor Evans, and the veteran politician, Kelly Miller of Howard University, and Neval Thomas, president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

New National Officers

During the afternoon, reports of Republican clubs were listed from Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Arkansas, New Jersey, Kansas, Wisconsin, Iowa, Michigan, New York, Florida, Rhode Island, Missouri, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, California, Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas, and the District of Columbia.

The following officers were elected for the next two years: President, Nannie H. Burroughs, District of Columbia; 1st vice-president, Mrs. S. Joe Brown, Iowa; 2nd vice-president, Mrs. Belle Davis, Ohio; chairman of the executive board, Miss Daisy Lampkin, Pennsylvania; corresponding secretary, Mrs. E. M. Kelly, Michigan; 1st recording secretary, Mrs. Rebecca Stiles Taylor, Georgia; 2nd recording secretary, Mrs. Ida Plumer, Indiana; 3rd recording secretary, Mrs. Blanche Davis, Florida; financial secretary, Dr. Julian Coleman, New York; treasurer, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, District of Columbia; parliamentarian, Mrs. Ora Brown Stokes, Virginia; department of voters, Roberta Dunbar, Rhode Island.

Political - 1928.

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

BATTLE BETWEEN GIANTS.

The Willis-Hoover contest in Ohio is a battle between republican giants in a state that has the reputation for "making presidents." That it will seriously split the party following is inevitable, and from that fact the democrats may take courage. Ohio is pivotal. It has a democratic governor at present, but a republican representative in congress. In 1920 the presidential race was waged by two Ohioans—Governor Cox, democrat, and Senator Harding, republican. Harding carried the state, but had the republican nominee been other than an Ohio man Cox would probably have carried. 3-2-28

Constitution

In the present battle for the convention delegates, favorable toward either Senator Willis, of Ohio, or Secretary Hoover, of California, the factional lines among Ohio republican leaders are more closely drawn than ever before.

Atlanta, Ga.

Colonel Carmi A. Thompson, Cleveland, Senator Willis' campaign manager, heads the senator's slate for seven delegates at large, while Hoover's list is headed by Congressman Theodore E. Burton, also of Cleveland.

The Rev. E. W. B. Curry, negro Baptist minister at Springfield, is on the Hoover list, and A. Lee Beatty, negro, former assistant United States attorney, at Cincinnati, is on Willis' slate.

The other four Willis candidates for delegates at large are: United States Senator Simeon D. Fess, Yellow Springs; E. W. Edwards, Cincinnati manufacturer; Colonel Edward Vollrath, Bucyrus, Spanish and world war veteran, and Fred W. Warner, Marion, state republican central committee chairman.

The remainder of the Hoover candidates for delegate at large are: Robert A. Taft, Cincinnati, son of the chief justice of the United States supreme court; W. W. Farnsworth, Waterville; Edward Orton, Jr., Columbus, and Frank Brown were the most popular second choice of the Willis slate of delegates, being selected by four of the seven delegates at large, and thirty of the forty-four district delegates. Next in popularity in the Willis list was Colonel Charles R. Fisher, retired newspaper publisher and banker of Wilmington, Ohio.

Colonel Thompson, Congressman Burton, Senator Fess and Robert A. Taft are all national figures. Congressman Burton, formerly a United States senator, is a veteran and one of the most powerful orators in congress.

The fight will be watched with keen interest throughout the United States. In the meantime if the democratic leaders will act wisely, "keep their heads" and avoid feuds and intolerances Ohio's electoral vote may be in the democratic column after the November elections.

REPUBLICAN PRIMACY ESSENTIAL TO NEGRO PROGRESS

Independent Atlanta, Ga. Feb. 23, 1928

The recent outbursts of the spirit of intolerance with its venomous hatred against certain classes of American citizens, poured upon the ears of the law-makers at the seat of our national government by representatives of standard Southern thought and policy, serves as outstanding evidence that the Negro could entertain no hope of just administration of the laws under a Democratic tenure of the White House. These effusions are but the gentle ripplings of the waters by comparison with the actual dormant tidal wave of adverse sentiment against the Negro in the South. However, they are decidedly expressive of the general attitude of the Democratic Party towards the Negro.

The odium of the discriminatory practices against the Negro during the last Democratic administration will ever remain fresh in the minds of the Negro citizens. Eight years of drastic partisan rule destroyed almost the last vestige of personal liberty and inherent rights of the Negro. Ostracism, unnecessary discrimination and officially approved segregation, even around the "throne" of our government, were practiced against the Negro; those in the employ of the government under civil service regulations were the objects of the Democrats plan of despoilation. Thus the Negro was "slaughtered" to make complete the Democratic "holiday."

The South has always aligned itself solidly with the Democratic Party because the Democratic Party adheres to the theory of states' rights as against centralized authority in our government, and under the former the South would be able to perpetuate its traditional oppression of certain classes and groups of its populace, while under centralized authority, it must await the ascendency of the Democratic Party to the executive power in the nation.

The Negro has not yet procured the full rights and proper freedom of his status as a citizen; he can not expect to achieve these priceless possessions with a strong political faction attempting to shunt him to the outer realms of American society. The Negro is seeking the proper enforcement of the laws of the nation, as applicable to all citizens, that he may receive the benefits of the protection and security of the law. He is no longer the subject of special legislation, for the obvious reason that he is a citizen, and consequently a part of the legislative and operative system of the government. He does not seek the enactment of further laws for his benefit, but is expecting the administrative power of the government to take cognizance of him as a citizen.

With nearly every door of opportunity closed against the Negro, his only hope for measuring up to his citizenship lies in his own efforts for the improvement of his status, and to succeed he must not be handicapped by those in authority in the executive positions of our government. The party in power must at least adopt the policy of protection of his rights as a citizen, and it is only when the Republican Party has held the reins in our government that the Negro has felt some measure of freedom of movement.

The Republican Party has maintained its friendly attitude towards the Negro ever since its foundation. Through its militant efforts the race was given its freedom, and the past eras of Negro progress have come under Republican regimes. The future welfare of the race depends upon the continuance of this party in power. The Democratic Party has always clung to the notion that the Negro is a nonenity in American life and therefore unworthy of serious consideration as a citizen. He is not accepted as such; his presence in the social scheme is disregarded, and to them he has no rights which must be respected.

The Negro race is a strong entity in this country; his citizenship is established and permanent, and must be recognized. The Republican Party has exhibited the spirit of true democracy towards the race; it has kept the faith from Lincoln to Coolidge, and the Negro has enjoyed a beneficial interest in the government during the party's tenure of the executive office. The party canvasses the vote, appreciates it and makes returns in the just and equitable administration of the laws.

Unless the race is willing to submit to proscription of its rights and other obstacles to its progress, it should present a solid vote to retain the Republican Party in power. There is no other program so efficacious; the progress of the race depends wholly upon the continuance of the Republican Party in charge of the reins of our government. Republican primacy in our national government is essential to Negro progress.

Mobile, Ala., Register

MAR 9 1928

LILY WHITES WIN FIRST SKIRMISH TO OUST HOWARD

Chancellor Price at Hattiesburg Holds Court Has Power to Act in Controversy

Special To The Register

HATTIESBURG, Miss., March 8.—George Sheldon, former governor of Nebraska and now a Mississippi delta planter, and 150 other white Republicans in this state won two legal skirmishes here today in their fight to overthrow Perry W. Howard and his negro colleagues from their positions as party leaders in the state Republican organization.

Chancellor T. Price Dale who granted the Lily White group an injunction 10 days ago which restrains the faction now in power from holding beat, county state elections for the purpose of selecting presidential electors, overruled a demurrer filed by the defendants here today. The ruling was handed down at 8 o'clock tonight after opposing attorneys had waged an all-day battle over points of law, centering chiefly on the question of whether a court of equity had jurisdiction in this class of case.

Prominent Lawyers Heard.

A formidable array of legal talent had been obtained by the Howard faction, headed by J. Morgan Stevens, retired state supreme court judge; while the so-called "Lily Whites" were represented by three local attorneys, J. T. Wills and Sullivan and Sullivan. In filing their demurrer this morning when the hearing was opened, the defendants incorporated in the instrument an answer to the bill of charges made by the Sheldon group. The court was then asked to hear the points of fact as well as points of law, but on strenuous objections by the complainants, who wished to withhold testimony until decision on the demurrer was given, which decision would thereby establish the contention that the chancery had jurisdiction over the case, Chancellor Dale ruled that argument on the demurrer would be heard first.

Sustains Court Authority.

Despite the fact that counsel for the Howard faction quoted at length from Mississippi court decisions in an effort to prove that courts of equity have no authority to control the actions of political parties, Chancellor Dale in overruling the demurrer said that wherever statutes had been violated governing the methods of holding primary elections, the courts could step in and prevent other such violations by issuing injunctions. He named a number of authorities in other states to uphold this decision, but admitted that the question in point had never before been brought before a Mississippi court.

Points in the bill of charges which were considered by the court as involving law violations were the following allegations: That the negro factions had failed to give the required ten-day notice in advance of the holding of elections, that they failed to give the date of the election; that such elections were held in negro churches, negro lodge halls and other public places where white men and women would not enter; and that the executive committee had failed to name the number of delegates to be chosen at such elections.

Following the chancellor's ruling, several witnesses were sworn in for the complainants and the business of taking testimony to substantiate the charges of the "Lily Whites" was started. Indications were that the hearing would continue far into the night, and Chancellor Dale said because of other engagements he would not be able to continue the case until Saturday.

Federal Office Holders and Political Contributions

Independent
Atlanta, Ga. Feb. 23, 1928

It is against the law for any federal officeholder, appointed by any officer of the government, to make contributions, voluntary or involuntary, to any person, or persons, as a consideration for appointment to office. This law is a good one, and it ought to be observed, but it should not be used as an excuse by those who live by public offices to keep from contributing to the hand that feeds them. Corruption, in every form, must be provided against, but the fellow who accepts public office and refuses, after he gets the job, to contribute of his means according to his ability for the support of the party that furnishes him bread and meat, by hiding behind the law, is equally as corruptible as the fellow who offers to buy the job for an outright consideration.

All political parties, like all churches, schools and other institutions, it matters not how honorable and meritorious their objects may be, must receive financial as well as moral support if they exist and carry out the purposes for which they were instituted. And it is just as unreasonable to suppose that a political organization can pay rent, advertise, pay for services, and for the legitimate conduct of the business without money as it is to suppose that the Gospel can be sent to China, India and other heathen lands without money.

Money should not be used to the extent of commercializing public office or making it impossible for those who are not rich to aspire, but the legitimate expenses of conducting a campaign ought to be permitted and should be paid for by those who receive the emoluments of office.

There is not a senator or congressman elected to Congress with or without opposition who does not spend thousands of dollars legitimately, or otherwise, in campaign expenses. If the candidates themselves don't spend the money their friends and corporations friendly to them put up the necessary and unnecessary expenses to carry and influence the election. And any man elected to Congress, or to any other office in the gift of the people, where there is more than a thousand dollars spent, whether or not he spends it or furnishes it, has guilty knowledge of what his friends are doing for him.

In Georgia we are not going to solicit campaign contributions from federal office-holders or state office-holders; we are not going into the brokerage business for the purpose of delivering office for a consideration, but we are going to expect those who live off the party to do their duty by the party. We do not believe that offices should be knocked off to the highest bidder, but to the most efficient and cleanest applicant. We believe that efficient service should receive first consideration, and we can not take kindly to or think well of the fellow who accepts an office from a political party and never thinks of the hands from which he received it until he wants it again. It is very largely that class of office-seekers who get into office and fail to give due consideration to the party that gives them meat and bread, who offers a consideration for a job. The individual who from time to time inquires about the exchequer of his party and if he can help it in any way, whether he contributes much or little, never offers a consideration for a job. It is always the tightwad, the close-fisted ingrate who comes up and offers the party a consideration for a job. This class of men will receive no consideration at the hands of the Organization. The Organization is not in the brokerage business; it is striving hard to build up the party and feels that the members of the organization of the party should make a contribution for the party's support in the same spirit and sense that they make a contribution to the church, lodge or any other benevolent institution—no hope of reward as a consideration for their contribution, but purely in the sense of promoting good government.

While our government is republican in form and the people exercise their power through chosen representatives, it is a government by parties and when one party is not in power administering the government, another is in power, and who believes that both parties are not spending millions for the maintenance of their organization and the prosecution of their programs, that they must maintain if they would keep their organization intact? Who believes that it is not costing Al Smith millions to maintain organizations throughout the country, with an hundred headquarters and hundreds of clerks? Will the public believe for a moment that the thousands of people employed rounding up delegates and sounding out public opinion are all volunteers, rendering service for nothing? Who would believe that the main Republican and Democratic aspirants, aspiring for nominations, are not spending, or their friends spending for them, thousands of dollars for the consummation of the purpose they have in view.

The Organization in Georgia, like elsewhere, will ever bear in mind those who help it to live, and will have but little patience with those who never think of the party except when they want a job and then are willing to buy it and pay for it in advance. We have no offices to sell, and the jobs, so far as the Organization is concerned, should be given to those whose ideals of government are too high to think that a public office is public plunder to be knocked down to the highest bidder. The Organization believes in efficiency, and if it is not inside the party, and is in any other party, the Organization is going over to that party and select those who can best administer the affairs of the government. ANON.

THIRTY PIECES OF SILVER OFFERED

—o—

If Kansas City goes through with its present plan of insisting upon the segregation of Negro delegates to the republican national convention, it will have worked a confidence game to win the meeting. The kind of treatment given Negroes in Missouri is a known condition. This state writes black laws on its statutes, and flagrantly advertises its lawlessness by lynching and bombing Negroes homes. We who live here, do so with some knowledge of the state's attitude, and in that degree accept its shortcomings. But Kansas City asked the republicans to come here and promised the same treatment for Negro delegates as given in Chicago and Cleveland. Now out of the mouth of the local chairman comes the news that Negroes will be limited to Negro hotels and Negro entertainment, with a special fund provided to insure this being done.

Call

2-30-28

Either the local chairman does not know the conditions that prevailed in Chicago and Cleveland, or he misunderstood them. It is true that Negroes filled the Negro hotels in both these cities, but the essential difference there and here is that they were not limited to Negro hotels and entertainment.

Negroes stopped in the principal hotels of Chicago and Cleveland. The majority went among their own. Given free choice, the majority usually go among their own. It is this limitation, this gratuitous insult given by Kansas City and accepted by Dr. E. B. Clements, national committeeman for the republican party in Missouri, which we object to. There is no reason for it and it is bad faith.

Participation by Negroes on the various local committees is reasonable and advantageous. What they do to make visitors enjoy their stay of their own free choice, we agree to. But that is a far different matter from acquiescing in the segregation order. The Chamber of Commerce committee says it has money, a special sum, for Negro entertainment. Does it think money can salve our feelings? Does it care with what grace we face our friends when they come here and find we have accepted segregation for them? We are not so sure about the committee finding a Negro to spend their special Negro fund. They have dipped it in deception and fouled it with insult. We cannot save ourselves from what conditions white people impose, but we can save our consciences vindicate our manhood. We can provide our own entertainment with our own money. It is our hope that no Negro will accept their thirty pieces

Republican.

Political - 1928
Party Affilation

This is the way Holloway, cartoonist on the staff of The Pittsburgh Courier, pictures the segregation of delegates to the Republican national convention which meets here in June. The insistence of Kansas City white people that they cannot accommodate Negro delegates along with state delegations at the leading hotels has caused a stir in eastern and middle western states where Negroes are important cogs in the party machine. The fact that The Courier, admittedly a staunch Republican paper, would print a cartoon of this nature, indicates how strongly Negroes are feeling the segregation order.

—From The Pittsburgh Courier

APPEAL TO PERRY HOWARD

Columbus, Miss., March 24, 1928.
To The Commercial Appeal:

Will you kindly grant me space to register the hope that when Perry Howard and his crowd meet to select delegates to the Republican national convention, and also Republican presidential electors for Mississippi, that they will, so far as possible, designate only white men as electors, so that the many fine Mississippi Democrats who threaten to bolt the party, and vote the Republican ticket, in case a certain man is nominated at Houston, may not have to vote for a lot of colored men.

I remember when Mississippi a negro represented Mississippi in the United States Senate and another was in the Lower House; when at the same time we had a negro lieutenant-governor, who acted as governor, and accepted bribes when Ames visited his home in Massachusetts to consult with his father-in-law, Ben Butler, how best to persecute we Mississippians; when we had a negro secretary of state and a negro superintendent of public education and some 50 or 60 negro members of the Legislature, few of whom could read, all uniting to rob and plunder the state, counties and cities and backed by the radicals in Congress, succeeded in turning the south into paths more horrid than those of war. I was a young fellow in those days and was greatly grieved at the deep humiliation and degradation heaped upon the state of my birth and I made a solemn vow that never, "so long as water runs and grass grows" would I cast a Republican vote. I am not going to break that resolution this good year of 1928 but will, if living in November, vote the straight Democratic ticket. I do not know who will be nominated, if Gov. Smith, so much the better. I am satisfied that there are enough other good and true men to keep Mississippi where it has stood since 1876.

H. F. SIMRALL.

Commercial Appeal
3-28-28
Memphis, Tenn.

INSTRUCTING DELEGATES FOR HOOVER

The Informer has been asked by several Hoover supporters if this paper, the original (and up to the present time, the only avowed) Hoover supporter in Texas among race newspapers, is favorable to an instructed Hoover delegation from Texas to the Republican National Convention, which convenes at Kansas City, Mo., June 12, 1928.

Informer

When discussing this matter on two former occasions, The Informer took the position that, primarily, we favored an instructed delegation for Mr. Hoover from Texas; but later this paper took the attitude that if intrapartisan harmony could be brought about by an uninstructed delegation, while this paper was favorable to the Hoover candidacy, it would agree to the latter procedure to attain this end.

4-28-28

At that time The Informer was under the impression, and had been so informed by some of the leaders in the anti-Creager movement, that they were not against Mr. Hoover, per se; that they had no particular candidate as such, but were chiefly concerned in ending the reign of vest-pocket and proxy Republicanism in Texas.

Houston, Texas,

The anti-Creagerites held that this objective could be best attained by sending an uninstructed delegation from Texas to the national parley of the Republican party, but that no fight would be waged upon Mr. Hoover's candidacy.

These anti-administration Republicans also contended that Southern states should not instruct for and play a too important part in nominating presidential candidates for the party, whose election to the office is dependent wholly and solely upon upon states not of Dixieland.

With rumors afloat that the anti-Creager opposition in Texas has developed or is fastly assuming an anti-Hoover aspect, and that certain combinations and agreements have been entered into between some of the Texas Republicans—who are, supposedly, antagonistic to the present G. O. P. state administration—with backers of other aspirants for the presidency via the Republican nomination, The Informer finds itself at the point where it can not support nor lend even silent encouragement to any movement which is hostile and inimical to Mr. Hoover, merely to get even with certain Texas Republicans who have not conducted partisan affairs in keeping with Republican principles, tenets, customs and traditions.

No paper in Texas has disagreed with the Creager-Nolte regime and its exclusive partisan policy more than The Informer; but this paper also notes that until there arose a split and schism in the Texas Republican ranks over patronage distribution in this state, none of the leaders in the present revolt movement, except Captain John A. ("Jack") Elgin of San Antonio, Harry Beck of Dallas and one or two other white Republicans of Fort Worth, ever raised their voices in protest or sought to overthrow the Creager-Nolte combination.

The Informer holds no brief for the Creager-Nolte regime, nor has this paper anything in its journalistic heart against Congressman Wurzbach, moving spirit in the anti-Creager movement; for, while the congressman's friendly and apparently fair attitude on Negro participation in Republican affairs is well known, and while he has a host of colored friends in Texas (The Informer editor being one of them), some of his white political associates are rabid Negro haters; one of them boasting in his business advertisements that his place of business was free from "Mexicans, 'niggers,' cockroaches and dogs."

Still another anti-Hooverite is reported to have been a ring leader in a mob which lynched a colored youth in his city some years ago, and this patriot (?) is universally disliked by practically every Negro in his city, county and district. If Negroes had to elect him to public office, this same man would go down to defeat in a race for the office of official dog-catcher!

The colored Republicans of Texas should heed the call of the Creager-Nolte convention, attend and participate in the Republican precinct conventions on Saturday, May 5, 1928, where delegates will be elected to the county conventions, which are slated for Tuesday, May 8, 1928; at which convention delegates will be elected to the state convention, which will be held at Dallas, Tuesday, May 22, 1928.

If the delegates at the state convention favor sending an instructed delegation to Kansas City, they have that right under the law; and The Informer holds to the opinion that such action would not be unwise in the light of recent developments and alignments, and would not be out of line and harmony with similar action taken by other Southern states whose delegations have been instructed to vote for Mr. Hoover as long as his name is before the national convention.

Some contend that, in case of a split, it will be good politics for the contesting delegation to be uninstructed, in order that its chances of being seated by the contests and credentials committee might be enhanced; but the only two Southern states thus far electing contesting delegates to the national parley, have instructed all their delegates for Mr. Hoover; and the issue of legality and party regularity, rather than the candidate, will be the determining factor in seating contesting delegations, whether from Louisiana, Mississippi or Texas.

The Informer has previously held and holds now that neither the Republican national committeeman for Texas, nor the state central committee has the right to hog-tie the Republicans of Texas to any presidential candidate; but as Republican electors and American citizens they have a right to state their individual preference and work to the end of electing a delegation favorable to their candidate; provided, however, this is done honestly, fairly and squarely, and is not manipulated and accomplished by unfair and unrepublican methods.

While some are supporting Mr. Hoover because they say he will carry out the Coolidge policy and program, The Informer is supporting him because we believe he will be a real president and will execute the policy and program which Herbert C. Hoover thinks will be to the best interest of the country.

This independence of official action was shown recently when Mr. Hoover abolished racial segregation in the department of commerce of Washington, D. C., and in his administration of the rehabilitation program in the flood area of the Mississippi River. In both instances he did not follow the lead of some one else, but acted in an official manner which he thought in keeping and harmony with American ideals and institutions.

Most assuredly, if Mr. Hoover, in quest of the presidential nomination, can perform such official acts which require much moral courage, fortitude and resoluteness, the Negroes of Texas should not be averse to backing his candidacy to the limit, despite Mr. Hoover's state boosters.

If nominated and elected, Herbert C. Hoover will be president of all the people, and, as American citizens and Republican electors, let us help to make possible his nomination and election.

If to accomplish this desired end, it becomes necessary for us to urge the state convention at Dallas to send a delegation instructed for the secretary of commerce, then let us perform this act in the same manner which characterized the action of Mr. Hoover in performing such official acts as have been tremendously beneficial and helpful not only to the Negro race, but to the American nation and society in general.

Herbert C. Hoover is not a politician, but an eminent statesman and expert economist, whose grasp on public matters, both domestic and foreign, has no equal or counterpart on this hemisphere.

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Political—1928

Party Affiliation.

THE NEGRO IN THE CAMPAIGN.

On June 21 a special committee of twenty-four commiteemen and committeewomen of the Republican National Committee met in the Willard Hotel, Washington, elected officers and mapped out preliminary campaign activities. Negro members were conspicuous by their absence, although Texas and other Democratic States were represented by their Lily White leaders. But the Negro National Committeeman has fulfilled his mission. The Kansas City Convention is a thing of the past. After directing the delegates from Dixie what part is to be played in fight for nomination of President the usefulness of the Negro Committeeman has apparently ended.

In fact, Perry W. Howard of Mississippi and Mrs. Mary C. Booze, his associate ,are the only two representatives of the race left on the Republican National Committee. Georgia failed to re-elect the redoubtable Benjamin Jefferson Davis, who succeeded to the place made vacant by the death of Henry Lincoln Johnson, and the convention adjourned before making a new committeeman. The National Committee will now fill the vacancy and it is expected that a white man will be chosen. The seating of the Kunz delegation from Louisiana is said to mark the passing of Walter L. Cohen, Comptroller of Customs at New Orleans, as a factor in party affairs, although he was given his seat as a district delegate in the convention. The Lily White delegation won out in the Texas contest and William M. McDonald, better known as Goose Neck Bill, announced that he was out of politics and would devote himself to his insurance business.

There will probably be a free for all contest for control of the campaign to be carried on among Negroes. Since the death of William C. Matthews of Massachusetts, who managed the Coolidge campaign, there has been much speculation as to who shall succeed him in this role. The necessity for any special Negro bureau is disputed by those who believe that Negroes must be appealed to in the same way as other voters on the general issues of the campaign. At the same time it is admitted that there is a necessity for the advice and cooperation of men who are in close touch with this group of voters in various sections, and who know how to enlist their interest and activity in the campaign. There exists a certain amount of opposition to the importation of Southern political managers to conduct any campaign work among colored voters.

If the contest is at all close, there are many Northern States where the Negro vote may prove a controlling factor.

THE NEED OF A THIRD PARTY

Now that the Republican national convention has selected as standard bearers two men who represent business and politics backed by a platform that offers no definite plan for the solution of the major problems of the masses of the people, and that the Democratic convention promises to be equally cut and dried in preserving conditions as they are, only under other candidates, it behooves the groups which have suffered and do suffer and to whom no relief is promised, to organize in their own interests.

Since the days of Andrew Jackson, the plain people have steadily lost direct control of the machinery of their government. Prior to the Civil War, the southern slaveocracy managed affairs in their own narrow and tyrannical interests. During that conflict and subsequent to it, the manufacturing interests grew into power through war contracts and the protection of the 14th Amendment which gave them federal recognition. Under the leadership of Mark Hanna and the presidency of William McKinley, who had made prosperity certain by the tariff bill which bore his name, corporations developed into the new super-government and fixed their power by shifting to the gold standard without making any provision for the creditors who became liable to repay in expensive money.

Coincident with these changes, the nation entered upon what has become an imperial policy, despite the wordy protests from its defenders. In the recent convention, delegates were provided for from the "territorial possessions of the United States."

Each of the changes in the control of our government has left open, it is true, opportunities for ruthless men to join the dominant and controlling groups, but each change has likewise shut out from participation and control more and more of the masses of the people.

Today, the interests of such basic and fundamental groups as labor, both skilled and unskilled, agriculture, the coal industry, and the disfranchised and exploited Negro, are either openly neglected or so previded for as to create no definite contract with the voters.

Business, however, knows both by its ability to direct and to control legislation through its organized power, and by the character and past experience of the candidates, that its interests will be protected and advanced. Of course it is short-sighted policy, because business depends upon the consuming ability of those unrepresented and unconsidered groups. But business has become so accustomed to buying both goods and services of all kinds, that it has come to think of everything, even its own prosperity, as purchasable, and every kind of service, even wisdom and justice, as at the command of its magic wand.

Each social group must first of all look after its own interest, is the lesson which past political history teaches, and the refusal of the dominating interests to even entertain the pleas of the neglected groups, makes the organization of a new party an act of simple protection.

Certainly, the evidence of, and repeated claims for, a prosperity which the masses do not enjoy, should arouse enlightened self-interest. Surely, the expenditure of the unthinkable sum of four billions for governmental purposes, the accumulation of almost a half billion dollars of surplus from unnecessary taxation always passed on to the ultimate consumer, and the ease with which legislation beneficial to dominant interests has been enacted while laws sought by lesser forces, even with greater numbers affected, invariably require so much hair splitting discussion—then being seldom sustained by the courts—ought to develop initiative and aggressive convictions in leaders capable of focussing the enthusiastic support of a constructive platform for a new American political party.

TAKE GEORGIA COMMITTEEMAN FIGHT TO D. C.

Sub-Committee Will Rule on Watson-Davis Scrap This Week

By The Associated Negro Press

The committeemanship of Georgia has been referred to a sub-committee of the Republican National committee for settlement. The sub-committee will meet in Washington this week. Until then it will not be known whether Ben Davis will retain his seat. The Georgia delegation in the Republican national convention was continually a center of interest. Ben Davis, opposed for re-election as national committeeman fought with his back to the wall as "Uncle" Joe Watson of Albany strove to take his crown away. Watson was backed by Roscoe Pickett, white state chairman, whom Ben had made, and Mrs. Georgia Williams, committeewoman whom Ben had sought to dethrone.

Davis, harried and hurt by the desertion of members of his delegation whom he had thought his friends presented a forlorn picture as it became apparent that his enemies had a majority of the state delegates votes stacked against him. Sentiment among the colored visitors and delegates from other sec-

tions was not especially favorable to him, because Mrs. Williams had been able to impress many that she had been treated unfairly when in the state convention several months ago; Mr. Davis had refused her re-endorsement and selected Watson's daughter to serve in her stead, Watson subsequently had his daughter withdraw, switched from Hoover to Lowden and it was reported received plentiful funds from Lowden to persuade members of the delegation to go against Davis.

Every time the Georgia delegation was polled there was a fight. Chairman Pickett would announce the vote. Davis would challenge it and the dlegation would be polled individually. When time came for election with Davis apparently losing, delegate Walden of Atlanta challenged Chairman Pickett's motion to poll the delegation. The administration forces stepped in when Congressman Fort of New Jersey moved that Pickett's resolution be tabled. Lily whites from every section realizing that if Pickett won it would mean white domination of Georgia ran to encourage Pickett and to counsel with him.

The steam roller triumphed, however, and the contest was referred to the national committee. Friends of Mrs. Williams and Mr. Davis are trying to compromise their differences before the meeting in Washington. If this is done both will be seated. Mrs. Williams stated after the meeting that her place was uncontested and she stood elected. Therefore, only Davis' place is uncertain. Perry Howard was re-elected unanimously.

"HOOVER WILL WIN," STATES PERRY HOWARD

Foresees Republican Victory at Polls

Washington, June 29.—The Hoover-Curtis ticket will sweep the country in November, that is the prediction of Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, who returned from Kansas City last Tuesday night in order to be here for the meeting of the special committee of the national committee that conferred with Hoover and Curtis Thursday.

Mr. Howard described the Kansas City convention as one of the greatest in the history of the Republican party. "There has been much said," he declared, "that there was a Hoover machine and it was lily white. This I emphatically deny. I do not think one would call the Mississippi delegation, one-half of which was white, lily white. South Carolina, with one-half white, was seated. Robert R. Church, representing the Tenth congressional district of Tennessee, was recognized. The Florida delegation was not all white. Cohen and one other from Louisiana were seated.

To Aid Hoover

"From the point of law there was no merit in the contest from Texas brought by my friend, William McDonald, for the reason that the Texas laws, as emphasized by an opinion by the attorney general of that state, provide that all delegates shall be elected in a general state convention. The McDonald-Wurzbach delegation was elected in districts. The Hoover people played the game fairly and squarely.

"I shall take the stump and defend Mr. Hoover without equivocation, on the charge of lily-whiteism attributed to his friends. There has never been a stronger ticket than Hoover and Curtis. Mr. Hoover has taken a more forward step than any cabinet officer in abolishing segregation. He has been fair in all matters affecting all citizens, even in peace times as well as in war.

"Perhaps it is telling things out of school, but it will be of interest to know that this great mind heard the cry of Cohen and the word went from Washington to Kansas City that regardless of regularity Cohen personally should not be turned out of the convention.

Stood by "Machine"

"Our Mississippi organization was a Hoover organization. It was one of the first to indorse the secretary. We were standing with the Hoover line-up first, last and always. We have no apologies to make for our vote with the Hoover people in the contests. We feel that every case was decided upon the merits.

"Organization means organization. The Hoover management headed by Secretary of the Interior Work, Claudius H. Houston, Representative James W. Good, Judge Rush L. Holland and Horace Mann, with Ralph E. Williams as floor leader in the national committee, and Representative Franklin W. Fort as floor leader in the credentials committee, aided by the ablest woman that has appeared in politics, Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, I think I can safely say, had the finest organization any candidate has had in many years.

"Chairman William M. Butler would not have stood for anything but a square deal, and he was on the job."

NEGROES PLEASED BY HOOVER CHOICE

Washington, June 21.—(AP)—Emphatic denial was made in a statement today by Republican National Committeeman Perry W. Howard, of Mississippi, to charges that there was a "Hoover lily-white machine" at the Kansas City convention.

Pointing out that the Mississippi delegation was "one-half white and one-half colored," as was that seated from South Carolina, and that negro delegates from other states were recognized, Howard himself a negro, declared that "the Hoover people played the game fairly and squarely." And "certainly kept faith with me in every particular."

Howard announced that he would take the stump and defend Mr. Hoover without equivocation, on the charge of lily-whitism attributed to his friends.

Mr. Hoover had taken a most forward step in abolishing race segregation, he declared, and "has been on the square in all matters affecting our group."

It was not generally known, he said, that Mr. Hoover "had heard the cry" of Walter L. Cohen, Louisiana negro republican leader, whose seat was contested, "and regardless of regularity his heart went out to him and a voice came from the nation's capital to Kansas City saying 'don't turn Cohen personally out of that convention.'"

ARMOND SCOTT HITS AT REPUBLICANS

D. C. Lawyer Addresses 2,500 Elks In Pittsburgh Memorial Session

J. C. INEXCUSABLE

Race Doesn't Owe All To G. O. P., He Says

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Jim Crow and segregation at the Republican National Convention in Kansas City were inexcusable, Armond W. Scott, D. C. attorney, told an audience of 2,500 Elks at the Elmore Theatre, Sunday night of last week, in their annual session of sorrow.

Said Mr. Scott,

"Even the members of the Republican National Committee were jim crowed and humiliated. If they did not feel humiliated, certainly the race throughout the country whom they are presumed to represent feel that sting.

"Leaders of the Republican party are seeking to make it a lily-white organization and to defeat and dethrone every outstanding Negro with guts and backbone who has the manhood to stand up for the rights of his race and to demand an equal part in the councils of the party.

"The Negro does not owe all he is to the Republican party but the Republican party owes that it is to the faithful and loyal Negro, because had it not been for the call of Abraham Lincoln for black volunteers the war of the rebellion would have ended in favor of the South and the Democratic party would have ever remained in control of the government."

"Woodrow Wilson," said Mr. Scott, "inaugurated the jim crow government departments in Washington and a Republican president has been willing to let them stand."

"It is up to the thinking Elks," Mr. Scott said, "to stop following political parties like cattle and sheep and to vote for men instead of measures; and for men only, whatever their political affiliation may be, who stand for equal justice and equal rights for all men and especially for an oppressed race which has never produced a rebel and never given birth to a traitor."

So-Called Christianity

Speaking of the so-called white Christianity in America, Scott declared that the nearest the black Christian can get to the white Christian sactuary is to list to preaching Sunday over the radio.

GA. G.O.P. CO'MITTEMAN CONTEST IS REVEIWED

Ben Davis' Fight Referred To Republican National Committee, Sub-Committee, This Week

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 22.—(ANP)—The committeemanship of Georgia has been referred to a sub-committee of the Republic an National committee for settlement. The sub-committee is to meet in Washington Thursday, June 22. Until then it will not be known whether Ben Davis will retain his seat. The Georgia delegation in the Republican National convention was continually a center of interest. Ben Davis opposed for re-election as National committeeman fought with his back to the wall as "Uncle" Joe Watson of Albany strove to take his crown away. Watson was backed by Roscoe Pickett, white state chairman, whom Ben had made, and Mrs. Georgia Williams, committeewoman whom Ben had sought to dethrone.

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Every time the Georgia delegation was polled there was a fight. Chairman Pickett would announce the vote. Davis would challenge it and the delegation would be polled individually. When time came for election with Davis, a pparently losing, Delegate Walden of Atlanta, challenged Chairman Pickett's motion to poll the delegation. The administration forces stepped in when Congress Fort of New Jersey moved that Pickett's resolution to be tabled. Lily whites from every section realizing that if Pickett won it would mean white domination of Georgia ran to encourage Pickett and to counsel with him.

The steam-roller triumphed, however and the contest was referred to the National committee. Friends of Mrs. Williams and Mr. Davis, are trying to compromise their differences before the meeting in Washington. If this is done both will be seated. Mr. Williams stated after the meeting that her place was uncontested and she stood elected. Therefore, only Davis' place is uncertain.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Macon, Ga., News
Sunday, September 2, 1928

Smith's Supporters Are Embarrassed as Negroes Form Clubs

First Organized at Valdosta; Others Planned in Various Georgia Cities

A state-wide movement to organize "Al Smith for President" clubs among negro voters has been undertaken, according to information obtained by The News. The first club has already been formed at Valdosta, Ga., and plans are on foot for the organization of others.

H. G. Hastings, of Atlanta, state Hoover campaign manager, and other Republican leaders, disclaim knowledge of or part in the movement.

The formation of such clubs, it is reported, proves exceedingly embarrassing to Georgia supporters of Governor Smith for president. Their principal argument to stop Democrats from bolting to the Republican nominee has been that "voting for Hoover will be voting with the negroes."

Considered as significant is the fact that in the Valdosta meeting, the negroes adopted resolutions strongly commending Governor Smith for his efforts to secure return of whiskey as a legalized drink.

More than one-half of the negro voters in Lowndes county signified their intention of voting for Smith. Dr. L. W. Williams, one of the leading negro physicians there, was named chairman of the club.

No definite date for the formation of such a club in Macon has been set, so far as can be learned. It is reported that a meeting may be held during the coming week, but local negro leaders profess ignorance of the whole movement. During the last 10 days negroes from Washington and New York have visited various cities in the state, including Macon, in the interests of the campaign.

Mobile, Ala., News-Item
Tuesday, August 28, 1928

NEGRO LAWYERS SECURE DELAY IN PROCEEDINGS

Extortionate Fees Laid to Attorneys Facing Disbarment Hearing.

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 28.—(AP)—Sweeping denial of charges of illegal practices in federal patronage dispensation in Mississippi was made here yesterday in an answer filed by Perry W. Howard, negro Republican national committeeman, to disbarment proceedings brought against him in Hinds county chancery court by the state bar association. In an answer to similar charges W. L. Mhoon, another negro Republican, denied one charge against him and offered to explain two others.

Howard's statement made a claim of exemption from any connection with the alleged abuses, while Mhoon, facing three specific charges, denied outright any connection with alleged payment for a postoffice appointment at Mendenhall and sought to explain a fund received from candidates for postoffices at Clinton and Philadelphia during 1924.

In telling of $650 he said was received from Philadelphia, Mhoon's statement claims it was a campaign contribution, received at the close of the campaign. It was returned to the giver, the statement said, because it came too late.

DELAY IS ORDERED

Disbarment proceedings against S. R. Redmonds, S. D. Redmond and W. L. Moon, negro members of the Jackson bar, and prominent Republicans, for alleged unprofessional conduct, were postponed 30 days, until September 27, when the fall term of chancery court began here today. Counsel for the petitioners asked for a continuance of 30 days when the charges may be taken up in vacation, swers filed on behalf of the respondent attorneys the court ordered that they be set for hearing for Thursday, September 27. Extortionate and unwarranted charges for professional services in cases sighted against the Redmonds and trading and bargaining in connection with federal appointments pending against the same attorneys and also against Moon formed the background of the disbarment proceedings. On Tuesday the divorce docket here will be taken up as the first item of procedure.

Caldwell and Co., Nashville, Tenn., bond buyers, purchased the $5,720,000 bond issue of the state of Mississippi, it was announced by the bond commission after a week's negotiations with the firm. The price paid by the Tennessee company was not announced. Insurance of the bonds was authorized by the 1928 legislature for permanent improvement at the state colleges and institutions and alloted as follows: $3,620,000 for permanent improvement at state colleges and institutions; $1,600,000 permanent improvement at the University of Mississippi, and $500,000 for the state's removal hospital commission. The total bonded indebtedness of the state as of May 28, 1928, was given as $17,595,250 with the assessed valuation for 1927 $744,104,320.

Ben Davis Attacks Gov. Smith and Bitterly Assails "Lily White" Democratic Deserters.

Ben Davis, negro Republican National Committeeman until July, will be succeeded sometime after November 6 by Ben Davis. Not content with vicious attacks on Gov. Smith and Southern Democrats, Ben Davis now assaults his new confreres, the Democrats who have deserted their party and joined the party of the carpetbaggers, the scalawags and the force bill.

The ENQUIRER-SUN sympathizes with Ben Davis in his plight. He faithfully delivered Georgia's Negro Republican delegates to Mr. Hoover, along with 122 other colored delegates. He has "carried on" in the most approved style of the Corrupt Old Party, trafficking in postmasters' jobs, as well as delivering delegates. Now Davis has been betrayed by Hoover and the Republicans, and the new mown Republicans, masquerading as Anti-Smith and anti-Catholic Democrats won't let the Negro Republican leader into the lily-white councils.

These "lily-white" former Democrats are spreading circulars relating to Gov. Smith's alleged appointment of Negroes to office. Ben Davis, attacking Gov. Smith, says precisely the opposite. Here are his words as they appeared in the Negro Republican paper, the Atlanta *Independent*:

Enquirer-Sun

"Sometimes we may vote for a Democrat because of the man, but we can never vote for the Democratic Party, *so long as it stands for ignorance, meanness and race hatred as exemplified in Memphis, Texas, Georgia and Mississippi.* A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, *but a vote for the Democratic Party.*

Republican.

"Al Smith is no better than the Democratic Party. HIS RECORD DOES NOT DISCLOSE A SINGLE FAVOR THAT HE HAS DONE FOR NEGROES IN NEW YORK. He (the Negro) knows that the Democratic Party is his sworn enemy.

"As infamous and as wrong and cowardly as lily-whiteism is, *it is no worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic Party against the American Negro.*"

The foregoing utterance may seem to be somewhat harsh and heated, but it is cold and kindly when compared to the attack made by Ben Davis on his white confreres, who are now converts to the party of Davis and Hoover. Asked to give a reason why the Atlanta *Independent* is 100 per cent. Republican, Ben Davis replies in a few paragraphs that should make some of his new colleagues think again before lining up with the Republicans—think twice as did Judge Maynard, a leading Baptist and prohibitionist, who declared for Hoover and then, after visualizing conditions logically, announced that he will vote for Gov. Smith.

Here is Ben Davis statement as it appeared in the Atlanta *Independent*s

We answer that the *Independent* is one hundred per cent. Republican because it cannot be bought by the democrats' money *or be bulldozed out of the party by lily-white bastard republicans and commercialized Negro grafters,* who would sell their wives and daughters into political slavery and economical ruin, for pelf and plunder. . . .

The Democratic party is anti-Negro and has been from its very incipiency. It was and is the party of slavery and opposed the adoption of the thirteenth amendment which abolished slavery. It opposed the fourteenth amendment which made us citizens and clothed us with the right to vote and hold property, instead of being property and sold like cattle. It opposed the fifteenth amendment which promised us protection at the ballot box.

It has disfranchised us in every state by ingeniously designed unconstitutional amendments to state constitutions, and nullified every decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring those amendments null and void.

In every democratic state in the Union the Negro has been jim-crowed on the train, segregated where he lives, discriminated against in business, disfranchised and denied equal protection of the law. In every democratic state the Negro is shut out of the democratic primary by force or court injunction. He is told everywhere that the democratic party is a white man's party and Negroes are not wanted. If the *Negro World* or any other Negro wants to support the democratic party in the light of this catalog of crime against the race, we'll content ourselves, to be *one hundred per cent. Republican under Hoover-Curtis leadership.*

In no state in the Union *where the Republican party controls* is there a jim-crow disfranchising law. *In no Republican state* is there any separation of the races on public carriers, or shutting the door of political opportunity in the Negro's face.

The Republican party enfranchised the Negro. It voted for and passed the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the federal constitution which prohibited slavery, made the Negro a free man, gave him the right to hold property instead of being a chattel, and placed the ballot in his hands to protect himself in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We are one hundred per cent. Republican because there is not one line of discriminating legislation on the books of any state in the Union placed there by the Republican Party, but on the contrary there is special legislation on the books of every democratic state in the Union outlawing the black man's rights and put on there by the democratic party over the protests and votes of Republicans.

It seems to us that if those Southerners who are deserting Democracy knew as much about the Republican party as Ben Davis does about the record of the Democratic party, there would be few Democrats who could bring themselves to vote for Hoover. For a vote for Hoover is not a vote fr the man, but is a bald lot indorsing the party of corruption and privilege.

Tulsa, Okla.

SEP 28 1928

COLORED VOTERS WILL ORGANIZE

Organization of the republican colored voters will be had at a meeting to be held tomorrow evening at the Mt Olive Colored Baptist church. This occasion will also be the opening of headquarters for the colored republicans.

Voters, both white and colored, are invited to the opening tomorrow evening and speeches will be in order. The Mid West colored quartett will furnish music for the occasion. Dr. R. A Simpson is national colored committeeman and Mrs. Forbus is mistress of the ceremonies tomorrow night.

Birmingham, Ala., News
Tuesday, October 2, 1928

A Strange "Circular": "The White Supremacy League"

It is highly significant that on the day when Dr. Work, chairman of the Republican National Committee, was rebuking Oliver D. Street, Republican national committeeman from Alabama, for Street's "circular" injecting the religious issue into the presidential campaign yet another "circular," apparently of Republican origin and Republican purpose, was brought to light.

This other "circular" is addressed to "the Negro voters of Cook County, Chicago, Illinois." Nothing quite like it has been heard of in the South since carpetbag-scalawag-Negro domination was abolished here by what the late Senator Vance of North Carolina liked to call "men with straight hair."

This "circular" is an appeal made by Negroes of Alabama to their blood-brothers of the North to unite with them in electing Mr. Hoover, for the reason that Mr. Hoover's election will strengthen prohibition, that prohibition will strengthen the Negro race, and that the strengthened Negro race will be permitted by Southern whites who favor prohibition to enter politics and vote with these "dry" Southern whites to keep the prohibition laws in force. "This is the first step," reason the signers of this appeal, "we have to take in redeeming our race from our present bondage. All other steps will surely follow, provided we can elect Mr. Hoover."

Then comes this thought-provoking statement:

> The level-headed leaders (of the Negro race) in Alabama agree that it is not wise to claim equality with the white race. But, looking ahead, Mr. Hoover's election will pave the way for that very thing. If this can be done (that is, if Hoover can be elected), I am sure that in four years all Negroes in Alabama will be permitted to vote. Our leaders agree that this will surely be the case.

In conclusion, this remarkable "circular" says:

> HOOVER, PROHIBITION, POLITICAL EQUALITY, AND ALL RIGHTS GIVEN BY THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT—THESE WILL BE OURS AS SURE AS THE NIGHT FOLLOWS THE DAY.

One of these circulars brought to light on Monday last is signed by Negroes from various towns of Alabama. One of these Negroes is Damon Lee, a merchant at Rosedale, a Birmingham suburb. Not a few other signers are Negroes well known in their communities.

If these Negroes have done this work of their own accord, they have acted unwisely. If they have been incited to do it by promises held out to them by Mr. Hoover's reported views on the race question, they are to be pitied. If they have been encouraged to take this step by leaders of the Republican party inside or outside this state, the fact needs to be recognized and reckoned with by white voters throughout the South. Whatever may be the genesis of this "circular" and whatever may be its purpose, this "circular," subscribed to as it is by not a few of Alabama's Negroes of importance, needs to be very carefully pondered by white voters of all parties.

Fortunately, on the eve of this development in the campaign, there has been organized in Alabama what is known as "The Women's White Supremacy League." It is the white women of the South who have the weightiest reason to insist upon "white supremacy." It was the white women of the South who suffered most keenly under "black supremacy." The answer to the "circular" addressed to Cook County Negroes in Illinois may be found in this newly-formed Women's White Supremacy League here in Alabama.

That league deserves to be heartily supported by every voter in Alabama who cherishes the ideals of the white man's civilization. It is to that league, and to some league membered by white MEN, that this state must look as its sure defense against machinations like those made clear by the dangerous appeal sent to Chicago Negroes by Negroes of the South to elect Mr. Hoover in the interest—ostensibly of prohibition—but really of political and social racial equality throughout the Southern states.

MAIL
Charleston, W. Va.
SEP 26 1928

FORM NEGRO CLUB

Formation of the Negro Republicans of Montgomery into a club the aims of which include "the election of the entire Republican ticket" was made known Wednesday.

At the first meeting of the club held Tuesday night in the Summer high school, Montgomery, officers were elected as follows:

S. E. Childs, president; Miss Bertha Deans, vice president; Mrs. M. M. Johnson, secretary; Mrs. Bessie Price, assistant secretary; Orlando Wade, treasurer and Rev. J. J. Turner, chaplain.

COLUMBUS, OHIO
Dispatch
SEP 13 1928

THE COLORED ELEMENT IN THE CAMPAIGN.

To the Editor of The Dispatch:

Sir: It is reported through the columns of negro newspapers that in all parts of the country negroes are organizing "Al Smith political clubs" for the purpose of promoting the candidacy and the election of Governor Al Smith to the presidency of the United States.

If such reports be true, let it be understood for the most part that the organizers and promoters of these "clubs" are those who have a mercenary, personal interest in local politics and belong to that group of negro politicians who will sell their political birthright for a mess of pottage.

No thoughtful and self-respecting negro can or will vote the Democratic ticket, for the good and sufficient reason that the Democratic party in its national council has never made any pronouncement recognizing the citizenship rights of the American negroes and its intention to protect them in the exercise of these rights when in power. No until such has been done, can any self-respecting negro be a Democrat

P. A. Nichols, P. E.

Xenia, Ohio.

SENTINEL
Orlando, Fla
SEP 16 1928

—When you go to vote for president think of this: The Republican party at ansas City adopted a plank in its platform approving the Dyar anti-lynching bill which would inflict a federal fine of $10,000 on any and every county in which a lynching is committed the fine to be paid to the family of the man lynched. This bill would cause innocent people to suffer by such heavy taxation and break up a small county like Lumpkin, should such a thing take place.—Dahlonega (Ga.) Nugget.

Washington Tribune-Banner
Monday, September [illegible]

NEGROES IN SOUTH RENEW DEMANDS FOR RECOGNITION

G. O. P. Is Unable to Keep Racial Issue Played Down.

NEGROES OF NORTH CAROLINA WAGE CAMPAIGN

Significance Attached to Praise of Simmons' Stand Against Al Smith By Negro G. O. P. Leaders of North Carolina

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10.—While the Republican natinal committee and other G. O. P. and Hoover agencies are reported as desirous of "playing down" the racial issue in the South, it was disclosed here today that negroes in the South are becoming more active in their demands for recognition at the polls and possibly in congress.

Some importance was attached here today to a statement given out by W. Lee Person, former colored member of the North Carolina legislature from Edgecomb county, congratulating the white United States senator, F. M. Simmons, upon his announced refusal to vote for Governor Smith, the Democratic presidential nominee. Person promised to cooperate in the "fusion movement,' so-called in North Carolina nowadays to bring about the defeat of Smith.

After the old "Red Shirt' days in North Carolina, when the Democrats, largely under the leadership of Simmons, ousted the Republicans and Populists this same Person thought it expedient to come to Washington and carry on. He is now contemplating going back to North Carolina and his statement put out under Republican auspices and in praise of the old "Red Shirter," United States Senator Simmons is one of the rather entertaining digressions in a hectic campaign.

Meanwhile there became available here today copies of the Washington Tribune, a negro newspaper, disclosing that Virginia negro voters have launched a movement to send some three of their race to the next national Congress. This paper, regarded as the spokesman of the negro race in the Capital, said in part in an issue just off the press:

"A movement that may result in three negroes being named as Republican candicates for Cngress in the Second, Ninth and Tenth districts was scented here today, when a group of political leaders held a caucus. While the men failed to divulge exact steps that would be taken, it was intimated they would eplain their plans to C. Bascom Slemp and other leaders high in national circles."

The delegation, composed of negroes from Richmond, Roanoke, Norfolk and Portsmouth called at the publication office of the negro Republican paper here after other conferences with white Republican leaders. C. Bascum Slemp, mentioned in the editoral is a former private secretary to President Coolidge was for man years Republican member from the Ninth Congressional district of Virginia and an allegel dispenser of Republican patronage and rounder-up of Republican delegates in the Southern states every four years.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Millen, Ga., News
Thursday, October 4, 1928

Negroes Attended Ga. Hoover Meeting

SAVANNAH, Ga. Oct. 4.—At an anti-Smith meeting scheduled here, at which Judge W. E. Covington was to speak, a group of negroes seeking entrance were informed by leading Republicans that they were not invited and while they would not be forcibly ejected they were not wanted.

Several of the negroes departed, while others stated to Sheriff Tanner that they wanted to remain and a number took seats in the negro section of the courtroom.

Great indignation is expressed by leaders of the Hoover forces, claiming that Democrats solicited the negro attendance. Leading negroes resent the attitude of the Republican or anti-Smith group in declining to permit them representation at the meeting.

Dawson, Ga., News
Tuesday, September 25, 1928

Persons and Simmons.

The following interesting observation is from the editorial columns of the Savannah Press: "W. Lee Persons, a North Carolina negro, long active as a republican, now employed in Washington, welcomes Senator Simmons, of North Carolina, into the republican ranks, urges the blacks to work with him and says 'if the republicans get control of North Carolina then Mr. Hoover in the white house will give us such help as will wipe out all laws in the south which keep the black man from moving on the same plane as the white man.'"

Simmons' attitude is both surprising and disgusting. For a man like this North Carolinian, who has for years been honored by the democratic party, to now forsake it and conspire with the republicans, including its negro adherents, is unthinkable. In yielding to his petty spites and prejudices he has played the part of childishness rather than statesmanship. He is to be pitied.

Richmond, Va., News-Leader
Friday, September 28, 1928

Under this inspiriting leadership, the Negroes were all registered and drilled in their allegiance to the Republican radicals. In October, 1867, when the election was held, the Republican radicals kept the polls open three days—in some of the Negro wards of Richmond four days—in order to insure the defeat of the white men who were trying to save the state.

The electorate had been limited in advance, by the reconstruction acts, which were described yesterday in these columns. With many white men disfranchised, the coalition between radical Republicans and Negroes could not be overcome. Of the 105 delegates to the convention, only thirty-five were conservative white men. Sixty-five radicals were elected, and five were without affiliation. The Republicans who were to control the convention included thirty-five Negroes and thirty of their white bosses. Only fourteen of the thirty were scallywag Virginians—among them a deserter from the Confederate army.

With JUDGE UNDERWOOD as its president, the convention organized itself in a leisurely manner and proceeded to draft a new constitution for Virginia, as one of the conditions of her readmission to the Union. GENERAL BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, commonly known as "BEAST" BUTLER, was received as an honored guest and made a speech to the convention, in which he urged that all Southern business men, as well as all former Confederate soldiers, should be denied the ballot for the future. He was rapturously applauded by the radicals.

The radical Republicans and their ignorant followers then proceeded with their wicked work. It was with the greatest difficulty that the conservatives kept out of the constitution a provision requiring that white children and Negroes be taught in the same schools. In order to provide more plunder, the radicals more than doubled the number of local officers who were to be maintained by an impoverished people.

Above all, however, the convention devoted itself to perfecting its plan for disfranchising the whites and keeping the radical Republicans in power. Proposals of the wildest sort for the disfranchisement of the whites were put forward by proud Republicans. One of them was that no Virginian who had voted for any candidate who favored the secession of Virginia in 1861 should be qualified to vote or to hold office. Finally, the Republicans agreed on a scheme of disfranchisement by which the ballot was denied to every man who had ever held any office—from that of constable or notary public to that of senator—and had subsequently rendered any service of any sort to the Confederacy. Moreover, no man could hold any office of any grade in Virginia, unless he would take an oath that he had never voluntarily aided the Confederacy in any way, or held any office under it.

Republican.

MAKING THE NEGRO A PAWN.

Into Secretary HOOVER'S speech on Saturday, especially directed to the South, were inserted several minor statements, or pledges, which did not attract much attention, though they deserve it. One of them was the following: "I believe in the merit "system of the civil service, and I "believe further that appointive of-"fices must be filled by those who "deserve the confidence and respect "of the communities they serve." This sounds harmless enough, but in Southern ears it can mean only one thing. Just now in the South the negro question is more violently debated than for years. And it is certain that this quiet utterance by Mr. HOOVER will be taken there as tantamount to a promise not to appoint colored men as postmasters, United States Marshals or Federal Collectors of Internal Revenue. It will be regarded as confirmation of the many reports that, if Mr. HOOVER is elected President, the Republican organization in the South will be virtually "lily white."

This is fully in line with a great deal of Republican campaigning now going on in the South. Strange as it may seem, an effort is made to show that the Democrats are more favorable to the political and social aspirations of the black man than are the Republicans. A full-page advertisement has been inserted in several Southern newspapers with the heading, "AL SMITH, the Negro Lover." It details some of the alleged favors shown by Governor SMITH to colored men in New York, and explains in large type that "AL "SMITH is the worst foe of White "Supremacy in public life in the "United States today." To us in the North this may seem fantastic. But it is a serious business in the South. It may be said that the whole is merely a political manoeuvre, designed for the coming election only, after which it will be dropped. But such movements, calculated as they are to renew and intensify racial animosities, create evils which live after them. The chief sufferers from them are only too likely to be the colored men themselves, whom it is thus sought to make use of insincerely by the campaigners of the two parties.

New York Times 10 8 28

Dublin, Ga., Press
Thursday, October 4, 1928

BEN DAVIS TIRES OF HIS LILY-WHITES

Ben Davis, the republican boss for Georgia, is evidently a partial convert to segregation. While still holding against social segregation as a nightmare, he is entirely fed up on the coalition with the discontented bunch that flopped over from the party of Jefferson to Davis.

Now, this combination was to Ben's own fixing. Early last summer he came out in an editorial advocating placing of white men only on the republican electoral ticket; said he wanted to see if the white voters were really in earnest when they said they would vote that ticket if negroes were left off. This accomplished the scheming republicans thought they had made a strategic political stroke and began to boast how they were going to carry Georgia for Hoover.

Well, the old republican machine, somewhat disjointed and squeaky, was loaded up with malcontents and soreheads, and started down the road looking for the money bags they had heard so much about. They corraled a few narrow-minded preachers, misguided women and all the ungrateful has-beens in the democratic party—in and out of the state—and began to whoop 'em up for the spineless candidate of the south's enemies.

Things rocked along very well for several months—until Ben Davis, the head and front of his party in Georgia became suspicious. It dawned on him that if he didn't get busy and do some vigorous kicking he would be betrayed by the same bullies that betrayed the democratic party. He saw visions of his being shorn not only of his power but of the emoluments of his position as well. Ben couldn't stand for this, so he issues a decree that lily-whites should get out of his back yard, and lose no time about it.

The democratic deserters took Ben at his word and called another meeting in Macon where, last week, they decided on another plan.

They decided to let Ben keep the name at the head of his ticket (a great concession) but that they would use the same electors and substitute for the republican ticket. "The Anti-Smith Democratic Ticket" as its head. Some foolish proposition. As we view it, the bunch that jumped over into, as it looked to them, the green pastures of the republican party, where the picking looked inviting, are as sheep without a shepherd. As we have before said, they don't know where they are going, but they are on their way.

In the issue of the Independent, Sept. 20th, Ben Davis, in an editorial, tells his new recruits a few very unpleasant things, and in his paper of last week he gave them what might be considered his solar-plexus. What Davis has to say concerning his lily-white associates follows, as copied from the Constitution:

Then, in the issue of September 27, in an editorial headed "Republican Half-Breeds a Menace to the Hoover -Curtis Ticket," Davis goes on record in terms which cannot be mistaken as to his true opinion of the "lily-white" faction of the party which he leads in this state.

"The greatest menace to republican success in November is the curse of lily-whitism" in the south. For forty years these ignoramuses have been arguing national leaders that if the party would eliminate the negro from the party councils they would break the solid south and have never made anybody believe their story except the lamented President Harding, who said before he died that he had been deceived by these crooks and set about to repudiate them, and correct the error that they had led him into."

"I welcome the accession of Senator Simmons to our rank. Conversion is better late then never. Long ago we were antagonists but we never struck below the belt. To-day I welcome him with open arms to the grand old party of God and Morality. After all of these years of defeat and disaster for the black man's party in the south I can see us again coming in our own. Not a great many of us remain alive who can recall the days when black men sat in the chair of state in the southern capitals. Those days have long been gone, but, bless God, I can see them returning. It is said that a honse divided against it self connot stand, and now I see the white people of the south dividing."

"I wish to use the newspapers of North Carolina to urge my beople to get behind Senator Simmons and support him. What is true in North Carolina may be true in other s uthern states. Just let us get control of the state machinery this vear andMr. Hoover in the white house will give us such help as will wipe out all the laws in the south which keep the black man from moving on the same plane as the white man. I am getting old, but before I die I would like to again see my race enjoying its just deserts. Then I will say like Simeon in tne Bible: "Now lettest thy servant depart in peace."

Yea, all of which sound just fine to the Hoovercrats, but then the Senator of North Carolina has awoke to the fact that his stomach is weak and he can not stand the place they have placed him in—the republican party He has boolted that also and says that he cannot possible vote a republican ticket.

Falkston, Ga., Herald
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NEGRO OFFICE HOLDER SPEAKS HIS MIND.

W. Lee Person, a negro office-holder in Washington, delivers himself of the following statement, which has been published in the Ashville Citizen. Those of you that are thinking of deserting your party, read it and see what this negro thinks of your joining with the crusaders to "wipe out all the laws of the south which keep the black men from moving on the same plane with while men."

Bulletin
Huntsville, Ala.
SEP 5 1928

Smith Angling For Negro Vote

The following copyrighted article from the Country Editor Publishing Co., Inc., will shed some very brilliant illumination on this "negro question" the supporters of Gov. Al Smith have been trying to use to their own advantage.

The Democratic national campaign managers in New York are displaying considerable concern over the Tammany Hall issue and the reaction of normally Democratic voters in the South and West to Al Smith's alleged intimate association and friendship with the promoters and protectors of immorality in the Greater City. The Governor's support, as a legislator, of Tammany-protected vice appears now to be fairly well established. In fact during his entire career as Assemblyman it cannot be shown that he ever voted in favor of a single so-called reform measure. He has been at all times a dutiful and obedient son of Tammany and in his last speech in the Hall on the 4th of July of this year he expressed his ardent admiration for that corrupt political machine.

In order to allay the fears of the decent elements in other parts of the country, the Tammany leaders are being shunted into the background and are expected to remain there until election day. During the pre-convention campaign and at Houston, however, these same leaders were clothed with exclusive authority and ran things to suit themselves, nor are they losing any sleep at the present time over their temporary eclipse. In fact, they were in full agreement with the plan that during the election campaign Tammany should occupy the limelight as little as posisble so as to relieve the Governor of the taint of association with it. That this is only a meaningless gesture in the direction of expediency every well-informed person thoroughly understands. If the Governor is elected, Tammany will in no sense be a welcome guest at the White House. It will be the host and will welcome only those whom it particularly desires to favor. The Tiger knows how to reward its frineds and it has never hesitated to destroy its enemies

There should be food for thought in the present situation. Tammany has always been jealous of the power of the South in Democratic councils and has bitterly resented the minority role it has been forced to play in national politics. If it can elect its candidate, it will undoubtedly take advantage of this control of the Federal Administration to turn upon the South and rend it. In another four years it will have so entrenched its position that it will not need that solid block of electoral votes in order to keep its candidate in the White House. There are other sources of political power which Tammany knows only too well how to develop and the control of these will make the South no more necessary than any other part of the country. In 1932 Tammany will not be worrying over the electoral vote of Alabama or Mississippi. Long before that time, the power of the South in the councils of Democracy will be a thing of the past.

One important source of power which Tammany has ever been alert to cultivate lies in the constantly increasing numerical strength of the negro vote. In Harlem, where 150,000 negro residents of New York City have congregated, and in the black belts of other cities of the state, Tammany has for years been coddling the negro. Al Smith himself not only visits them during his campaigns but hands the mout a brand of soothing syrup which he specially reserves for that type of citizen.

The Harlef negroes are permitted to run a wide open town under the liberal eyes of their own black policement. Their favorite gambling games are not interfered with in the back-rooms of the speak-easies. Young bucks are allowed to loung on the street corners and offer obscene insults to any white woman who passes that way. Nor do they hesitate to make eyes at the more attractive specimens and to revile them with lewd remarks if they resent their approaches. It is not safe certainly not pleasant for a white woman to find herself in that neighborhood. Nothing, however, can be done about it since these young negro gallants boast of powerful friends in Tammany Hall to whom they can appeal for protection.

In the black and tan joints, which Tammany permits to run wide open, white prostitutes dance and get drunk with these same negroes, and later in the night entertain them in their private quarters. Sometimes within the same hour, these white women, havin ghad their fill of their dusky playmates, will accept the amorous attention of a white man, perhaps of respectable family, but too drunk to realize the depths of his degradation. Tammany has always looked with an indulgent eye on such diversions as these. In fact, only a fanatical reformer could object to such harmless pastimes. By these means, moreover, it hopes finally to annex the negro vote for Al Smith by paying a personal visit to Harlem and soft-soaping his audience in approved Tammany fashion. The following description of the affair was published in the New York Times of August 16th las:

"With more than 500 negro delegates from all over the country attending, the twenty-ninth annual convention of the National Negro Business League opened yesterday morning at the Mother Zion A. M. E. Church, 51 West 136th st.

"Mayor Walker welcomed the convention to this city at the evening session in the Abyssinian Baptist Church, 132 West 139th Street. The Mayor's only reference to national politics came when he paused for a moment towards the end of his address and then concluded with a smile:

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Bailey
Vidalia
Sept 5 1928

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For years the Tammany mayors have recognized the black belt on election day. The boast of powerful friends in Tammany Hall to the power of the black belt who fills the office of mayor whom they can appeal for protection. present wise-cracked who is touring Europe and the United States has started off the campaign to enlist the present campaign when he is not touring Europe and the United States has started off the campaign to enlist the Al Smith by paying a personal visit

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Political—1928

Party Affiliation.

RASKOB CALLED PAPAL SERVANT IN K. K. K. LETTER

Mississippi Grand Dragon Lugs In Color Issue To Get Hoover Votes

VOTERS ADVISED PERRY HOWARD IS OUTSIDE

Electors Will Be 'Lily White' Says State Klan Head In Letter

NEW YORK.—The unholy alliance formed by the Ku Klux Klan and Lily-White Republicans and their endeavor to inject the Negro issue in the present presidential campaign become more apparent each day.

A letter from the Klan was recently received by Mrs. M. B. Dottery of Oklahoma, Miss., a white woman, in which she was urged to vote against Governor Smith primarily because of his friendly attitude toward the Negro. The letter was written by Fred E. Wankan, Grand Dragon of Mississippi, and was as follows:

The Letter

"Dear Mr. Dottery:

"We have Hoover, a Republican, who is dry, and Smitha Democrat who is wet. We have Hoover who is a Protestant, and Smith who is a Romanist. We have Smith who believes in social equality and intermarriage of blacks and whites, and Hoover who was the last head of the department in Washington to abolish segregation.

"Tammany Hall has a Negro division, and I am enclosing you copy of record appearing in the Negro Year Book. Smith's record on the Negro question is ten times blacker than that of Hoover's and, of course it is needless for me to say that I intend to vote for the Republican electors. They will be the lily-white electors, not the Perry Howard electors.

Raskob and Pope

"We have an unstanding American, who is a Protestant, who is managing Hoover's campaign, while John J. Raskob who has always been a Republican, who is dripping wet, a Roman Catholic, Private Chamberlain of the Pope's Lay Household who has been decorated several times by the Pope managing the so-called Democratic Party, but in fact the 'Tammany Clerical Party.'

"There is no comparison. It is a question of country, and I expect to stay with the country in opposition to the alien-controlled, Rome-ridden, Negro-loving, rum-selling Tammany gang. The Smith forces are going to seek to force us all to vote for Smith on the Negro question, and that little bubble will all be punctured and we won't hear much more of it after our campaign gets under way."

The Repl-

Mrs. Dottery's reply to the Grand Dragon of Mississippi follows:

"I am not nor ever have been a K. K. Was not old enough to belong to the old Order and do not want to belong to anything that works under a mask, anyway."

A motion to table the resolution was adopted. Among those at the conference whose talk was on behalf of Governor Smith's candidacy was Dr. Leon Reid of Richmond.

Memphis, Tenn. Commercial-Appl.
Thursday, September 13, 1928

NEGRO REPUBLICANS NEAR PARTING OF WAYS

Dissatisfaction Over Treatment Spreads Like Epidemic.

BOB CHURCH IS "MIFFED"

Threatened Defections From Ranks Are Bared in Some Pivotal States—Memphis Leader Didn't Get What He Wanted.

BY JOHN D. ERWIN,
Commercial Appeal Staff Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12.—The dissatisfaction manifested by many of the negro Republicans in Tennessee with their ticket and the management of party affairs nationally is being reflected in several other states, some of them pivotal in this contest.

Robert R. Church, Memphis negro leader, who has been in Washington for several days, has called on Chairman Work, but apparently has not received what he is looking for, whatever that may be. He has indicated to some of his friends that the Republican leaders may have to send for him when they want him again.

When Representative J. Will Taylor, patronage boss of the Republicans for Tennessee, was here he tried to smooth out certain difficulties that had arisen between Church and the national headquarters, but all is not harmony in that quarter as yet. Taylor is expected back here in a few days.

Million Negroes Concerned.

A million negro voters in the northern and border states are giving no end of concern to the Hoover campaign managers.

For the first time since they were given the vote, the colored brethren are divided. In the past they have been so regular in their Republicanism that it was unnecessary to give them any thought before the election or any substantial recognition afterward. This year all this has been materially changed.

Instead of "the party of Abraham Lincoln is good enough fo' me," the chant of the black folks in the present campaign is, "What has the Republican party ever done for me?"

Insurgent ideas, fanned into flame by leaders of their own race, have brought about a situation which is not only unprecedented in presidential policies, but to students of politics is among the most fascinating phenomena of the 1928 campaign. In some sections of the north the swing to Governor Smith is so strong that it appears probable the Democratic nominee will get the bulk of the negro vote.

Vote Against the Klan.

In other states the colored voters appear torn between their old allegiance and the opportunity offered them to vote against the Ku Klux Klan in casting a vote for Smith. The resultant confusion has given the organizers for both parties a problem with which they have never before been confronted.

Antagonism toward the klan and prohibition are recognized by all informed persons of both races as the underlying factors in the present political revolt.

Contributory causes are found also in resentment over white domination and failure to receive what leaders of the colored race regard as the rightful reward of their political regularity. Negro newspapers in many instances are either lukewarm in their Republicanism or openly preaching insurgency.

Others, possibly influenced by the discovery that their readers prefer the candidacy of Governor Smith to that of Secretary Hoover, are giving the two candidates equal play in the news columns where formerly the Republicans got all the better of it. The negro press in general—even where Republican in policy—is displaying a greater friendliness for the Smith candidacy than ever before in the case of a Democratic aspirant for the presidency.

Dozen States Affected.

Republican.

It is in a dozen states or less that the colored vote really counts. And there it counts so heavily that some statisticians insist President Coolidge was the first Republican presidential candidate to be elected without the aid of the negroes. The colored vote, up to a few years ago, was considered to constitute the balance of power without which the Republicans could not have carried New Jersey, Ohio and Indiana, and which might be considered the margin of safety for the G. O. P. even in New York.

In the border states and farther south their numbers run much higher—and the percentage of voters much lower.

Under the caption "The Rising Tide of Protest," the Washington Eagle, one of the negro newspapers published here, says editorially in summing up the political unrest among members of the colored race:

"The Republican party must view with alarm the unrest obtaining among the colored voters of the country. The break away from party alignment is due in many cases to the desire to register a protest against Hoover for the attitude of the leaders of the Republican party toward the negro under the past two administrations. Thinking negroes are tired of the humiliation they have suffered for eight long years under the Republican party."

There follows a long list of these "humiliations," as the editor sees them, concluding with this observation:

"This is the record of the party some misguided negroes still say is the ship and all else the sea. The Jolly Roger was a ship also, but the crew was manned by pirates."

Charlotte, N. C. News
Tuesday, September 11, 1928

Bulwinkle Raps G. O. P. And Upholds Al Smith

Democratic Candidate for Congress Appeals to Voters in Upper Mecklenburg—Pours Broadside Into Republican Record — McRae Also Praises Smith.

A large audience, much given to applause, turned out at Cornelius last night to hear Congressman A. L. Bulwinkle and John A. McRae and to support the claims of political leaders there that Upper Mecklenburg had made up its mind to "stay regular" in the Democratic campaign.

Major Bulwinkle charged his opponent, Charles A. Jonas, Republican candidate for Congress, with injecting the negro issue in the campaign and demanded that Southern Republican leaders clear their skirts of the "whispering" campaign of scurrility against Smith in the face of a repudiation on the part of their National Committee. His speech indicated that he was not sure they could do this. In any case he demanded of them an expression on the subject.

The Congressman continued his campaign much along the same lines of his "keynote" speech in Gastonia. He fired broadsides into Republican corruption, ridiculed their claims of national prosperity with millions of men out of employment and many Southern cotton mills on half time. Their record, he declared, failed to produce one definite piece of consrtuctive legislation for the people in the last seven and a half years. He pointed to an inconsistency in Kellogg's pact outlawing war and the administration's own war in Nicaragua.

The speaker stood firm in his staunch support of Smith, pointing to his record of honesty and efficiency in government. He deplored what he declared to be unfair tactics on the part of the opposition in spreading "whispers" about Smith and his religious beliefs and connections. He did not agree with Smith in his prohibition views, but declared that the South alone had enough votes in Congress to prevent a change in the Eighteenth Amendment.

Mr. McRae devoted his short talk to a discussion of Smith in politics and the personal characteristics which enabled him to be four times Governor of New York, a Republican State. He presented Smith as an honest, able and courageous politician whose strength has been recognized and approved by the people of his State regardless of their political connections.

The program lasted for two hours In the audience were some opposed to the Smith candidacy, including Jake F. Newell, who, so far, has borne the brunt of the North Carolina Republican speaking campaign. The audience, filling the school auditorium, listened to the addresses intently, with periodic heavy applause. Several of the Democratic nominees were present, including Walter Clark, for Senator; Joe Sherrill, for county commissioner; J. B. Sherrill, for representative, and Frank Barnett, for tax collector, and were introduced to the audience by County Chairman Hamilton C. Jones, who presided.

LEADERSHIP—THE NEGRO AND POLITICS

The acid test of leadership fitness is best shown by the behavior of a so-called leader in a crisis.

We hear much said of leadership. We read a good deal of what is purported to be leadership advice. We see so much display of what is called leadership. We think sometime that this muchly over-worked term has come to have any significance that might be placed on it for the convenience and designs of self-seeking men. It is easy to say "yes sir," "me too," "that's what I think," and turn on the pivot of expediency; get the glory of being next to the powers that be; mediate between authority and the poor devils down the way; color up chameleon-like to suit the sentiment of authority and be a medium through which virtue is supposed to pass out one way and information to pass in the other. It is easy to go to the front in little things where tatling counts, where suffering and thinking are negligible, where opposition is not expected, where taking a stand is unnecessary, where opinions are ready made and greased up to be swallowed whole with ease.

It is easy to be mouthy, to plan campaigns for other people to pursue, to buy with other people's money or credit to show off to advantage, to advise, even to execute and get some kind of results when protected against the withering fire of criticism by henchmen who do not find it necessary to believe in one in order to shield him. It is more or less easy to have influence when one is willing to pay the price for it. There is plenty of it on the market. There are friendships, too, that can be bought at the price of one's manhood, self-respect or the abandonment of one's principles. But leadership in the permanent sense, the effective sense, the glorious sense, the eternal sense, is a rare growth. It differs from the spectacular, the mouthy, the looking-two-ways, the influence-hunting, the "me-too" types. It comes to the top in adversity; it comes to the front in a crisis; it stands up and out in danger with courage. It is motivated by principles that keep it consistently and respectably pursuing an honorable course in an honorable way. It is never looking for any reward but that which comes from the pursuit of the public weal.

Reporter 9-29-28

If there is any reality in what we hear and read about the political crisis now impending, it must involve the fortunes of the Negro more seriously than any one else. The need for leadership is urgent now though no appreciable, tangible gains may be expected. Always betwixt the devil and the deep, blue sea in national politics the Negro's path is devious; the significance of any crisis brought on by the results of this campaign centers not in the attitude nor in the favors of him who wins but it depends on how the Negro behaves with respect to his permanent interests in those centers where his behavior will count in the final results. The responsibility for leadership becomes doubly woeful when it goes in the wrong direction, when it is buyable, salable, usable, culpable. It is the loss of leadership confidence that kills and the temporary loss of the cause which it represents that discourages. Both are hard to retrieve.

Leadership does not come by appointment. It does not come by bestowal. It does not live and endure on patronage nor favors. Whether or not it is a passive inheritance, it develops out of necessity and flowers in adversity. This mushroom leadership that springs up in areas of ease and absorbs influence for its growth, that buys and sells influence with tainted currency or intriguing friendships, operates sponge-like to absorb everything in its area for its own growth, and, in the advent of a crisis, it changes areas with a consumate, flopping artfulness to avoid the press that would prove its sponge-like qualities and deprive it of its soaked-in gains.

This flopping here and there to get in the line of eligibles or the path of the political current to be ready for political beneficience when it comes, this rush for the line where the outstretched palm is to be served with pork to feed the hungry political mow of the little henchmen chiefs down the line is an evidence of the damning quality of Negro political leadership—we mean damning to the Negro himself. It was this that first discredited Negro political efforts. It was this that made the Negro in politics a dangerous element in democratic government. It was this that motivated the birth of the Ku Klux Klan, the grandfather clauses and the spirit to prevent any Negro political affiliations. It is the frightful thing that put the sting and the poison in "white supremacy." There is no principle involved in the present political campaign on which the colored group can safely divide. There might be individual interests to be served; there might be a difference of opinions growing out of these interests; but men's opinions vary with their individual interests when their conduct is motivated by the desire for their own gain, and right there lies the hidden wedge in the political camp where avowed defections are threatened. Perhaps, the Democratic Party will welcome the Negro in those areas where it will count; perhaps, it will be a C. O. D. proposition; but, in those areas where it is spurned and could not count, it salts the painful sore about which these would-be defectionists have made the loudest and the bitterest complaint.

In view of the thoroughly known and avowed principles of the two big parties, it is yet too early to counsel a division of the Negro vote. The lesson of pooling the vote to advantage has not yet been learned and counseling a division of it is fatal to the paramount principle underlying any eventual permanent success.

The fortunes of the Negro in politics must come through a show of united voting strength and not by any cutting off of the nose to spite the face nor by passing a "sop" to a few as a reward for disconcerting the others.

Certainly, one cannot take seriously all the hysterical stuff coming from mad cap Southern Negrophobists. To read it all and think it to be seriously meant by sound-minded people would have a frightfully desperate maddening effect. But there is a meaning to it that will deepen in proportion as it grows apparent that any unity of political effort can be kept negligible in those quarters where effective political effort is possible.

If there is no standard to which one might rise and feel to have earned a just and square deal in the South and the eventual hope to get it, if there is no intention that the Negro should ever have justice, if this green-eyed alarm over the progress that the Negro has made and justly earned means that down in the white man's soul there is no justice, no sense of fair play, no intention to yield any more than the hand of God and the sword of circumstances wrings from him in time, what must be expected but the bitterness that must come from being fouled at every stage of the game and the hope to abandon the land of one's birth as early as the circumstances will permit? Why fume about the privileges that the Negro has in other states as though it were the greenest envy that he should have fair treatment anywhere on the face of the earth. The Negro has earned everything that he has ever got anywhere. No one has given him any unearned social and economic increment—not even any broadsides of sympathy. With hundreds of years of social and economic freedom and the wealth of the world, through unmolested and unchallenged grasping, at his feet; with the plundered substance of the weaker nations of the world in his possession and with his purse strings pulled tight on the value of 300 years of labor wrought by the black man, white man, "white supremacy" should be safe beyond the shame of any mention. The shame of it is that any such phrase might ever be seriously uttered with a threat except the feeling of race decadence has set in and competition is felt to be menacing in a big earth whose untouched fullness is the Lord's the world and they that dwell therein.

The Negro only wants common justice; he has never sought anything else, and, if he cannot be given that and at the same time have white supremacy maintained, the refusal of it is a disguised compliment and the mention of any unfair or any undemocratic means to maintain it otherwise than by fair play is the purest cowardice.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Dothan, Ala., Eagle
Wednesday, September 26, 1928

MR. MALONE HOLDS THE SACK IN A REPUBLICAN SNIPE HUNT

I.

Sometimes, when the subject matter is difficult, the business of editorial writing is hard. At other times and on other subjects the going is easier. But once in a great while a series of events spring from a happy condition and the editorial writes itself. It is then that the editor finds himself in possession of a lead pipe cinch, and wades into the discussion with gusto.

Such is our feeling as we begin this comment on a letter printed in yesterday's Eagle bearing the signature of Mr. Walace D. Malone, recent recruit to the Republican Party and secretary of what he terms the "Anti-Smith Campaign" in Houston County, in which he attempts to justify the motives of the bolters.

And so, humming a tune under our breath, we throw this unfortunate letter upon the table, and without pausing to apply the ether, proceed to operate.

II.

The first fallacy Mr. Malone commits is in the first paragragph:

> **The first great and successful bolt that we know of was when George Washington, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and other American patriots bolted the British government of which they were part and parcel.**

As any schoolboy knows, these pioneer statesmen were not bolters, but revolutionists. A revolutionist is one who over-throws the old order and establishes a new. He charges straight at the enemy with desperate purpose and blood in his eye. On the other hand, a bolter runs away, and in the case of the present bolters, **they are running over to join the forces of the enemy, the Republican Party.**

Washington and his fellows rebelled at England's tyranny and rank injustices. **And when they rebelled they drafted a Constitution whose spirit and intent would never permit the people of this nation to qualify a candidate for public office on the ground of his religion.** Yet many citizens of the Wiregrass would desert the party of their fathers and rush to the Republicans because Gov. Smith's religious belief differs from theirs. Not only would they bolt the Democratic Party, but also they would bolt the spirit of the Constitution of the United State **and the Constitution of Alabama. The bill of rights in the Alabama Constitution clearly states: "No religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust * * * "**

In referring to Thomas Jefferson, on whose principles the Democratic Party was founded, Mr. Malone neglects to point out that one of Jefferson's life-long doctrines was a belief in religious freedom, and that no man should be persecuted or penalized in any way because of his religious belief.

III.

Mr. Malone then leaves the heroes of the American revolution and uses the names of men whose memory will live as long as the memory of the War Between the States, claiming that they also were bolters:

> **What heroes! Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Raphael Semmes, Alexander Stevens, the Morgans, Ben Hill and an innumerable host of others always including the soldier in the ranks.**

Robert E. Lee was not in favor of the Southern States seceding from the Union, and neither was Jefferson Davis nor Alexander Stevens. They believed that the slavery disagreement should be settled by arbitration. But when the opening guns of battle were fired **did these stalwart men bolt from their beloved South and join the forces of the enemy?** They did not. They stayed with their own people and among their own kind and fought until the bitter end. Mr. Malone and his fellow-bolters may well adopt the loyalty to the South of Lee, Davis, Stevens and other Confederate leaders. These men fought when Yankee forces marched upon their homes. Today the South and her Party are threatened again, not by a physical enemy, **but by the damnable Republicanism that was responsible for outrages upon our crushed people in Reconstruction Days.** Has Mr. Malone forgotten that? It is the same Republican Party that would banish white supremacy in the South today if it could; it is the same Republican Party that has ignored the South since Grant's administration on down through the years until this hour; it is the same Republican Party that now desires to enact into law the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill, a

Republican.

measure that would tax every man and woman in any county wherein a lynching occurs, making the whole people pay for the crimes of a lawless few; it is the same Republican Party that has never liked nor sympathized with the people of the South. In short, IT IS THE SAME OLD COON WITH ANOTHER RING AROUND HIS TAIL. Yet Mr. Malone would have us join such an enemy!

IV.

The local recruiting officer of the Republican Party continues:

> **Then came 1896 when the many Democrats of the nation bolted W. J. Bryan and his free silver platform under the lead of that great Democrat, Grover Cleveland, whom the American people, North and South, today hold in the greatest admiration. How Alabama has honored her 1896 bolters! Sever of them have been elected Governors of the State, Congressmen, Judges, Law-makers, Delegates to National Conventions, Mayors, Committeemen. The Constitutional Convention of 1901, only five years later, was full of them.**

In 1896 those Democrats who supported Palmer and Buckner did not bolt the Democratic Party, and Mr. Malone knows it. The Democratic Party split, each wing nominating a candidate. **Neither faction joined the forces of the Republican, their common enemy.** The bolters today are being urged to vote for Hoover, the Republican opponent to the Democratic nominee. They are being urged to go over to the enemy.

V.

Mr. Malone's next statement is this:

> **What shall we say about these Alabamians who are now supporting Al Smith not because they believe in what he stands for but from political expediency for opportunity to run for future office. The English language scarcely contains words sufficiently strong to condemn them. What did men like Grover Cleveland, Thomas G. Jones, Wm. C. Oates, Jesse M. Carmichael, Wm. J. Samford, B. B. Comer, H. S. D. Mallory, Col. W. H. Burr, as gallant a Confederate officer as ever led his men into action, Judge A. Y. Malone and Editor W. T. Hall care for political expediency? They knew no such words when principle was at stake.**

In mentioning the names of the late Judge A. Y. Malone and W. T. Hall, Mr. Malone is referring to his uncle and to this writer's father. We agree with him that neither man cared for political expediency. Both proved time and again the courage of their opinions, and the last time they proved it was in 1924, a few weeks before their deaths, when they were delegates to the Democratic Convention in New York. During those hectic days Alabama was intensely and violently pro-Klan. The voters of the State were under the hooded influence and were clamoring loudly for Senator Underwood's defeat. Yet A. Y. Malone and W. T. Hall with the other 22 delegates from Alabama ignored the Klan and voted until the last ballot "Twenty-four Votes For Underwood!" Underwood's denouncement of the Klan made him loom as a Presidential possibility, and Alabama's delegates proved their courage and loyalty by voting during the deadlock of three weary weks for Underwood.

Mr. Malone's curious attempt to make a point against political expediency by referring to these two delegates to the Convention in 1924, when their vote for the unpopular Underwood was an illustration of fearless loyalty to an Alabamian and to party principle, is a foolish thing, for it is perfect ammunition to destroy his own argument.

VI.

But no less foolish—and damaging to his own cause—is the very next paragraph of his letter:

> **In America today no name is more odious than that of Benedict Arnold who sold himself to the British for political expediency.**

We quite agree that Benedict Arnold was contemptible. He was a traitor. Arnold was holding high position under Gen. Washington when he bolted and went to the British, our enemy. This was dishonorable, yet what of the conduct of some of the Democratic nominees in Alabama who, while holding a party office, have deserted and are knifing our Presidential nominee in the back? Are they not traitors? What of the former Democrats who are doing all the damage they can to the Democratic Party for Anti-Saloon League money, or just common, ordinary, Republican money? Are they not, well—how would you describe them? Mr. Malone seems to think them noble.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Dothan, Ala., Eagle
Wednesday, September 26, 1928

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VII.

Mr. Malone refers to "Al Smith and his Negro Commissioner Morton." Gov. Smith did not appoint Morton . Mayor Hylan of New York appointed him, and when Jimmy Walker defeated Hylan in the last election, it was Al Smith who helped do it! Hylan was Smith's political enemy.

In response to calls from the South where the charge has been repeatedly made that Gov. Smith has made numerous Negro appointments in New York, the National Democratic Congressional committee has completed a careful check of his appointments. It was found that one Negro has received an appointment at the hands of Gov. Smith during his entire four terms as governor of New York. This Negro was appointed to the job of messenger boy at the capitol, and he received his appointment on the strength of an outstanding war record.

And Mr. Malone then becomes guileless enough to sneer at "Smith and his cohorts standing for Negro equality social and political, mixed schools and marriage between whites and blacks , the Pope to govern both in temporal thing and spiritual things," etc.

Smith does not believe in Negro equality, either socially or politically, any more than Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson or Jimmy Cox believed in it.

No Negro has ever dined in the governor's mansion of New York since Smith has been the executive, but Alabamians well recall when a certain Negro dined in the White House with a Republican President.

Cleveland was a former governor of New York. Wilson was a former governor of New Jersey. Cox was a former governor of Ohio, and in each of these States Negroes attend the public schools with the whites and the races inter-marry. None of these men were held responsible, and none were charged with the responsibility when they became Democratic candidates except Smith. The whispering campaign being conducted against him is the rottenest, the vilest and at once the most idiotic that has ever been waged against a Presidential candidate. But it is reacting in his favor. The American people love fair play, and they are beginning to take sides with the persecuted Smith. They are learning that many of the Republican whispers are lies and they are distrusting everything the Republicans say.

As for the old wheeze about "Smith and his cohorts standing for the Pope to govern both in temporal and spiritual things," Smith has made himself as clear on that point as he has on the prohibition question. We direct Mr. Malone's attention to Gov. Smith's creed, which has been appearing daily on this page for several weeks. In it he states as plainly as the English language will permit: **"I recognized no power in the institutions of my church to interfere with the operations of the law of the land. * * * I believe in the absolute separation of church and state."** Under his administration this country would be as free from church dictatorship as it has since the administration of George Washington.

VIII.

If Mr. Malone is foolish enough to hurl "Nigger-lover" at Smith, we are happy to point out the following interesting facts:

1. In the Republican Convention at Kansas City sat 122 Negro delegates. Negro delegates are a part of every Republican Convention.

2. In the Democratic Convention at Houston was not one Negro delegates. Negro delegates never sit in Democratic Conventions.

3. Ben Davis, Negro National Republican Committeeman in Georgia belligerently charges that the Democratic Party is the white man's party, and we are glad to state that he is correct. It has always been the white man's party and it always will be.

4. Mrs. A. Y. Mlone, (Walace Malone's aunt) a Dothan citizen and president of the Alabama Woman's Federation of Clubs, was introduced to Mrs. Herbert Hoover at a reception by a Negro.

5. A Negro named Hawkins, delegate to the Republican Convention, made a speech seconding the nomination of Hoover at Kansas City.

6. The Republican Party has always stood for equality of the Negro; the Democratic Party never has and never will.

7. It was the Republican Party that attempted to humiliate the South with a wretched Force Bill, and it was the Democratic Party, with the aid of Tammany Hall Democrats, that defeated this attempt ot place federal bayonets around the ballot boxes of the South so the Negroes could be voted in wholesale numbers.

8. It was the Republican Party which sent carpet baggers throughout the South in Reconstruction days and elevated Negroes to official positions over the white man, and the odor of Negroes on judges' benches permeated the atmosphere of courtrooms from Virginia to Louisiana. White Democrats removed them, and they have been removed ever since.

IX.

We state in conclusion that, though Mr. Malone's name was fixed to this letter, we wonder if he really wrote it. If he did, then we are disappointed in his abilities, for the letter from beginning to end is weak, wthout logic and actually silly. It sounds more like a genuine, old-time dyed-in-the-wool Republican speaking under the signature of a recent deserter from the Democratic Party. The reason we believe this is twofold: (a) because the entire letter is blatant with the smug, self-righteous attitude that distinguishes all propaganda of seasoned Republicans, and (b) because every word vainly attempts to anoint the heads of the bolters and make them righteous, too.

But if Mr. Malone is the actual author of the letter, and will publicly admit it, we will publicly offer our sympathy!

And if, moreover, he is proud of his attempt to salve the bolters and induce them to join the enemy, then we heartily welcome other letters along the same line, provided they sparkle with the same type of absurdities.

One or two more of them, and Houston County will undergo an over-night landslide back to the party of its persecuted fathers and the party of eternal white supremacy.

JOURNAL

Jersey City, N. J.

OCT 2 1928

Grundy Speaks To Negro Voters

In a speech before the Hudson County Colored Men's Republican Club in the Colored Elks' Clubhouse on Ocean Avenue last Saturday evening J. Owen Grundy, head of the Young Men's Republican Speakers' Committee in Hudson County, stated that the revelations of the Case Committee have proved to the independent citizens of Jersey City what they had only surmised before. He said: "We must not only stand shoulder to shoulder in this national campaign, but we must pave the way for the great commission government election next May, when we intend to elect five representative men city commissioners over the hand-picked ticket of Mayor Frank Hague. We have faith that the people of Jersey City still want good government, and they have not forgotten that the man who gave it to them was Mark M. Fagan."

President Benjamin Dowden of Young Men's Republican Association, Frank B. Chapman, Republican nominee for Boulevard Commissioner, also made speeches Fred N. Carter presided as chairman in place of the president, James W. Roberson.

Nashville, Tenn., Banner
Tuesday, September 25, 1928

SEGREGATION ORDER PULLS NEGRO VOTE

So Says Publicity Sent Out by Associated Negro Press.

The Associated Negro Press, an organization in the interest of Negro publicity, sends out the following:

Cleveland, Ohio, Sept. 25.—In an interview with a representative of the Associated Negro Press this week Attorney Perry B. Jackson, Republican nominee for the state legislature (the only colored man nominated for the state legislature in the whole state), stated that he was unqualifiedly in favor of the election of Herbert Hoover for President of the United States. Jackson, who is active in civic, fraternal and religious life of this city, stated that in his opinion not less than ninety per cent of the colored people of Cuyahoga county and state of Ohio would support the Hoover ticket. He gave as his reasons not only that Herbert Hoover was by training and experience the better qualified of the two leading candidates for the high office of President, but that his broad and sympathetic understanding of human problems as exemplified in his stamping out segregation in his department in Washington as soon as it was called to his attention, according to Noval Thomas of Washington, D. C., had a practical and direct appeal to the colored voter.

Hoover Aid Is Plea Of Negro Baptist Speaker

LOUISVILLE, KY., Sept. 8.—(AP)—Selection of Kansas City, Mo., for the 1929 meeting of the National Negro Baptists Convention, Inc., and Charleston, S. C., for the Baptist Young Peoples Union Congress were made here late today tomorrow afternoon and night.

"The building of the American flag," an annual pageant given by 150 women and Nannie Burroughs's plea for Herbert Hoover in her address "The Moral and Economic Issues in the Hoover Campaign," held the interest of the delegates today.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation

Republican.

The American People Are Weary of Race Prejudice and Religious Bigotry

Within a fortnight the people will rebuke at the polls the campaign of race hatred, religious bigotry, and political intolerance conducted by the Democratic Party for the past three months.

The campaign has not been one of men and measures, but of race prejudice and political intolerance on the part of the Democratic Party. There has been no appeal in the South to the sober judgment of mankind but the one effort has been to make men hate and despise one another.

Early in the game, the Democratic Party repudiated the Houston platform and paramounted the race issue. It has been argued from every hill and housetop, that white supremacy superceded every other controversial question, and white men and women were called from the plow to strike one blow to lift black heels off white necks. Every Democratic daily, and Democratic office-holder, state and national, have been on the job every day telling the people, that America's is a white man's country, and the only way to prevent immediate Negro domination was to elect Al Smith; that a vote for Hoover was a vote for Negro domination; and a vote for Governor Smith was a vote for white supremacy.

In the North, the Democrats have been appealing to the Negro to vote the Democratic ticket on the ground that, Governor Smith was a friend to the Negro, believed in race and political equality, and would appoint Negroes to office nationally, if elected, just as Tammany Hall had done, and is doing in New York.

The Democrats charge that Hoover is a "nigger" lover, and if he is elected, as he certainly will be, he will africanize the government service. The Anti-Smith Democrats deny the charge, and counter charge that Mr. Smith and Tammany Hall have appointed more Negroes to office in New York than the Republicans have in the nation. They sight Ferd Morton, and his white stenographer, as a sample of Smith's Negro record. When the regular Democrats charge that Ben Davis will continue control under Hoover, the Antis come back by saying, if you vote for Smith instead of Hoover, so far as the Negro is concerned, it will be an aggrevated case of jumping out of the frying pan into the fire.

So after all, so far as the Negro is concerned, the pdejudice of the Smith Democrats and the Antis are one and the same, and one hates the Negro with as much intensity as the other. The Anti-Smith Democrats are fighting Smith because he is dripping wet and a Catholic: and the Smith Democrats are fighting Hoover because he is a Quaker, and believes in race and political equality —he believes in equal opportunities for all men without regard to race or faith.

The Democrats are playing both ends against the middle, trying to catch votes "a'gwine and a'comin". Their policy is to hate Negroes in the South to get white votes, and love him in the North to get black votes.

Senator Harris, et al, are preaching religious bigotry by saying, he would rather vote for a wet Catholic than a dry Quaker; that the Quakers are slackers, and too proud to fight; love Negroes, and assisted Negroes to escape from slavery by the Underground Railroad; that patriotic Catholics bared their breasts to shot and steel and helped the South to throw off Negro rule. Therefore, vote for Al Smith and perpetuate white supremacy by minority rule and disfranchsiement.

Dry men and Christian leaders, like the Candlers, are compromising their consciences, and voting for the whiskey ring and Tammany Hall's unsavory record.

In the South, senators, congressmen, et al., who were elected on dry platforms have violated their instructions and compromised their consciences under the sullied influence of Tammany Hall, and the charm of race hatred and political intolerance.

The South raised the race issue, and Al Smith the religious issue. The most serious charge the Democrats bring against Mr. Hoover is, he is a Quaker, and loves humanity; that he serves people not races; that he is too big to be little enough to hate men because of their color or faith.

But, the people will have their day, soon, November the sixth; and then they will settle this question for always. The people will elect Hoover November 6th, 1928. They will stamp out religious bigotry, race hatred and political intolerance. Men ought to love one another, and not hate. Every indication points to the election of Hoover and Curtis. The stars in their very course reflect the good tidings, and foreshadow four more years of good government and prosperity under Herbert Hoover.

The Negro is peacefully pursuing the even tenor of his way, knowing that in finality justice comes to all men, though it may be delayed, and not arrive until the bigots, race haters, and intolerants fall out among themselves.

To the election of Mr. Hoover, the Negro will contribute his quota, as he has done in every election, Raskob, money, and a few race traitors to the contrary notwithstanding.

Pass Christian, Miss., Tarpon
Saturday, November 3, 1928

NEGROES SHOULD CONSTITUTE REPUBLICAN PARTY

If we are to have a Republican party in Mississippi it is best for all concerned that such a party consist of the black and tan elements only—the Perry Howard; Mary Booze, Redman et als, remain in control of it. Let it be a real Republican party from a Southern standpoint of view—composed entirely of negroes; as with that kind of Republican party in Mississippi, we have had no trouble. It has been only when the negroes are led, or rather misled, by scalawag white men and encouraged by this stripe of humanity, to seek political and social equality, that trouble existed, and will exist again under like circumstances, leaving the poor, deluded negroes to bear the evil results that a recertain to follow, such misguidance, while those renegrades who lead them into such havoc, will make thier escapes, while escaping is good.

A large percentage of the best negroes of our state feel kindly towards the white people, who in turn feel kindly towards them. This class of negroes do not seek political or social equality. They ask only to be protected in their legal rights and given opportunity to earn an honest livelihood. They do not seek office nor social relationship. They do not advocate the marrying of their daughters into the white race, nor the white girls into their race. But under the guidance of renegrade white leaders the more ambitious and insolent of the colored race soon desire, for social equality to follow political partnership and when white men and white women aid and assist this class of negroes to rise politically, they should not feel offended if their creatures seeks the hand of their daughters in marriage and become their social equals.

The Perry Howard faction has been content to enjoy the honor following the distinction of being at the head of the Republican party in the State. No trouble or friction has arisen under his leadership, and so long as the negroes of the state wish to keep up an organization, it is best that all negroes stick together and let all white people, who are true to the memory of their forefathers and to their blood, stand together for white supremacy in this hour of peril.

TO COLORED VOTERS

Afro-American
11-3-28
Baltimore Md.

"NOW GIT!"

THIS IS THE PROOF OF THE ABOVE

WHAT HERBERT C. HOOVER SAID TO IRVINE LENROOT: "You tell Mr. Willis (T. J. Willis, a Mississippi Lily-White) and others representing the white groups that after my nomination, if I am nominated, the Negro leaders will be replaced by white men. We're going to have a white Republican party in the South."

WHAT OSCAR DEPRIEST SAID IN A PUBLIC STATEMENT: "My indictment is but a part of a nefarious scheme hatched through the erstwhile oligarchy of pseudo-Republicans, which waged a battle in the spring of 1927 against William Hale Thompson, when hundreds of men and women were promiscuously thrown in jail, all of which aimed at our leadership. The charges against me are unwarranted and without foundation, in fact, "I will fight this and any other attempt to destroy my leadership and embarrass my people. I will not withdraw as a regular Republican candidate for Congress, and I will not run from any fight put up against me. You can say for me that Oscar DePriest is no coward. "Recent events have brought the dethronement of such men as S. D. McGill, of Florida; Walter Cohen of Louisiana, Ben Davis, of Georgia; Bill McDonald, of Texas, Charles Calloway of Kansas City; Robert R. Church of Tennessee; Perry Howard of Mississippi, and now the same is attempted on me in Chicago."

By Authority Smith for President Colored League.

Opelika, Ala., News
Saturday, October 20, 1928

NEGRO RIDICULES SOUTHERN HOOVER SUPPORTERS

Never in the history of the country has the negro so forced himself to the front as in the present presidential campaign, and his self-assertiveness and critical attitude toward the Southern white men has been made bold by his reliance upon Herbert Hoover to place him in positions higher than any he has heretofore dreamed, in the event the Republican negro party succeeds at the polls in November.

In the present mix-up in the South, in which some heretofore loyal Democrats threaten to go over to the Republicans and aid the negro in making his equality dreams true, the members of that race in the north play no favorites. They are down on the Southern white man, no difference if those supporting Mr. Hoover are aiding him (the negro) to realize his aims. After reciting how the South purified its balot by eliminating the illiterate, vicious negro vote, The Pittsburg Courier, a negro newspaper, pays its respects to Southern white men and women, Smithites and Hooverites alike, as follows:

"But, if man proposes, God disposes. And, as Bobby Burns said, "the best laid plans of mice and men often go awry." If the Southern Nordics are anti-Negro, it must not be forgotten that they are also anti-Catholic and anti-liquor (insofar as the Negro is concerned.) They want no Catholics in charge of the government of the country and they will brook no interference with their efforts to keep liquor from the lower class, i.e., the Negroes. Hence the revulsion of our white friends in Dixie when Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York was nominated at Houston, shortly after a Negro resident of that town had been lynched.

"So the more frantical descendents of the defenders of the Lost Cause, rebelled against the choice of their party. They swore that they would not vote for Smith. Anti-Smith, Hoover Democrats began to make their voices heard. Rather than vote for Smith the Catholic and Wet, they would vote for Hoover, the Quaker and Dry.

"But alas! the revolutionists find their hands tied. The very regulations they adopted or permitted to be adopted to keep the Negroes away from the polls and out of the sectional political life, now rise up to hamper them! Tens of thousands of Southern whites who would fain cast a ballot for Mr. Hoover and thereby rebuke the Wet-Catholics, find their way to the ballot box barred. Because the political life in the South has centered around the Democratic primaries from which the black brethren were effectually barred by the aforesaid regulations and restrictions, only a handful of whites have ever participated in general elections or qualified to do so. Thousands of them have not paid their poll taxes or have lost their receipts if they have paid them. Thousands who cannot read or write but yearn to vote against Governor Smith will find the Democratic machine politicians as firmly lined up against them as they ever against the Negroes.

"So the anti-Smith Southern whites are up a tree. They are all dressed up with no place to go. The little Tammanies in each Southern district will not permit them to vote because they cannot meet the requirements. What irony. What a boomerang! And what a big laugh for the long-suffering Negro!"

Makes no difference if the statement in the negro paper about thousands of Southern white men being disqualified is untrue, nevertheless it shows the attitude of the negro in the North toward Southern white supporters of Mr. Hoover recruited from the democratic party.

Political - 1928.
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

LILYWHITE REPUBLICANS IN SADDLE AT KANSAS CITY CONVENTION, HUMILIATING NEGRO DELEGATES

(By Wire to The Eagle.)

Kansas City, Mo., June 14.—The historic G. O. P. in National convention assembled is being directed by General Jim Crow who sits enthroned and directs the proceedings of the party that was brought into existence on the question of human slavery and gained its power and prestige since its formation because it freed a race. Never since the enfranchisement of the Negro has he been treated with such scant consideration as was shown him at this convention. Segregated in the convention hall, not allowed to stop at any but jim-crow hotels, subjected to petty discriminations on all sides, the brother was indeed in a sad predicament. Even newspapermen like Claude Barnet, Melvin Chisum and others of the leaders in newspaperdom were given nothing but discriminatory treatment.

Of course Walter Cohen, the old warrior from Louisiana, was humiliated by having his delegates stolen from him, and Kuntz, the white cracker whom Cohen placed in position of trust in the G. O. P. in Louisiana, was allowed to be seated with his (Kuntz's) delegation.

It looks at the present time as though John R. Hawkins, president of the Prudential Bank of Washington, would second the nomination of Hoover whose nomination seems assured. This is done to try to mollify the colored men and women who are in attendance at the convention as many of them have been loud in their expressions of disgust at the treatment accorded them.

There was considerable amusement apparent when Senator Moses made his speech as permanent chairman of the convention. Moses grew red in the face when he spoke of the nullifying of the amendments and the 4,000,000 voters who were deprived of a vote in the solid South. It was recalled that this same Mr. Moses was in the United States Senate last January when Senator Swanson, of Virginia, laid all over the 14th and 15th amendments and the only Senator to attack the position of Senator Swanson was Senator William Cabel Bruce, of Maryland, a Democrat. Why did not the militant Senator Moses take the floor of the Senate and breathe vengeance and slaghter at that time? There is no enthusiasm on the part of the colored voter for the doings of this convention. They are grim in their acceptance of the shabby treatment accorded them and are almost ready for anything.

Old man Work, the gruff and discourteous Secretary of the Interior, Ogden Mills the bull dozer of the Treasury Department and others of the segregationists are sitting high in the councils of the Hoover outfit. They belong to the lily white stripe below the Mason and Dixon line. Hoover carrying such ballast with him through the campaign will find that there will be thousands of Negroes who will not vote for him because of his managers and counsellors.

A number of leading men and women of the race are here. Perry Howard, Benj. J. Davis, National committeemen from Mississippi and Georgia, respectively; Robert R. Church, Tennessee; J. Finley Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks; Charles H. Colburn, Wilmington, Del; Judge Edw. W. Henry, Philadelphia; Dr. S. D. Redmond, Jackson, Miss.; Edward P. Booze and Mrs. Booze of Mound Bayou, Miss.; Dr. John R. Hawkins and Dr. W. H. Jernigan, of Washington, D. C.; Walter Cohen, New Orleans, La.; Caesar Blake, Imperial Potentate of the Shrine and Col. E. L. Patton, of Jackson, Miss.; Mrs. George S. Williams, Savannah, Ga., together with a host of others.

It was remarked by some of the leaders that four years ago Link Johnson, Charlie Cottrill, Gilchrist Stewart (the little Corporal), and William Clarence Matthews were at the Cleveland gathering of the G. O. P. Each one of these leaders ha sbeen called by the hand of the grim reaper. Each was a tower of strength and each is greatly missed.

After Hoover, what? The name of Al Smith is frequently heard in a favorable way by some of the dissatisfied colored Republicans.

normalcy by the appearance of their names in the newspaper under the sanction of merit; therefore let us not forget the medium of our glorification. At the regular meeting of Columbia Lodge on June 4, the election produced the following delegates to the Grand Lodge session at Chicago, August, 1928. Brothers Herbert E. Jones, John F. Ross, Alphonso E. Williams, Ulysses Creecy, Samuel Stewart, George B. Hunt, Stacy V. McNeil, Thomsa Shipley, Albert Lancaster, Charles Barker, William Joyce, Thomas Holland, William H. Davis, Aaron J. Gaskins, Ernest Johnson, Thomas L. Jones, Isaac Young, Alexander Jackson, Sylvester F. Epps, John F. Sneed, John M. Marshall, Edward Campbell, Benjamin F. Chase and Peter A. Lomax.

Daughter Sarah Turner expresses her hearty appreciation and gratitude for the cooperation and support of her many friends during the popularity contest, enabling her to emerge the winner.

GEORGIA'S G. O. P. DELEGATION JOKE

Votes Will Go for Hoover With No Chance of Secretary Carrying State in November.

BY SAM W. SMALL,
Special Staff Correspondent.

En Route to Kansas City, June 8. (Special.)—The Georgia interest in what may happen in the Kansas City convention is acute only as it may have national effects. What the Georgia "black-and-tan" republican delegates may do is of negligible consequence to the state at large. The republican outfit, for it is not a real party—in Georgia is dominated by the negroes. It is represented on the national committee by Ben J. Davis, negro editor, who succeeded Johnson, another negro, who was a federal office-holder in Washington.

The delegation that is figuring now at Kansas City is a largely hand-picked one. It was framed up by Ben Davis after he had been "sugared" by Rush Holland, the Hoover scout to round up Southern delegates, with some $2,500 in current California cash. The delegates, "having a lively hunger" "for favors to come," will be found sitting pretty on the foremost bandwagon. In fact, I feel pretty sure that Hoover will corral the last hoof of them.

In 1924 Coolidge got 30,300 votes in Georgia. The county returns seem to indicate that fully half of those votes were cast by white voters, but no one acquainted with the politics of the state can imagine that the Georgia delegation at Kansas City, led by Ben Davis, represents as many as a tenth of those white republican votes.

It is the spectacle of such a delegation as that which illustrates to thinking persons why it is not possible to set up in Georgia a reputable, formidable, fighting section of the national republican party.

It is the spectacle of such a delegation as that which illustrates to thinking persons why it is not possible to set up in Georgia a reputable, formidable, fighting section of the national republican party.

When the senate committee comes to Georgia and other southern states this summer to investigate the office-trading that goes on under republican administrations, the true farcical and corrupt practices of these irresponsible office-mongering southern republicans will be put into sworn records for the first time in many years. It will stifle the nostrils of honest people everywhere.

Adds to Hoover Boom.

The republican national committee, operating under strong administration influence, has been adding materially to the Hoover boom by deciding to seat almost all of his contested delegates. That series of actions has equally decimated the claims of the anti-Hoover allies.

In consequence, as my tabulated figures stand, Hoover is now where he must depend upon Secretary Mellon's Pennsylvania 'chain-gang" delegation to put him through; and with that he can go through on the first ballot. It is with Mellon as with Coolidge. No one can speak for him but himself, and no one can say now what is in the back of his head.

In the circumstances as they now appear, it would be the normal and wise thing, if Hoover's nomination is to be made, to have the operation over with as promptly as possible.

The party leaders on the administration side wish earnestly to avoid prolonged balloting and the chance of a dead-locked convention. They are determined to prevent any need for another midnight caucus and 2 a. m. hotel room compromise, as in Chicago in 1920. The Harding blunder, that bred a pack of public crimes, must not be repeated.

The party is debating at the crossroads and its responsible leaders know they must be as wise as serpents and as pacific as doves in deciding their course ahead.

A singular feature of the pending situation is the way so great a host of persons, even including convention delegates, are balancing from one foot to the other while waiting anxiously for "something more from Coolidge!" The president has been strangely unable to get the public to take his words at full value. He has spoken several times in terms that, in the case of any other man, would have been promptly accepted as final. It is his hope that he will not have to speak again, but if his "fool friends" make it necessary he is prepared to do so in "thoughts that breathe and words that burn" and leave them sitting stunned where he dumps them.

May Ballot Thursday.

It is quite probable that actual balloting will not begin before Thursday, as organization work will consume Tuesday, and committee work occupy most of Wednesday, with the possible discussion and adoption of the platform. At an rate, it is figured by foremost leaders that the candidates will have been named and the convention adjourned before Friday night.

These calculations, however, may all be smashed if the anti-Hoover allies get together and stick together in a strenuous fight over a farm relief plank for the paltform, and find themselves formidable enough to bar the nomination of Hoover and compel a compromise nomination. Those possibilities must await the swinging of the conventon into action.

Senator Norris is not the only republican leader who is protesting the power given to southern rottenborough delegates to determine the candidates which the real republicans elsewhere must support and elect. The logical injustice of the case is apparent, but a remedy is not so visibble. The democrats are in a like box and have been for sixty years—their nominations are always dictated by delegates from states that seldom, if ever, furnish any actual electoral votes. It is just as anomalous for the democratic delegates from Maine, Vermont, Connecticut and Pennsylvania to determine democratic nominations as it is for the non-productive republican chattel delegates from Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi to determine republican nominations.

SELECTION OF NEGRO LEADER OF PARAMOUNT INTEREST TO G. O. P. DELEGATES

Special to the Bee (ANP).

KANSAS CITY, Mo. June 13—(Convention Hall)—The national Republican convention opened this morning in the mammoth three-galleried oval-shaped convention hall holding ten thousand persons, with about half a hundred Negro delegates and scores of Negro visitors adding a touch of color to the subdued, almost sombre decorations which denoted that the organization had assembled for what seems certain to be a plan and business-like national convention. Senator Simon D. Fess, of Ohio, in delivering the keynote speech to the convention made the following racial reference: "The hold of the man who sits in the White House upon the people of America today without regard to sex, race, creed or color, is the result of an administration under which we have enjoyed the greatest era of prosperity and happiness ever given any nation." He continued, "We shall withdraw from Haiti as we have withdrawn from San Domingo as soon as we shall have finished the task of establishing a stable government and developing her resources so as to make the country self-sustaining."

The chief discussion among the colored contingent includes the treffic fight made on Ben Davis for committeeman by Joe Watson of Georgia, backed by Mrs. George Williams. It is reported that Davis has a majority of two votes. The basis of the fight is that there are only three colored jobs in the state—committeeman, secretary of state committee, and assistant secretary of state committee—and that Davis holds all of them. The action of Ben Davis and Mrs. George Williams, Georgia committeeman in giving proxies to white members of the national committee in Cohen contest, who thereupon voted against Cohen, defeating him by four votes was explained by Davis who said that he has no apology to make for the vote. He states that in Florida and Texas cases he voted because of the racial issue involved but that in the Cohen case, Cohen was opposed to Hoover for whom he was pledged and that the case was so poorly presented that it could not have won.

The selection of the Negro leader, the usual custom in presidential nomination years, is of paramount interest. Of the three most likely candidates for the Honor, J. Finley Wilson, Tom Fleming and Homer Phillips, Phillips seems to be the most universal choice. At the citizen's banquet given at the Street Hotel on Monday evening, C. H. Calloway, presiding, Bishop W. T. Vernor, Judge Henry of Philadelphia, Judge Wm. C. Hueston of Gary, and John R. Hawkins, were among those who spoke. Homer Phillips, Hoover leader in charge of headquarters here, the last speaker, declared that he wanted no job and made a plea for united action on racial program politically, received an ovation after his remarks.

LILY WHITE G. O. P. CONVENTION

From all reports received from the G. O. P. convention held at Kansas City, it is clearly evident as we go to press, that Herbert Hoover will be the next Republican nominee for the Presidency. It is also plain that the convention will leave many scars that must needs be healed before next November if that gentleman hopes to be elected. Not only are the Corn Belt farmres dissatisfied but rumblings heard from the convention indicate that the colored people are far from being satisfied with the treatment given their delegates. The lily-whites seemed to be in the saddle directing the affairs of the convention. Veteran Republican leaders like Walter Cohen were given short shrift when their contests were considered before the credentials committee and before the convention. No effort was made to prevent the segregation and the humiliation of the colored delegates who attended the convention. Colored newspapermen were not given any consideration at the press tables. The idea of proscription was carried to the utmost limit.

The Republican party now seems to be controlled by men bent on the humiliation of the colored members of that party. How long they will stand for this humiliation and general proscription no one knows. We do know, however, that the air is full of talk of revolt against the gang now in control of the G.O.P.

It will take more than soft words to turn away the wrath of the brother in this year of our Lord 1928.

Weather-Wise Politicians See Omens Portending Outcome of Republicans' Fight For Presidential Nomination

The Age's Political Expert Declares That Attitude of Leaders of Southern Delegates Is Indicative of What 'Bosses' Have In Mind

By RIENZI B. LEMUS

Washington, D. C.—"As Maine goes in September so goes the Nation in November." Such is an age-old political axiom. Hence, "Watch Maine in September." It is just as axiomatic that the way indicated by the Republican leader-politicians is the route of the Southern Negro delegations when voting time comes in the Republican National Convention. Therefore, to get on a line on whom the bosses want for President, or at least don't want, keep both eyes on leaders of Southern delegates.

It was so away back in 1896; it was so last December when the National Committee met here to select the city for the National Convention. As long as there was no official opposition to San Francisco the four Negro Members of the National Committee voted for the Metropolis by the Golden Gate. But the moment that Chairman Butler decided on Kansas City, all of the Negro committee members, except Mrs. Booze, Mississippi, swung to and stuck to the City on the Kaw.

Showing The Way.

In the yesteryear of '96 the people wanted Thomas B. Reed to get the nomination. The politicians decided on McKinley. The Negroes were for McKinley! In 1908, President Roosevelt, firmly in the saddle, determined on Taft as his legatee. Frank Hitchcock, subsequently Taft's Postmaster, scoured the woods of "Bam" on Taft's account. The Negroes were for Taft. He got the nomination and election.

When 1912 rolled around, the "Emperor Theodore" felt the dynastic urge and decided to take back the throne. He had defied the "old gods." Reckoning without his hosts—of down home—he raved. But the hosts were with the "old gods" and Taft; so Taft got the place—and the air, in November. In 1920 the Negroes were with the "old gods," whose beneficence was shed upon the late lamented Harding, and in 1924 they stuck to the "old gods" and Coolidge—after the "Senatorial cabal" had been sidetracked by overnight shift of the National Convention from Chicago to Cleveland.

A Hectic Campaign.

Perhaps, of all pre-Presidential campaigns, this of 1928 is the most hectic for the sign seekers; and the mysterious Coolidge has been as tight on showing the brothers a sign as were the Canadian priests on the callous demands of Sir Gilbert Parker's "Charlie Steele." This, in all probability accounts for the admission of doubt of their ability to deliver delegates to Hoover after taking his money, made to the Senate campaign-expense investigating committee by National Committeemen Howard of Mississippi and Davis of Georgia.

As late as Christmas of last year and as early as February of this year, National Committeeman Perry Howard, Mississippi, was giving interviews to the daily press which were all Coolidge—Coolidge must be drafted. Then he swung over to Hoover. And he testified that he has received over $4,000 from the Hoover people, with another thousand still due, to carry on among his delegates for the cause of the Commerce Secretary.

But in March, subsequent to receipt of some of the money, Mr. Howard was quoted in the Washington Post as accusing the Hoover people of financing the lily-white fight to unhorse him. And he is doubtful of his ability to deliver for Hoover at Kansas City. He has evidently got the sign; the "old gods" want none o' Hoover."

Georgia Is Doubtful.

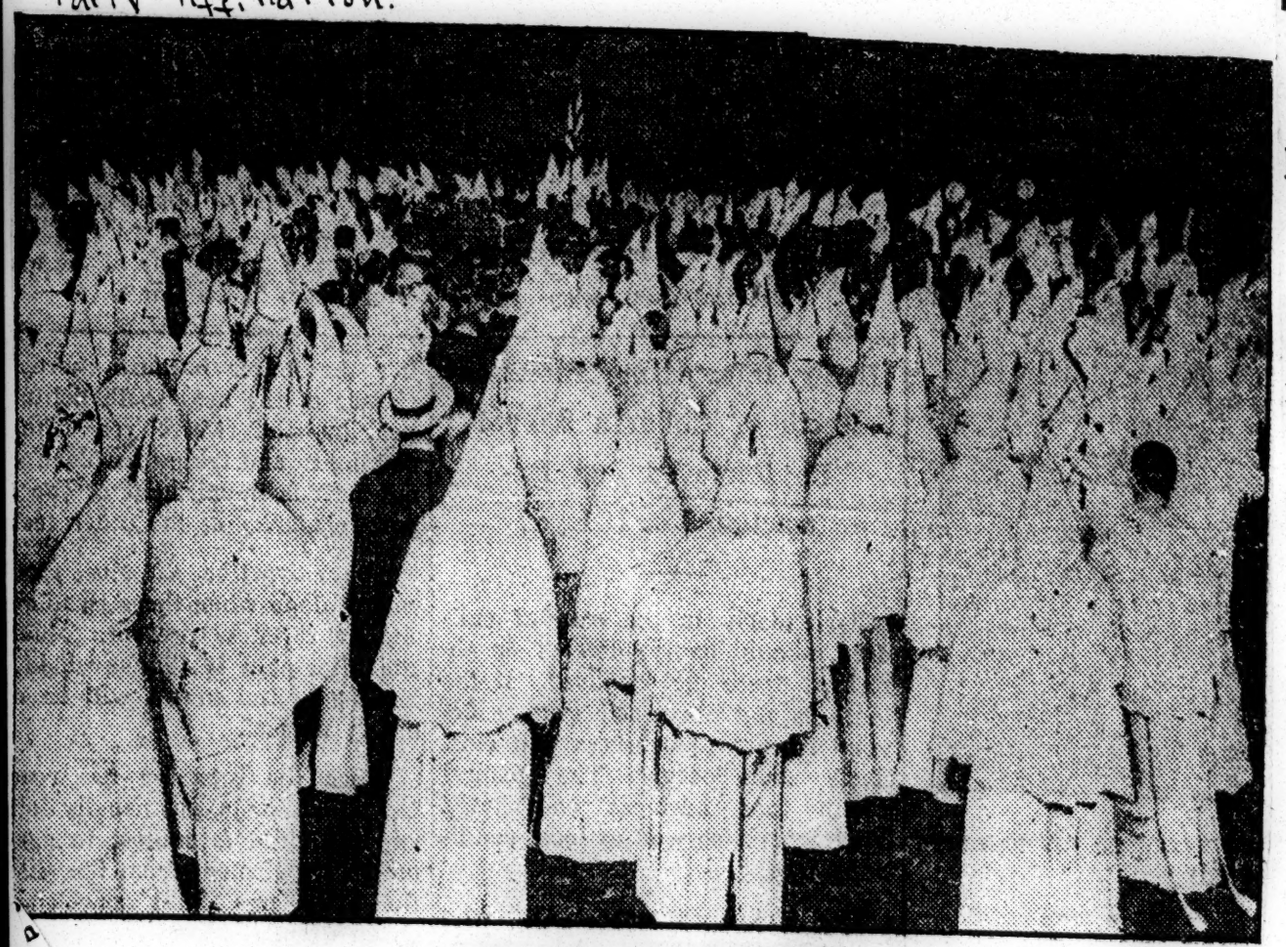
National Committeeman Ben J. Davis succeeded to the mantle of the late Henry Lincoln Johnson who died in 1925. Until his recent appearance before the Senate "snoopers" an since January Mr. Davis has been "sure Hoover." He testified to the "snoopers" that he got $2,200 from the Hoover folks, but is threatened with a revolt among his delegates who accuse him of getting money and not "whacking" up among them, Consequently, Mr. Davis doesn't seem to think he can deliver for Hoover at Kansas City—the "old gods" want none of the Commerce Secretary.

In 1908, when there was a rush for arriving delegations at the Chicago Convention, the late Henry Lincoln Johnson took the Georgia delegation there "intact" on a special train. The train was in a wreck just out of Cincinnati, and many of the delegates required hospitalization upon arrival at Chicago. Of course, they were hospitaled together. This kept away delegate hustlers for other candidates for the nomination for President. And, by a peculiar coincidence, the only Georgian who voted for Roosevelt was the present National Committeeman, Mr. Davis. Of course, that was twenty years ago. Mr. Johnson got the sign early. Evidently Mr. Davis was late getting it twenty years afterwards.

So from this wobbling of the Southern leaders those who bet get a good tip, namely, that Hoover is not the darling of the "old gods." It is believed by many that

if and when a deadlock comes the politicians will spring Coolidge

Political - 1928.
Party Affiliation.



ME AND MY SHADOW

Hoover asked by Colored Baltimore Leader where he stands on K. K. K.

Dr. Rhetta, leading Colored physician, who questions Hoover, has the support of all the Colored organizations in Baltimore to represent the Colored People on the City School Board.

Republican

NEGRO PUTS HOOVER ON GRILL ON KLAN

Dr. B. M. Rhetta Says In Letter His Race Desires Question Settled

WANTS SILENCE BROKEN

Physician Asserts Colored People Cannot Go to Polls "Arm in Arm" With Foes

Declaring Negroes cannot go to the polls "arm in arm with the Ku Klux Klan," Dr. B. M. Rhetta, Negro physician of Baltimore, has addressed an open letter to Herbert Hoover, calling on him to take a definite stand upon the klan question.

Dr. Rhetta is president of the Alumni Association of Howard Unifersity, president of the board of trustees of the Washington Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a member of the present grand jury and was recently indorsed for membership on the Board of School Commissioners.

Asks Statement of Hoover

In his letter to Mr. Hoover he said:

"We have voted the Republican ticket for all of these many years, but before we decide how our ballots shall be cast on November 6 we call upon Mr. Herbert Hoover to definitely take a stand with reference to the Ku Klux Klan."

"It has been very clearly and persistently stated that Mr. Hoover has gone out for and gotten the backing and support of this notorious organization. In the face of all this Mr. Hoover has remained silent. We most sincerely hope that Mr. Hoover will neither by silence nor by expression indorse this klan support, for we cannot go to the polls arm in arm with the K. K. K."

After touching briefly on the history and purpose of the klan, Dr. Rhetta continues:

"The whole record of the klan is one of the lowest type of hatred. In the beginning it was hatred of Negroes. It has since broadened its scope to hatred of Jews, Catholics and all foreign-born people. Regardless of all else, we definitely announce that we cannot go to the polls to vote for anyone who is trading with the K. K. K.

"Experience shows that a Democrat will do as much, or as little, for our people as a Republican, or he will enforce as much, or as little, of the Eighteenth Amendment. Experience flattens all of such issues and it is this same experience, going back to the days of slavery, that makes it impossible for us to work arm in arm with the klan."

"Before deciding how our vote shall be cast on the 6th of November, we call upon Mr. Hoover to break his silence on this purported klan support of his candidacy."

HOOVER IS ATTACKED

Mr. Herbert Hoover's acceptance of support from the Ku Klux Klan and his campaign in the South to make the party lily white leave us no other alternative. We are leaving before we are kicked out.

Mr. Hoover, without waiting for election, has eliminated every Negro leader of the party in the Southern States: Mr. Benjamin Davis, Georgia; Mr. Perry Howard, Mississippi; Mr. Emil Kuntz, Louisiana, and Mr. Robert Church, Tennessee, have been removed from office or limited in authority.

In Chicago, Mr. Oscar DePriest, only Republican candidate for Congress in the nation, was indicted by a grand jury in the final fifteen minutes of its term, after Mr. DePriest had been given his choice of indictment or quitting the campaign.

Race politicians everywhere have felt Mr. Hoover's blighting presence. Even the National Colored Advisory Committee in its magnificent Barr Building headquarters is a sham and an illusion. Mr. John R. Hawkins is head in name only. Mr. Walter Brown, a white man, was the first head, and the present director is Mr. Ray Benjamin, also a white person.

If Mr. Hoover is elected the Negro as a political factor fades from the picture. Mr. Hoover has staked his future on his ability to kick the Negro out of the party and put in his place lily white dry recruits from the South.

That is his contribution to the history of the Republican party and November 6th will tell if he can get away with it.

The nation has had seven and a half years of G. O. P. rule. Republican majorities dominate Congress. Every thinkable proscription which has ever obtained in Federal departments obtains today, even to segregation and the requirement of photographs on civil service applications. Mr. Hoover promises to carry out Mr. Coolidge's policies.

If there is any hope of change and improvement the nation must turn to Governor Smith, three times chief magistrate of polygot New York, a state where all races are thrown into a melting pot, where color isn't a first consideration.

Governor Smith's ability to put national issues in language which the man on the street can understand contrasts solidly with Mr. Hoover's silence or his moments of eloquent

generalities.

New York's Governor is a crusader like Theodore Roosevelt and Grover Cleveland, the former a Republican, the latter a Democrat, both one-time Governors of New York, both eminent Presidents.

Mr. Roosevelt disregarded conventions and asked Mr. Booker T. Washington to lunch. Cleveland disregarded the views of Dixie and appointed C. H. J. Taylor, a Minister to Bolivia. No colored person had ever before been appointed as United States representative abroad except to Haiti and Liberia. The Senate turned down Cleveland's nomination, but later confirmed Taylor as Register of the Treasury, to which the President nominated him.

It's because the AFRO sees in Governor Smith a worthy successor to Cleveland and Roosevelt that it advocates his election November 6.

More than all of this, Governor Smith is conducting a campaign to make the country safe for tolerance. If a Catholic can be President, perhaps a Jew may also aspire, and a Negro may at least be a full-fledged citizen.

Backed La Follette in 1924

In 1924 the Afro supported the Presidential candidacy of La Follette, progressive. In 1920 and in all previous national elections it supported the Republican nominee.

MRS. BOOZE FIGURES IN CONTEST

Question of Whether Hoover Danced with Republican Committee Woman Here Raised

DENIES CHARGE

JACKSON, Miss.—The question whether Herbert Hoover, Republican Presidential candidate, danced with Mrs. Mary C. Booze, National Republican Committeewoman from this state while she was attending a political meeting in Washington, D.C., was raised by Governor Theodore Bilbo in a speech here this week.

The Republicans stepped into the political trap when George Akerson, assistant to Mr. Hoover, in a telegram to the governor declared that the charge was the most indecent of the campaign.

Must 'Fess Up

Bilbo in another telegram to Mr. Hoover says the following:

"Now, I do not desire to be unfair to you in the slightest degree, but I want to ask you if you think it would be offensive to you or indecent, infamous or disgraceful for you to come in contact with or dance with a woman of the Negro race?

"If, according to your ideas of social equality, you do not think it indecent to have it said of you that you danced with Mary Booze, then why am I being denounced for repeating the story that you had done so?"

Mrs. Booze Speaks

Mrs. Booze makes the following statement:

"As for the statement that I danced with Mr. Hoover, that is ridiculous. As a matter of fact, I am upwards of 50 years of age, a consistent member of the Methodist church and do not dance. I have no idea whether Mr. Hoover dances or not."

LILY WHITES IN MISSISSIPPI IN SYMPATHY WITH HOOVER

Hattiesburg, Miss., Oct. 24.—Herbert C. Hoover is entirely sympathetic with the South on the race question and in full accord with the policy to eliminate all Negroes from leadership, asserts T. J. Willis, one of the leading exponents of lily-whiteism.

In support of this claim, Willis says that at the Kansas City convention former Senator Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin, gave him the following message from the Republican Presidential nominee:

"You tell Mr. Willis and others representing the white groups that after my nomination, if I am nominated, the Negro leaders will be replaced by white men. We are going to have a white Republican party in the South."

Here is Willis' version of what happened at Kansas City with Mr. Hoover in the background: "When Perry Howard and his delegates arrived in Kansas City they were lined up with Mr. Butler of Massachusetts and Hilles of New York, who were leaders in the party opposing the nomination of Mr. Hoover. Butler controlled the entire delegation from his State, while Hilles had half of New York's votes in his pocket; but Perry Howard and his gang had not been seated and we were up there to fight the recognition and prepared to cast our full strength for Hoover.

"Mr. Hoover stayed in his office at Washington, being personally represented in Kansas City by former Senator Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin. Learning of the fight between white and black factions of the party from Southern States, Hoover was apprised of the fact by a personal friend.

"Hoover is entirely in sympathy with the South on the race question, since he has lived in California where the Orient has caused so much embarrassment. He understands the situation down here. He called Mr. Lenroot in Kansas City and told him to bring utmost pressure to bear on the credential committee for the recognition and seating of the white delegates from the Southern States.

"But Lenroot, his personal manager at the convention, advised against the fight, saying that the nomination was already assured in spite of the Butler-Hilles opposition, and if the race issue were forced at that time it would result in unnecessary embarrassments.

"This was Hoover's answer: 'In that case you tell Mr. Willis and others representing the white groups that after my nomination, if I am nominated, the Negro leaders will be replaced by white men. We are going to have a white Republican party in the South.'

"And that is exactly what has happened. Here is Mississippi Perry Howard and his gang are the same as out. He and his leaders have been indicted by the Federal Grand Jury and the white faction's Presidential electors are to be on the ballot. That means that after Nov. 6 the Negro faction here will be repudiated by the Republicans themselves in this State. It will mean that party affairs will have passed into the hands of reputable white men.

"When Mrs. Willebrandt heard from the lips of Lamont Rowland and other Southern men * * * that the situation described actually existed, she said she would immediately begin prosecution of Howard. I could not tell that when I came back from the convention, for it was a Department of Justice secret that, if recounted, would have made me liable to the charge of contempt of court.

"All this background is given to prove that the Republican party today has changed its attitude. It believes that there are a large number of citizens in the South who would vote the Republican ticket if the party in their section is controlled by white men, and the party now intends to give them that privilege.

"Regeneration of the Republican party South of the Mason-Dixon line is one of the most significant phases of the current Republican election," according to Willis.

Editorial in Daily Discusses Splitting of Negro Politics

The following editorial from The Kansas City Journal-Post is a comment on the efforts of both parties in bidding for the Negro vote in the coming election:

FIGHT FOR NEGRO VOTES

A study of the Negro press reveals that there is a determined effort to divide the votes of the Negroes in states where they are allowed to vote and have their votes counted, between the parties in this campaign.

The nomination of Joseph McLeMore, a Negro, as democratic candidate for congress from the Twelfth district of Missouri, all within the city of St. Louis, is being used both there and in the Negro centers in doubtful states to persuade the Negroes that the democratic party has taken up their cause. In addition to this, the Negro press devotes much space to the arrest of several prominent Negroes on charges of sale of patronage in southern states and to the indictment of DePriest, the Negro republican nominee for congress in the old Madden district of Chicago, on charges of election frauds in connection with the last primary. Fears of Ku Kluxers are also being played upon. In addition to these issues, an active drive is on among such of the Negroes as are opposed to prohibition.

The efforts to show special friendliness for Negroes on the part of Governor Smith have received a setback, through the issue of a formal statement by the democratic national committee, evidently designed to help hold the democratic party line unwavering in the Solid South. The apparent purpose of the denial was to dispose of a story that Governor Smith once had a Negro stenographer. The denial went much further, however. It said:

"Governor Smith does not have, and never has had, a Negro stenographer, and in the employment of Negroes by the state of New York under his administration this has been done only to fill such jobs as they are given in the south, to wit: porters, janitors, charwomen, etc."

The Crisis, a Negro paper of wide circulation, says the statement is true; that the governor has twice vetoed bills that would have given Negroes a magistrate of their own race in their own town, Harlem; that he has never given a Negro a major position; that he has seldom been willing to receive a Negro delegation and that it is doubtful if he has personally met a half dozen of the 150,000 Negroes of his state all his career.

DIRE CONSEQUENCES FEARED.

Shaw, Miss.

To The Commercial Appeal:

Your editorial anent the "Dyer bill" last week was very fine indeed. You made it plain that Mr. Hoover would be in duty bound to sign said bill if passed, for the Republican platform is pledged to favor passage of the bill. Now if this bill is made a law (if Mr. Hoover is elected) we may expect dire consequences here in our southland. The Republicans must have had things "cut and dried" as regards this bill, for their platform pledges its passage. So with Republican success we may look for the bill to become law. Then what about the force bill? This, too, bids fair to become law. The cutting down of our representation in Congress is another piece of deviltry designed to strip our electorate and put it on a par with the "Figi Islanders." Ah! Mr. Two-by-four Bolter, are you going to abet these three pieces of deviltry above mentioned, that are solely aimed at our own dear southland?

We now have the best chance ever to put our party in power in a few days. If we do not go over the top this time, we won't have another chance in 100 years to come. Let us put our beloved Joe Robinson over the top, and our own beloved Pat Harrison, too. Also, other potential stalwarts of our own southland. Ah, Mr. Bolter, on Nov. 6 remember the Dyer bill, the force bill, the cutting down of our representation in Congress. If Governor Smith is elected, he would rather have his right arm severed than push these things on our southland. Al's heart and soul are for our southland, as well as for the north, east and west. Think well over it, Mr. Bolter, and support our party following the lead of our own beloved John Sharp Williams and all of our stalwarts. "Let's go." Stand by "The Old Ship"—Democracy.

JOSEPH CINEGARER.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

"WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT"

ELECTION IS OVER and Mr. Hoover has won overwhelmingly.

This paper supported Governor Smith because we felt his election would be the best thing for the Negro and the Nation.

While Working for Mr. Smith we carried a prayer in our heart, always, for the best interests of the Nation and the Negro. If Mr. Hoover's election is the answer to that prayer, we are satisfied. We are not saying our prayer was answered—but he has been elected and we yield to the majority.

Frankly we tremble for our Race—we hope our fears are unfounded.

EAGLE

Dothan, Ala

OCT 13 1928

THE "ANTI-SMITH CAMPAIGN BOOK"

I.

There are being circulated by the hundreds in Dothan and this section pamphlets bearing the name, "Anti-Smith Democratic Campaign Book."

Hugh Locke of Birmingham, who was removed from the State Democratic Executive Committee for the excellent reason that he turned Republican, is responsible for the printing and distribution of these pamphlets.

From cover to cover they reek with the vilest slander that has ever been directed against a national political figure. This pamphlet is not a "campaign book." It is merely the re-hashed accumulation of lies and appeals to prejudice that have been going the rounds since this campaign opened, and the stench from it is sickening to the nostrils of fair-minded and informed men.

Tammany is one of the chief cries of the pamphlet. Tammany is nothing more than a political organization, and as it is over one hundred years old it must have more good points than bad, or it could not have survived. All political organizations have sinned at one time or another, and doubtless Tammany has been ruled by corrupt politicians in the past. But one thing intelligent men would like to know is this: **Why are the Republicans forced to go back twenty-five years to uncover some of Tammany's sins?** And what have they to say about the **recent set of thieves in Harding's administration?** What about the notorious Ohio Gang? **During its entire existence Tammany could not possibly have committed the crimes that have been committed by crooked Republicans in the last eight years.**

II.

The pamphlet charges that Smith believes in social equality of the Negro, and points out that white and black children are indiscriminately mixed in the public schools of New York. But Hugh Locke neglects to add that whites and blacks attended the same schools in New York when Grover Cleveland was governor of the State; whites and blacks attended the same schools in New Jersey when Woodrow Wilson was governor; in Ohio when James Cox was governor, and that today they **attend the same schools in Iowa, where Hoover was born and in California where he now lives.** Negroes and whites attend the same schools, eat in the same restaurants, sleep in the same hotels, ride in the same railroad coaches and live in the same residential districts in every State in the Union that is normally Republican. The governors of these States are not held responsible, no more than the Democrats held Cox and Wilson responsible for these conditions in Ohio and in New Jersey when they ran for the Presidency.

III.

What does Ben Davis, Negro editor of the Atlanta Independent, think of Smith's attitude toward the Negro? The readers of The Eagle know what he thinks, for we have printed his editorials.

What does W. E. Du Bois, Negro editor of The Crisis, a Negro monthly, think of Smith's attitude toward the Negro? Let him say for himself. Here is part of an article he wrote last week for The Nation:

> A number of enthusiastic colored folk and friends of colored people put before the advisers of Governor Smith several possible statements which he might make to show that at least he was not an enemy of the American Negro. He refused to say a single word. He refused to let even indirectly anything go out from his headquarters which should seem to represent him as friendly to black men. Negro Democratic headquarters were indeed established but they were not allowed to have offices in the regular Democratic headquarters but were given a small "Jim Crow" annex where they exist without real authority, without explicit recognition, and without the slightest initiative.
>
> On the other hand, explicit and repeated anti-Negro propaganda is being sent out by Democratic headquarters. When the Klan accused Governor Smith of having as his private stenographer "a Negro wench," Democratic headquarters at Washington on September 8 sent out the following release:
>
> > Governor Smith does not have, and never has had, a Negro stenographer, and in the employment of Negroes by the State of New York under his administration this has been done only to fill such jobs as they are given in the South, to-wit: porters, janitors, charwomen, etc.

The interesting thing about this statement is that it is perfectly true. In all of Governor Smith's long career, he has sedulously avoided recognizing Negroes in any way. He has twice vetoed bills which would have given a colored magistrate to Harlem. He has never given a Negro any major appointment. He has seldom been willing to receive a Negro delegation and it is doubtful if he has met personally in all his career a half-dozen of the 150,000 Negroes of his State.

IV.

Hugh Locke further states in his pamphlet of lies that "Gov. Smith is the greatest hand to appoint Negroes that the United States has ever produced."

During his entire four terms as Governor of New York, Smith **has appointed only one Negro to office.** He was given a job as messenger boy at the Capitol because of his heroism in the world war. Smith has appointed no other Negroes to office, and Locke knows it.

The pamphlet reprints the Associated Press dispatch of Sept. 6, which stated that Jack Johnson would tour the South for Smith. **Naturally, the pamphlet did not add that John J. Raskob informed Johnson his services were not needed, and that Johnson got mad and is now a strong Hoover man.** However, that is the fact. We wonder if Locke has heard about it? But no strong imagination is required to imagine that he has.

It is indeed the rottenest, dirtiest, filthiest campaign that has ever been waged against a good man; a man whose record is the most constructive and successful of any governor of any State in the Union.

Smith is being persecuted by bigots who do not like his religious beliefs and who are cloaking their hatred behind the silly cries of "Tammany," and "Negro-Lover."

It is a shameful thing. Men cannot descend much lower.

Birmingham Courier

M. E. BISHOP SPEAKS UP FOR G. O. P.

9/22/28

Talk Of Negro Going Democratic More Imaginary Than Real," Says Bishop C. H. Phillips.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 20.—"All this talk of the Negro going Democratic is more imaginary than real There is not enough real disaffection among Negro Republicans to be noticed."

This is the opinion of Bishop C. H. Phillips of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Phillips stopped in Washington while en route to his home at Cleveland, O., after holding conferences in Indiana, Kentucky, West Virginia and three states of the southwest. The C. M. E. Church has a membership of 350,000.

"Among all the groups of our people with which I have had contact," Bishop Phillips continued, "the Hoover sentiment predominates. I do not hesitate to predict a 75 per cent vote for the Hoover-Curtis ticket."

"Negroes are naturally Republicans unless some one has tampered with them. Careful thinking colored men and women realize that if Smith is elected, his actions in the White House will be influenced by Southern Democratic sentiment of

which they already know too much. Too, they know that if Smith should want to do something for the Negro, he would naturally give first consideration to the attitude of his party."

Harlem Elects 3 G. O. P. to Assembly

Horace W. Palmer Defeats Democrat for State Senate.

All candidates on the Republican ticket polled a heavy vote in the Negro districts of Harlem and succeeded in re-electing Abraham Grenthal in the Ninteenth, John Remer in the Twenty-first and Oscar J. Smith in the Twenty-second.

In addition to electing the four Assemblymen, Horace W. Palmer, Republican, defeated A. Spencer Feld, the present Democratic state senator in the Twentieth District.

E. A. Johnson, candidate for Congress, made a brilliant run in the Twenty-first Congressional District, but early this morning his election was still in doubt. The vote then stood as follows: Weller, 26,321; Johnson, 22,313.

The Vote in the 13th A. D.

Full returns from the Fourteenth through the Nineteenth Election Districts of the Thirteenth Assembly District showed the following results in the votes cast for the President and Governor: Hoover, 9,085; Smith, 11,653; Roosevelt, 12,536; Ottinger, 8,361.

With the exreption of the Sixteenth Election District of this same Assembly District, from which the returns could not be gotten last night, the votes were cast as follows: Weller, 7,619; Johnson, 4,534; O'Brien, 11,524; Murphy, 7,987; Nugent, 11,643; Schoonmaker, 7,955.

The Vote in the 19th A. D.

In the Nineteenth Assembly District there are twenty-eight election districts, Nos. 8 through 28 being entirely Negro voters.

The vote cast and counted in all but five of the election districts for President and Governor follows: Hoover, 6,948; Smith, 5,507; Ottinger, 6,406; Roosevelt, 4,966.

On the other hand, although at 11:45 P. M. 18 of the 28 election districts had not reported on E. A. Johnson yet, his vote in ten of the election districts showed a total of 3,561 as against Weller's 1,385.

In this Assembly District Murphy received 4,681 votes; O'Brien, without a report from the Eighth Election District, 4,018; Grenthal, with the exception of the vote from the Eighth Election District, 8,166; Isaacs, 5,762.

The Vote in the 21st A. D.

It must be noted that in the Twenty-first Assembly District the white voters were loyal to Johnson giving him a larger vote than that gven to any other candidate on the ticket.

Tabulation of the total votes in this district follows: Hoover, 11,004; Smith, 7,974; Roosevelt, 8,205; Ottinger, 10,662; Johnson, 11,532; Weller, 7,162; Reamer, 10,341; Grossman, 7,783; Palmer, 10,588; Feld 7,713.

In the Twenty-ninth Election District few whites voted for Hoover and Weller, while in the Sixth Election district, which is a Negro district, the same voting trend existed

The Vote in the 22d A. D.

In the Twenty-second Assembly District Smith polled 12,692 votes; Hover, 9,916; Ottinger, 10,227; Roosevelt, 11,846; Houghton, 9,431; Copeland, 1,826; E. A. Johnson 7,147; Weller, 11,540.

This district elected Oscar J Smith, Republican, to the Assembly giving his Democratic opponent Joseph A. Gavagan, only 2,827 votes. A. Spencer Feld, Democratic candidate for State Senator, received 11,965 votes while his opponent, Horace W. Palmer, received 9,303 votes.

GOOSE NECKED BILL INSISTS HOOVER SPEAK

Texas G. O. P. Leader Says His Aides In South Are K. K. K. And Lily Whites

OPEN LETTER SENT TO JOHN HAWKINS

Ku Klux Klan Will Rule If Hoover Wins Says McDonald

FORT WORTH, TEXAS. —Hoover must be defeated or the Ku Klux bootleggers, lily whites, segregators, perjurers, and grafters will rule the nation.

This is the view of William H (Goose Necked Bill) McDonald, president of the Fraernal Bank & Trust Co., here, and a life-long G. O. P. leader in this state. McDonald was a member of the Texas delegation which was ousted by Hoover at Kansas City, in favor of the lily-whites.

McDonald's letter was addressed to John R. Hawkins, chairman of the National Republican Jim-Crow Committee.

It said:

What They Say

"They tell us that if Hoover is defeated and Al Smith is elected President, the Pope of Rome and Tammany Hall will run the Nation and the Constitution of the United States will be nullified.

"These questions are smoke screens. They are political propaganda and a hallucination of evil minded persons

Without Warning

Without any warning the roof collapsed and let its load of humanity down among lawn mowers and parts of dismantled mowers.

While none of the people on the shed were seriously injured hundreds of lives were endangred when the commotion caused a panic and stampede on the roof of the shower bath houses surrounding the pool, where 800 people had gathered to witness the ceremonies.

The part of the roof wihch caved in covered a shed some 75 feet long by 12 feet wide. It was built of 3-4 inch planks supported by 2 by 4 beams and covered with tar paper.

Considerable damage to hedges, bushes and flowers surrounding the pool was also done by attempts of the large crowd to get near enough to see the baptizing.

Parade Preceeds

The baptizing was preceeded by a monster parade in which around 700 persons formed at the tent on Baker street, where the revival services had been held, and marched out Baker, to Druid Hill avenue, thence to Whitelock through McCulloh, Brooks Lane and Madison avenue to the park entrance. By the time the procession reached the park, it had increased to 3,000.

Marse S. Calloway led the parade in his automobile carrying a purple banner with the words "Shiloh Baptist Church." Then followed three thousand men, woemn and children singing "Lead Me to the Water to be Baptized."

Candidates for baptism brought up the rear. The men wore black gowns while the women and children wore white cross caps and hats. Handkerchiefs, linen and bath towels served as head coverings. The youngest candidate seemed to be 10 years of age while the oldest was around 60.

Police Call

By the time the procession had reached the pool, the crowd had become so congested that 20 police present were unable to open a lane through which the converts and officials could reach the pool. Reserves were called out from the Northern Police station before order was restored and a 16-minute sermon was preached by the Rev. C. P. Dixon. Every inch of available space inside the pool inclosure was packed and the crowd around the place extended back to the children's playground.

Many Climbed Trees

Following the short sermon, the Rev. W. W. Allen and Rev. C. P. Dixon began the rites of baptizing, the Rev. Mr. Allen emersing the men while the women were emersed by the evangelist.

Some Faint

Amid crys af "amen" and massed singing 86 men and 36 women were baptized. Several times during the at the stime it prohibits Negro labor of the United States from going into Mexico. Will he continue or void all such agreements if elected President? What Negro knows Mr. Hoover's mind upon this question? And don't you thing Negroes should know before they vote to continue the Coolidge policies? We know know where Slemp and Creager stand on this agreement, but where does Mr. Hoover stand?

Segregation

"5.—Segregation of Government employees is reprehensible, shocking to the righteous judgment of a great Nation and contrary to the policies of a just Government. The Departments at Washington, D. C., are honey-combed and dominated with the humiliating and degrading policy of separating Government employees during hours of labor, because of color. Will Mr. Hoover continue this policy or void it, if elected President? Do you know, and as our leader, don't you think you ought to tell us before you advise us to vote for Mr. Hoover? We know where Slemp and Creager stand on this question. Does Hoover agree with them?

Jim-Crow Cars

"6.—We recognize the fact that the Inter-State Commerce Commission is a potent factor in our government, clothed with power to control the common Rail Road carriers of our Country. If elected President, will Mr. Hoover, throug.. this powerful Governmental Agency, urge that all common carriers provide and render equal service, commensurate with the tariff charged to black men and women who must sometimes use these carriers? Will the Negro leaders who are abusing all of us who have the courage to stand up and ask questions, s ak out and tell us what Mr Hoover has told them he would do and how he would approach these questions if elected? We want to know.

Peonage

"7.—Peonage is a species of slavery outlawed by the Constitution and statute laws of the land, whether brought about because of debts, mutual obligations, or trumped up charges of crime. It cannot be defended in morals, equity of law. Will Mr. Hoover, if elected President, use the Department of Justice to stamp out peonage wherever it may now exist in the United States. Don't you think that as a leader you ought to inform us with respect to Mr. Hoover's stand on this question?

Lynching

"8.—Lynching is a crime for which no excuse or justificaton man be advanced. The laws of all the States provide ample punishment for all persons who possess moronic dispositions. Will Mr. Hoover, if elected President, sanction legislation to the end that the wicked practice of lynching, burning, and mobbing of human beings be stopped? Who knows the mind of Mr. Hoover on this question? And is it impertinent to seek information with regards to his position and what governmental policies affecting our rights as citizens will be put in operation, if he is elected President?

Paramount Issues

I know that the issue of farm relief and prohibition are featured and stressed in this campaign as the leading issues, but over and above these issues, like Mt. Washington towers over other mountains, is the issue of **political equality, human rights and liberties, the protection before the law,** of every American Citizen, black and white alike. Witty statements, like "the Republican Party is the ship: all else is the sea," ridicule, and reciting the records of the records of the Republican Party from 1856 to 1876, will not dovetail with the record of the Republican Party from 1920 to 1928. Millions of your oppressed race will bless the day that you were appointed to lead them, if you shoulder the task of having Mr. Hoover define his stand upon these vital questions."

Jersey man
Morristown
N. J.

OCT 12 1928

COLORED VOTERS REGISTER HERE

Inter-City Hoover Club Is Active

Having enrolled a large majority of the colored voters in its membership, the Inter-City Hoover Club with headquarters at 22 Spring street, is planning to take an active part in the campaign from now until the polls close on election day. The registration book of the club has been open for several weeks and at the present time most of the colored voters, it is said, have added their signatures to it and have indicated that they will support the Republican ticket from Mr. Hoover for President to the last candidate on the list.

The club's rooms are open daily from eight in the morning until ten o'clock at night for the convenience of the public. Posters, buttons, auto tags and other Republican material have been obtained and being distributed from the club.

R. W. Hill of Salem street, Dover is president of the organization with Harry McDuffy of Evergreen avenue, as secretary and J. Irving Stryker as treasurer.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.

NOV 4 1928

Republican

THE "ONE-QUART-CANNON" EXPLODES

Since the "Anti-Al Smith Democratic Legion" made its first sorry appearance in several South Carolina counties as "Hoover Democratic clubs," it has never been able to command the service of a reputable spokesman or of any but the most obscure speakers. At its first public performance in the Richland county court-house last August, the star performer was one Beckett, from Beaufort county, who had cast off his thin Democratic veneer to become one of Joe Tolbert's Republican electors. His Republican antecedents being completely exposed on that occasion by *The Record*, he ceased to be headlined by the Hoovercrats.

Since then, the "great men" of the Republican movement in South Carolina have been Adams, the political Klansman, who came to Columbia seeking a new field for his ambitions, after having been decisively defeated in Charleston in his Klan-supported race for Congress; and Hisey, of Charleston, Secretary of the Junior Order United American Mechanics, who has succeeded, in spite of the State Councilor of the Order, in definitely tying the Junior Order up with the Klan and the Anti-Catholic party in this State. These are the ornaments of the Hoovercratic party in this commonwealth.

But, at last, in the waning days of this campaign, these diligent workers in the Republican vineyard succeeded in hooking one of the "big noises" of the Republican party in the person of Bishop James Cannon, Jr., of the legislative board of the Republican Anti-Saloon League, and of the advisory council of the Republican Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals, of the Methodist Church, North. Picture, if you can, against the gaudy background of "The Little Green House in K. Street," a Republican board of temperance and public morals.

Our good Methodist friends, of whom we have many, will accept our assurance that, in what we say about James Cannon, Jr., we employ the title of bishop merely to identify him, and not to connect him with their church. We never think of him as a churchman; since the days of long ago when earned he the well merited contempt of every reputable newspaper man in Virginia as "One-Quart-Cannon,". we have never thought of him as anything higher than an Anti- Saloon League politician.

Well, Bishop James Cannon, Jr., spoke Friday night in the klavern of the Ku Klux Klan, under the auspices of the Republican organization that masquerades in the name of the "Anti-Al Smith Democratic Legion," which is merely a name behind which the Ku Klux Klan, and certain elements in the Junior Order, led by Hisey and a Protestant preacher in Spartanburg county, conceal their bigotry. We wish the Junior Order well of its alliance with the Klan. We predict, after this campaign is over, whatever may be the result, the Junior Order will wish it had never laid down in the same bed with the Klan.

James Cannon, Jr., "One-Quart-Cannon," spoke in the Klavern of the Ku Klux Klan last Friday night, to an audience of about two hundred and fifty persons, many of them Al Smith Democrats who went to see just what sort of a phenomenon this man is who has been denounced time and again, in the past few weeks, by that eminent Virginian, Senator Carter Glass. He was introduced by Ben Adams, the Klansman; he was not introduced by any prominent member of the Methodist church. Glory be for that! We fancy he is the first bishop ever to visit Columbia whose church ignored him and left all the honors of entertainment to the Ku Klux Klan.

On one side of the stage from which he spoke was a panel in which was a picture of that illustrious 100 per cent. American, patron and friend of D. C. Stephenson, rapist and murderer, of Indiana, Imperial Wizard Hiram W. Evans. On the other side was the effigy of our own dearly beloved Grand Dragon, "Silent Ab Hill," of Spartanburg.

The cartoons that thrilled the audience that gathered in the first "secret meeting" of the "Hoover Democrats," the one depicting Al Smith kissing a Negro wench, and the other showing him kneeling and kissing the toe of the Pope, which so enraptured the soul of the aesthetic Ben Adams—were not in evidence. We think we rather took the cream off the humor of those rare productions of the "Rembrant of the Klan" when we brought them into the cold light of publicity. Most any man would be ashamed to repeat such a vulgarity.

Well, in such surroundings, "One-Quart-Cannon" thundered his challenge to the Democracy of South Carolina. So far as we have been able to appraise the reverberations of his gunning, the reverend Cannon was something of a dud. He converted nobody; he did not even serve to bolster up the rapidly falling fortunes of the Klan, which, regardless of the results of the approaching election, shall not be tolerated in this State very long.

What did "One-Quart-Cannon" say? We can only touch the high spots.

He said: "I believe in State's rights—in State sovereignty." He believes in nothing of the kind. He believes in the sovereignty of the Republican Anti-Saloon League.

He said that the convention at Houston was controlled by Tammany, and that all other delegates were "nothing but pawns." The statement was false and he knew it when he made it. Governor Smith would have been nominated on the first ballot if the New York delegation had not voted.

He said: "I won't support a man who is not the nominee of the party. I don't think the party has a nominee—the party is without a leader." What party was he talking about? We admit that the Republican party, which he is supporting, has not a leader.

He said that Governor Smith had said that the South was narrow, provincial, and "would vote for the Democratic nominee if that nominee were a hound dog." When and where did Smith say that? In default of the citation, we denounce the statement as a malicious and contemptible falsehood.

He denounced John Raskob because he voted four years ago for Calvin Coolidge. But did he tell his audience that Raskob voted in 1912 and 1916 for Woodrow Wilson? Of course he didn't. Every time Jim Cannon speaks, John Wesley turns over in his grave and groans to think that such a man as he can be a bishop of the Methodist church.

He said Alfred E. Smith had been elected four times Governor of New York, and asked, "By English-speaking people?" "Nay, but by the overwhelming majority of the side-walks of New York." We denounce that as a falsehood, unworthy, not of a bishop, but of just an ordinary, ignorant Ku Kluxer.

He said that Governor Smith had bolted the platform on immigration. He has done nothing of the kind. Cannon knows he has not; he makes his appeal to the ignorant.

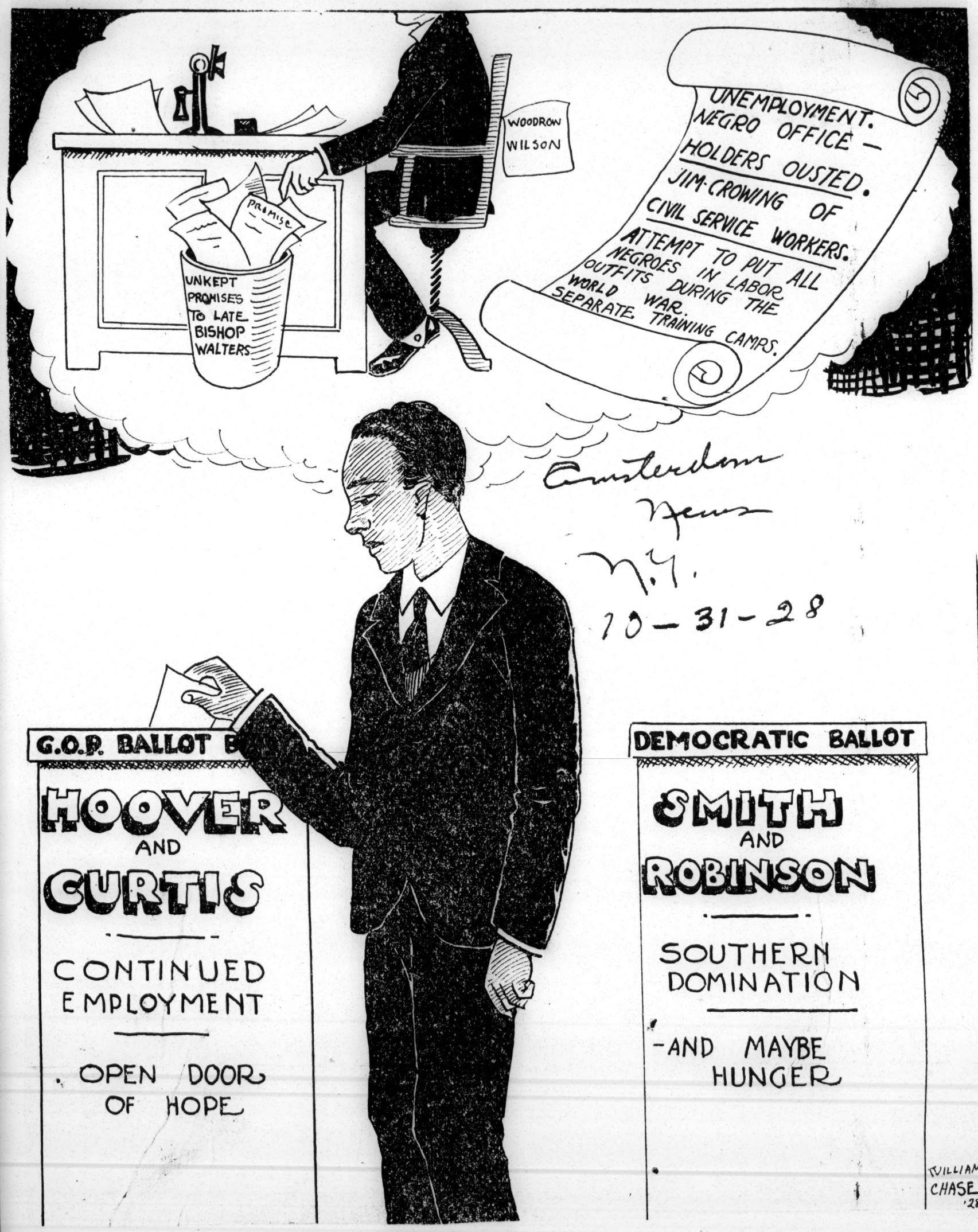
He tried to arouse the racial hatred of his audience by picturing Governor Smith as a man who favored race equality. What opinion can men have of a man who wears the robes of a bishop of the church of Jesus Christ going around the country in a political campaign pulling rotten stuff like that to arouse the rabble, when he knows that it has been refuted time and again by indisputable evidence?

He made at least half a dozen other false statements. And he said:

> Of course we are in politics. I'd be ashamed of myself if I was not in politics.

We cannot conceive of any situation in which Jim Cannon would be ashamed of himself. But we agree that he is in politics. He has been in politics all his life. He got his job as bishop through politics and he keeps it through politics. He would not, otherwise, have dragged his robes in the filthy mire of the Ku Klux Klan by coming to South Carolina and associating himself with the "Anti-Al Smith Democratic Legion" led by Adams and Hisey. For the honor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, we hope he will never show his face down here again.

"Never Let the Same Bee Sting You Twice"



Political — 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

RECORD
HACKENSACK, N. J.
MAY 9 1928

URGES HIS RACE TO AID BLACK'S FIGHT

Albert Jacksen Makes Appeal to Colored Voters.

Albert Jacksen, one of the leaders of the colored race in south Bergen, has written a letter to this newspaper making an appeal to the colored voters throughout the county to support Charles F. Black for state senator.

Mr. Jacksen is the purchasing agent for one of south Bergen's largest industries and has a fine reputation among both the white race and his own people for his intelligence and fairness.

His letter follows:

Editor Evening Record:

"Dear Sir:—Through the columns of your valued newspaper I wish to make an appeal to the negro voters of Bergen county for the support of Charles F. Black, candidate for the nomination for state senator, together with the entire Charles F. Black ticket.

"Although I have favored and supported Charles F. Black in his campaign for state senator, I have always considered the merits of the opposition and have tried to be fair in any statement I have made.

"But, when I became aware of the fact that the opposition were resorting to coercion and were trying to keep our race from being presented with the true status of Mr. Black's ability and accomplishments which makes him fitted for the office he is running for, I found it necessary to not only support Mr. Black but to also fight the opposition and I hope you will bear with me in any article presented to you and give it due and careful study.

"I am very sorry to advise you that during my visits about the county I found that some of our race leaders are allowing the Chandless group to finance the cost of having political meetings and when these meetings are called and have been assembled together they endeavor to gag the speech and efforts of any race leader who tries to present the principles of the Charles F. Black group to you for just and due consideration.

"Just think of having such a disgraceful condition existing among a group of intelligent and self-respecting negro citizens. Let us band together and stop this practice of allowing unscrupulous politicians to finance our meetings and indirectly buy our votes.

"Therefore, before you cast your vote on primary day, if you will get all the information you can relative to the merits of Charles F. Black and compare them with the merits of Mr. Chandless I know that there will be no doubt in your mind that Mr. Black is the man we want as our next state senator, for it is strictly due to the fight he waged to retain the open primaries that we have the privilege of voting on May 15 for the candidacies who are our choice.

"I have found Mr. Black to be personally a fine gentleman who does his own thinking and I call the attention of the negro voters of Bergen county to his fine record of independence while a member of the assembly and the many fights he has made for clean politics as opposed to the corrupt methods of the machine politicians who through money attempt to buy the support of our people for Mr. Chandless.

"I ask all negro voters to come out on primary day and repudiate the tactics of these machine politicians by helping to nominate Mr. Black and the candidates running on his ticket.

"ALBERT JACKSEN."

NEWS
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

MAY 1 8 1928

THE COST OF SLATES

Sooner or later the slate, used so extensively in recent political campaigns, will have to receive official consideration. An unsuccessful candidate for the legislature has filed his statement of expenses showing that he spent $65 to have his name listed on six different slates. According to his sworn assertion he paid $25 to be placed on the slate of one of the league tickets; $10 each for listing on a slate distributed to colored voters, one intended for farmers and one prepared for the Klan; and $5 each for a "G. O. P." slate and a factory labor slate.

The corrupt practices act permits candidates to spend money for advertising and for many other purposes classed as legitimate, but it places restrictions on the collection of money by unauthorized persons or committees thus:

It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to solicit from any political committee or member thereof or any treasurer, subtreasurer or political agent or candidate any contribution or donation, or to solicit advertising or money or things of value for advertising purposes from any such political committee or member thereof, treasurer, sub treasurer, political agent or candidate.

Whether that section applies to slates is something the courts may be called on to determine. The presumption with reference to slates is that they are prepared by groups or organizations. Presumably the slate makers are sufficiently interested in their work to pay their own expenses. It would appear from the statement filed by the candidate in this case that he had to pay to be listed. There might be a situation where a candidate favoring the same legislation sought by various slate makers would decline to contribute toward defraying the expense of making the slates but the slaters hardly would be justified in omitting his name, and there might be other cases where any person who desired to make a little money for himself could prepare a slate and sell places on it to the highest bidders. Back of every slate — if there is any justification for them — should be the evident sincerity of those who prepare them. If a candidate's position on a slate depends on his ability or willingness to pay, the motives of the slate makers become open to suspicion.

SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.

JUL 1 3 1928

Orta Be A Law

Even a politician sometimes flouts tradition and gags at political scandal, and it seems the Federal patronage mess uncovered among the white and colored brethren of the G. O. P. in Georgia is causing no end of stomach trouble. Jobs down there are on the auction block, with Ben Davis, Negro National Committeeman, the head man making the sales talk, and this, the Senate investigating committee agrees, is not nice. What to do, what to do? Should the politicians themselves put clothespins over their noses, go down into Georgia and clean their own stables? A logical and proper suggestion, but Senator Brookhart, presiding at the investigation, has a neater idea. "The purpose of this committee," Senator Brookhart is quoted, "is to demand a law to stop such practices."

Now, there is a solution worthy of the most sagacious statesmanship. When an evil arises, sock it with a law; when men are inclined to dishonesty and would make a plaything of fair-dealing, admonish them with a statute. The fact that this method of reforming the scalawags does not always work should not deter Senator Brookhart and his fellow-members of the More Laws Association to try, try again. Who knows but that the millennium, after all, is not just around the corner?

Now that Senator Brookhart is about to take his pen in hand there are a few other matters which pester us and which need, nay demand, his particular brand of deep-thinking. The summer is too rainy for the vacationists and week-enders; hay fever is making existence for some of us an affliction; the growth of the saloon is a Menace to the rising generation; some of our children, drat 'em, insist upon eating green apples. . . . The Senator is right; there orta be a law.

HOOVER-SMITH BACKERS CLASH AT BAPT. MEET

Presidential Fight Superceedes Denominational Issues At Louisville

DR. L. K. WILLIAMS AGAIN HEADS BODY

Chicago Pastor Charges Steam Roller Methods At Spirited Meeting

LOUISVILLE, KY.—The Hoover-Smith campaign superceded expected denominational controversies at the annual session of the National Baptist Convention, Incorporated, here last week when resolutions endorsing both presidential candidates were introduced.

Sun
Baltimore
9-5-28

Hoover Endorsed

At a spirited meeting Friday night, the Rev. T. O. Fuller, of Memphis, Tenn., introduced a resolution endorsing the Republican party and Herbert Hoover. Several impassioned speeches made by backers of Al Smith were refused recognition on the floor, it is said.

On Saturday afternoon, however, when Dr. L. K. Williams, who openly favored the Hoover resolution, vacated the chair and took a walk, a resolution endorsing Smith was introduced by the Rev. L. K. Bolton, of Topeka, Kans., and the Rev. R. C. Barbour, of Galveston, Texas. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions and this action was not discovered by the administration forces until Sunday morning when it appeared in the daily papers. President Williams ordered an investigation which disclosed the fact that the reporter for the paper in which the article appeared was present when the resolution was introduced.

Dr. Williams Reelected

One of the most exciting hours of the convention came during the election of Dr. L. K. Williams to succeed himself as president. As is the usual custom, Dr. Williams was reelected by acclamation.

Before the vote was taken, however, the Rev. H. B. Hawkins, of Trinity Baptist Church, Chicago, arose and openly opposed Dr. Williams for reelection. The Rev. Mr. Hawkins charged steam roller tactics.

Immediately cries of "throw him out," came from the administration forces. A number of Kentuckyians present, however, warned that it would be a foolish act to touch a son of old Kentucky while on her soil.

$800,000 Collected

Reports of the auditors showed that there has been collected from all sources during the fiscal year, the sum of $800,000. More than 5,000 delegates representing, it is said, 3,500,000 Baptist communicants, attended the sessions.

Although Miss Nannie H. Burroughs was present at the men's meeting on Monday, ready for the annual controversy over the control of the National Training School for Girls and Women, this fight did not materialize.

The next session of the convention will be held in Kansas City, in the same hall in which Mr. Hoover was nominated for president.

From Baltimore: Dr. Junius Gray, Mrs. Lula Scott Richardson, Dr. D. G. Mack, Dr. W. J. Winston, Dr. S. J. Phillips, Dr. J. H. Greene, Dr. A. J. Greene, Rev. Arthur Payne, Rev. Beale Elliott and Rev. R. M. Anderson.

Dr. Gray was made executive secretary of the Evangelism Dept. for Maryland.

Both Candidates Carrying Water

This presidential race is so close that Candidate Herbert Hoover and Candidate Alfred Smith are seeking votes from every available source.

Mr. Smith needs the solid south, but he desires also Negro voters in northern states.

Mr. Hoover wants those same Negro votes, but to carry Virginia he must depend on the dry white democrats and in Alabama, he's depending on the notorious Negro hater, Senator Heflin and the Ku Klux.

The result of this failure of normal party lines is that the candidates are carrying considerable water on both shoulders, in the effort to find some neutral position that will please everybody.

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Mr. Hoover is in the same dilemna. Upon his order, segregation of government clerks was abolished in the Department of Commerce. Just two weeks ago, however, a letter was sent out from the department to an influential lily-white woman in Virginia declaring that Mr. Hoover had not abolished segregation.

Whether Mr. Smith will listen to the Southern democrats if elected president, and whether Mr. Hoover would permit the lily-whites and the Ku Klux to be his advisers is a matter of speculation.

The fact remains that both of them are playing politics with the Negro vote.

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He was surprised at the estimate of 30 to 40 percent of the Negro vote for Smith, and more startled still to learn that you can't tell how people will vote by what street they live on.

Here is a life-long democrat turning republican because he's dry or anti Catholic or Ku Klux. At the same time some life-long colored republican is turning democrat because he is wet, pro-Catholic and Anti-Klan.

Smith appeals to many thotful colored folk as the champion of tolerance.

Dr. James A. Wright, pastor of Talcott Street Congregational Church told the AFRO Tuesday:—"I shall vote for Smith, because I am eager to demonstrate that denominational lines do not matter. No people have suffered more than we have from prejudice and intolerance. We have never had a Catholic president because of his religion. We have never had colored people in certain offices because of their color. Election of Smith would be a great victory for national toleration.

No matter who wins the presidency, it will be a great day in America when you can't tell a man and woman's politics by their color or their religion.

ORGANIZE NEGRO VOTERS' LEAGUE AT SPRINGFIELD

Special to the Argus

SPRINGFIELD, Mo., Sept. 12 — At a meeting called by Rev. S. R. Wilson at the Washington avenue Baptist church, last night a Negro Voter's League was organized. The organization is said to be independent in politics and will endeavor to look after the welfare of the Negro in all his civic as well as political rights.

"We're not organizing to fight the republican administration and neither do we propose to run under the democratic banner," declared the Rev. S. R. Wilson, neither do we have intentions of putting against the Negro Republican club in Springfield. We're simply banding together to fight for rights and principals which have been promised us under republican administration yet which we have failed to get. It may be that we'll vote a wholly democratic ticket, however, it is more likely that it'll be a split issue.

"We propose for the man whom we believe will do something for the Negro citizenry, disregarding the banners under which he runs. I, myself will vote for Herbert C. Hoover, but my choice both in the county and state offices will not bear out the republican ticket.

Officers of the organization elected last night include: The Reverend Mr. Wilson, president; Mrs. Minta Alvis, vice president; Mrs. Maysie Beasley, secretary; Mrs. Frances Boxley, treasurer.

Committeeman and Committeewoman appointed for the various wards include: Miss Roberta Thomas, Louis N. Smith, T. E. Mitchell, J. R. Gilliam, Mrs. Frances Boxley, J. F. Trout and Mrs. Beattie Skinner.

BOTH PARTY PLATFORMS MENTION NEGRO WELFARE

Republicans More Liberal in Their Promises. Both Pledge Adequate Support of Lincoln University

Each Commit Their Respective Parties to Separation of the Negro and White Boys at Boonville

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., Sept. 11—The convening here of the platform conventions of the two major political parties today, brought a few race men and women to the Capitol City. Their interest seemed to be centered largely on what would be said in the parties' platforms which might be interpreted as affecting their welfare. It was thought that both parties would say on this subject, therefore, the group got together and agreed upon some things to be presented. Among the things agreed upon were schools and education for every child regardless of race, better support for Lincoln University, a vocational school in southeast Missouri, separation of the colored and white boys at Boonville, etc.

The republicans adopted all and more than was suggested by representatives of the colored group, while the democrats adopted most of it.

The following is the language used in the two platforms which is interpreted for the benefit of the Negroes

What Republicans Said

The educational interests of the state are inseparably interwoven with all of its industrial affairs, and especially with its agricultural development. We believe the education of the youth is the best investment the state can make and pledge ourselves to a more complete development of our educational system so that every Missouri boy and girl shall have an equal chance for an education. These facilities are also pledged to the Negro children of the state, including that of standard university courses in Lincoln University.

Our party stands, as it has always stood, for equal opportunities, regardless of race, and against racial intolerance.

We favor the establishment of a vocational school in Southeast Missouri for the training of Negro youths and the development of the State Demonstration Farm in Chariton County.

We favor a separate institution for colored boys confined at the Missouri Reformatory at Boonville and adequate appropriations for the establishment of a home for feebleminded colored people of the state, and a Negro industrial commission.

We pledge our support to the necessary measures to insure sanitary and humane conditions for Negroes confined in the State Penitentiary.

It is the fundamental duty of the state to protect the life, liberty and property of its citizens. To this end we pledge the enforcement of present laws, and the enactment of such additional laws as may be necessary to provide fair and speedy trial, and at the same time insure certainty and finality in the apprehension, trial and punishment of criminals and the suppression of crime.

What Democrats Said

The colored citizenship of our state and nation has been for many years the object of political betrayal on the part of the leaders and officials of the Republican party. The vote of the colored citizen has been appealed to every two years by means of empty campaign promises which are forgotten of ignored immediately following the election, and their interests have not been and are not guarded, but have been exploited by Republican leaders.

Lincoln University has been used as a political pawn during the past and present administrations. Colored leaders are not recipients of their share of benefits from the State Labor Department. The health, industrial and economic interests of the colored people of the state have not had the attention to which they are entitled.

The Democratic party has ever been and is now the friend of the colored race, and pledges the most wholesome and adequate provisions for the welfare of its citizenship.

We condemn the present and past injurious activities of Republican leaders affecting Lincoln University and promise that the affairs of the institution shall be administered solely for the advantage of its students.

Dr. William J. Thompkins of Kansas City, Joseph L. McLemore of St. Louis and James McMinn of St. Louis appeared before the Democratic Platform Committee.

St Louisans Attending

Among those attending the convention from St. Louis were: Walthall M. Moore, Freeman L. Martin, both candidates for the legislature. A. W. Lloyd and Mrs. Willie P. Allen, both members of the Republican State Committee, Judge Crittenden E. Clark, Mrs. Alma A. Clark, J. E. Mitchell, Mrs. J. L. McLemore, Dr. C. M. Powell, Langston Harrison, Wm. A. Morant, Homer G. Phillips and Page Brown.

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Political - 1928

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Nor should the matter of social position or training count for or against a candidate, the correctness of his speech or the purity of his pronunciation being a detail of early training and environment. The important matters that should count in making a choice between two such well equipped candidates for high office as Herbert Hoover and Alfred E. Smith are their outstanding characteristics in dealing with the problems that most nearly concern the Negro as a citizen in the American Republic. We believe that as individuals both candidates are equally free from color prejudice or bias on account of race or previous condition. But the Republican has the advantage of denoting this in his acts, officially and otherwise. The Democratic candidate could not act in this wise if he wanted to, because he has to defer to the intolerance of the South, which dominates the party of which he is the candidate.

During the four terms that Mr. Smith has been Governor of New York State, he has steadily refrained from exhibiting any recognition of the group of Negro voters as a part of the population, although many of them have been counted among his enthusiastic admirers. This admiration has been based on no special reasons, so far as we have been able to discover, but has grown out of dissatisfaction with such Republican executives as Nathan Miller, and encouraged by the popular delusion that the election of Smith would bring about a relaxing of the enforcement of prohibition. So far as that is concerned, neither candidate can do much in that regard. Prohibition was brought about in spite of the opposition of one President, and only the action of Congress can mitigate its rigors. To repeal the constitutional amendment itself, if the experiment has proved a failure, would require the favorable vote of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

With a Republican administration in power, headed by an executive of the character and courage of Mr. Hoover, we could confidently look for larger representation in public office and a wiping out of all those discriminations in the departments, based on race or color. The result would be a perceptible gain in public respect and in bringing about that equality of citizenship that the party embodied in its first princples. Only a man of high character and undaunted courage can be counted upon to bring about a radical change of this kind. Even if Governor Smith had the desire to do this, he would be hampered in his efforts by the dominance of the South in his party. And in case of a vacancy, the Negro-hating former Governor of Arkansas would become President.

A sober and exhaustive review of the situation justifies the conclusion that the safest course to pursue this fall is to vote the Republican ticket for Hoover and Curtis. It is time for all our groups in various parts of the country to get together on this proposition and work towards that end.

EDITORIAL

A DUTY THAT ALL RACE-LOVING ORGANS SHOULD PERFORM

Never before since the Colored People of the United States were legally granted the rights of a full-fledged franchised citizen, have the Colored People been called upon to act more wisely than now. The condition of the races has been so managed, that a close analysis will show that all other races that have made this country their home, in some way or manner, have obtained a more equitable recognition in the official management of this government than the Negro Race. The Southern Christian Recorder is not a political organ, and this fact may be accounted for as to why Prof. John R. Hawkins' great speech, made in seconding the nomination of Mr. Hoover for President of the United States, failed to send The Southern Christian Recorder a copy for publication, as he, Prof. Hawkins, or his representative, seemed to have sent copies to other papers; but we took pleasure in our endorsement of what Prof. Hawkins said in his speech, and yet believed that his remarks, so far as they went, were very good and appropriate, so far as the time given him to express himself would admit.

The suggestions that we offer are to every fair-minded colored man, that he should think the matter over personally, and look into conditions as they are and reach a conclusion as to whether Prof. Hawkins' leadership is warranted in this particular crisis. I really think that we will agree that all of his advices in the matter will prove facts, and axiomatically confirm by an impartial retrospection of the past historical facts, that will justify the advices outlined by Prof. Hawkins. However, we must remember that we have some heavy obstacles to overcome, some of which are so interwoven with different issues in both parties, that will cause one who has not considered the multitude of arguments founded upon viewpoints that mean consideration, that will cause any one who has not considered the different phases personally, may waver and throw his influence against his best interest. We must remember again in making up our determination, to cast our votes in the right direction, that there are men who claim to be with us, but will prove against us.

Take for instance: In the Republican Party is a faction that is known to be named **Lily White Republicans**, the meaning of which, we all know, and must have our eyes open. I notice one among other reasons that Prof. Hawkins was strong for Mr. Hoover, was his attitude toward all of the people, and not in a certain color or race. This feature of Mr. Hoover's acceptance speech was explained nicely by Prof. Hawkins, when he said that Mr. Hoover's policy included a declaration to be president of all the people, regardless of race or color. In the Democratic Party, we note there are two strong factions, one known as "fair-dealings to all," and the other, that the white man must keep the Negro in the background. Then again, we find two other pertinent factions strongly operating in both Parties, one for, and the other against Catholicism, and mixed with this issue, are two of the most dangerous things that ever happened to this country, and they're prohibition and its abolition.

But as a race, we have our choice as to where we stand, and believe that if Mr. Hoover be elected, all of these matters will be properly adjusted. Another important matter that all intelligent people have agreed to, must be observed if success is obtained in everything; this object has its foundation in what is known and repeated in one of the greatest maxioms known in the world, "Together we stand, divided we fall."

If the Colored People ever expect to get their due proportion of representation in the governmental department of this world, their efforts for it must be concentrated, and not laid off in fractions by those who are opposed to us. If we find that we have a leader who is able mentally and intentionally God-fearing guidance, and historically to be the leader we need, we should flock to him and give him our strongest support. What we need is a man who has proved to be a successful leader; we should rally to his calls, follow his direction, and we will be more apt to succeed than if we, for some personal reason, oppose that man. We, ourselves, will be practically committing suicide, as well as a general impediment to the best interest of the race. We should not hesitate to follow our best leaders, among whom, we may find some minor objection, but in a matter of this kind, all such should be eliminated from our minds, and pulled

strongly on following the leader such as Prof. Hawkins has proved to be. We emphasize this point from a personal reason, and that is, in some things we have condemned publicly, some actions in which we did not a- but we have discovered since that our objections to the thing were not founded upon the right conclusion, so much so, that we have been glad to find that these objections were not as we thought, but as a whole, we are sorry that we raised the objection, and have made apologies to him, and proposed to publish our apology, but he did not agree to it; but we are now able to say he accepted our apology, and explanations, and now, if either one of us did err, we are now able to sing, "All of our sins," in this direction, "are washed away." That is, from a personal declaration, and that for ourselves and every minor member of my family, (if I had one) is concerned. In conclusion, and all things considered, a better man could not have been found in The United States of America, to advise the Race as to the best policy to pursue in this strategic election. John R. Hawkins is the man.

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In emphasizing the importance of electing the Republican national ticket this fall, The Age proposes simply to discuss the issues involved as they affect the race. without dealing with religious differences, or personal attacks on the character of any of the candidates. The fact that the Democratic candidate is a follower of the Catholic faith, or that the Republican standard bearer belongs to the Society of Friends, otherwise known as Quakers, has no bearing on the matter of their fitness for the presidency. The presidential office has been held by men of varied religious affiliations, ranging from the Disciples of Christ to the Protestant Episcopal Church, but in no case has their religion affected their political policies.

Nor should the matter of social position or training count for or against a candidate, the correctness of his speech or the purity of his pronunciation being a detail of early training and environment. The important matters that should count in making a choice between two such well equipped candidates for high office as Herbert Hoover and Alfred E. Smith are their outstanding characteristics in dealing with the problems that most nearly concern the Negro as a citizen in the American Republic. We believe that as individuals both candidates are equally free from color prejudice or bias on account of race or previous condition. But the Republican has the advantage of denoting this in his acts, officially and otherwise. The Democratic candidate could not act in this wise if he wanted to, because he has to defer to the intolerance of the South, which dominates the party of which he is the candidate.

During the four terms that Mr. Smith has been Governor of New York State, he has steadily refrained from exhibiting any recognition of the group of Negro voters as a part of the population, although many of them have been counted among his enthusiastic admirers. This admiration has been based on no special reasons, so far as we have been able to discover, but has grown out of dissatisfaction with such Republican executives as Nathan Miller, and encouraged by the popular delusion that the election of Smith would bring about a relaxing of the enforcement of prohibition. So far as that is concerned, neither candidate can do much in that regard. Prohibition was brought about in spite of the opposition of one President, and only the action of Congress can mitigate its rigors. To repeal the constitutional amendment itself, if the experiment has proved a failure, would require the favorable vote of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

With a Republican administration in power, headed by an executive of the character and courage of Mr. Hoover, we could confidently look for larger representation in public office and a wiping out of all those discriminations in the departments, based on race or color. The result would be a perceptible gain in public respect and in bringing about that equality of citizenship that the party embodied in its first princples. Only a man of high character and undaunted courage can be counted upon to bring about a radical change of this kind. Even if Governor Smith had the desire to do this, he would be hampered in his efforts by the dominance of the South in his party. And in case of a vacancy, the Negro-hating former Governor of Arkansas would become President.

A sober and exhaustive review of the situation justifies the conclusion that the safest course to pursue this fall is to vote the Republican ticket for Hoover and Curtis. It is time for all our groups in various parts of the country to get together on this proposition and work towards that end.

EDITORIAL

A DUTY THAT ALL RACE-LOVING ORGANS SHOULD PERFORM

Never before since the Colored People of the United States were legally granted the rights of a full-fledged franchised citizen, have the Colored People been called upon to act more wisely than now. The condition of the races has been so managed, that a close analysis will show that all other races that have made this country their home, in some way or manner, have obtained a more equitable recognition in the official management of this government than the Negro Race. The Southern Christian Recorder is not a political organ, and this fact may be accounted for, as to why Prof. John R. Hawkins' great speech, made in seconding the nomination of Mr. Hoover for President of the United States, failed to send The Southern Christian Recorder a copy for publication, as he, Prof. Hawkins, or his representative, seemed to have sent copies to other papers; but we took pleasure in our endorsement of what Prof. Hawkins said in his speech, and yet believed that his remarks, so far as they went, were very good and appropriate, so far as the time given him to express himself would admit.

The suggestions that we offer are to every fair-minded colored man, that he should think the matter over personally, and look into conditions as they are and reach a conclusion as to whether Prof. Hawkins' leadership is warranted in this particular crisis. I really think that we will agree that all of his advices in the matter will prove facts, and axiomatically confirm by an impartial retrospection of the past historical facts, that will justify the advices outlined by Prof. Hawkins. However, we must remember that we have some heavy obstacles to overcome, some of which are so interwoven with different issues in both parties, that will cause one who has not considered the multitude of arguments founded upon viewpoints that mean consideration, that will cause any one who has not considered the different phases personally, may waver and throw his influence against his best interest. We must remember again in making up our determination, to cast our votes in the right direction, that there are men who claim to be with us, but will prove against us.

Take for instance: In the Republican Party is a faction that is known to be named **Lily White Republicans**, the meaning of which, we all know, and must have our eyes open. I notice one among other reasons that Prof. Hawkins was strong for Mr. Hoover, was his attitude toward all of the people, and not in a certain color or race. This feature of Mr. Hoover's acceptance speech was explained nicely by Prof. Hawkins, when he said that Mr. Hoover's policy included a declaration to be president of all the people, regardless of race or color. In the Democratic Party, we note there are two strong factions, one known as "fair-dealings to all," and the other, that the white man must keep the Negro in the background. Then again, we find two other pertinent factions strongly operating in both Parties, one for, and the other against Catholicism, and mixed with this issue, are two of the most dangerous things that ever happened to this country, and they're prohibition and its abolition.

But as a race, we have our choice as to where we stand, and believe that if Mr. Hoover be elected, all of these matters will be properly adjusted. Another important matter that all intelligent people have agreed to, must be observed if success is obtained in everything; this object has its foundation in what is known and repeated in one of the greatest maxioms known in the world, "Together we stand, divided we fall."

If the Colored People ever expect to get their due proportion of representation in the governmental department of this world, their efforts for it must be concentrated, and not laid off in fractions by those who are opposed to us. If we find that we have a leader who is able mentally and intentionally God-fearing guidance, and historically to be the leader we need, we should flock to him and give him our strongest support. What we need is a man who has proved to be a successful leader; we should rally to his calls, follow his direction, and we will be more apt to succeed than if we, for some personal reason, oppose that man. We, ourselves, will be practically committing suicide, as well as a general impediment to the best interest of the race. We should not hesitate to follow our best leaders, among whom, we may find some minor objection, but in a matter of this kind, all such should be eliminated from our minds, and pulled strongly on following the leader such as Prof. Hawkins has proved to be. We emphasize this point from a personal reason, and that is, in some things we have condemned publicly, some actions in which we did not agree, but we have discovered since that our objections to the thing were not founded upon the right conclusion, so much so, that we have been glad to find that these objections were not as we thought, but as a whole, we are sorry that we raised the objection, and have made apologies to him, and proposed to publish our apology, but now able to say he accepted our apology, and explanations, and now, if either one of us did err, we are now able to sing, "All of our sins," in this direction, "are washed away." That is, from a personal declaration, and that for ourselves and every minor member of my family, (if I had one) is concerned. In conclusion, and all things considered, a better man could not have been found in The United States of America, to advise the Race as to the best policy to pursue in this strategic election. John R. Hawkins is the man.

Vote for White Supremacy, W. G. Brantley Urges South In Scoring Republican Rule

Former Georgia Congressman Declares There Is No Division Among Good Citizens on Prohibition Issue.

BY SAM W. SMALL.

Washington, August 11.—(Special.) Democrats of Georgia must choose, in the presidential race between the party that sought to overthrow and for a time succeeded in overthrowing, white supremacy in the south, and the party that defended white supremacy, restored it and has since maintained it, according to a statement made public by W. G. Brantley, of Brunswick, former congressman from the Seventh Georgia district, who now maintains law offices in Washington, D. C.

In a comprehensive and illuminating statement which covers every phase of the present situation in Georgia, Mr. Brantley declares that there is no division among good citizens of this country on the prohibition issue, as all good citizens "believe in temperance, morality, in law and order and in the enforcement of the constitution." He states, however, that there is an effort being made in "certain quarters" to convince the people of Georgia and of the south that there is now existing an issue between the forces of temperance and intemperance, the forces of morality and immorality and between those who stand for law and order and those who do not.

No Such Issues Impend.

"No such issues impend as those described," he said.

Mr. Brantley then discusses at length his reasons for this conclusion. He also discusses republican corruption in office and touches on the injection of the religious issue in connection with the religion of Governor Al Smith, the democratic nominee. In regard to Governor Smith's religion, Mr. Brantley declares that the governor has ever been surrounded by advisors of his own choosing with far more of them being Protestants than Catholics. He states that Governor Smith has "ever been the friend of public schools. He stated that in all the governor's appointments and recomendations" there has never been a taint of sectarianism.

Brantley's Statement.

The statement of Mr. Brantley, in part, is as follows:

"Strenuous efforts, almost frantic and hysterical in character, are being made in certain quarters to convince the people of Georgia and of the south that there now impends a great issue between the forces of temperance and intemperance, of morality and immorality, and between those who stand for law and order and the enforcement of the constitution and those who do not.

"These efforts are coupled with an appeal to our people to vote for Herbert Hoover and to give the republican party another four years lease of power as the only way by which these great issues may be settled on the side of right.

"All good citizens believe in temperance, in morality, in law and order and in the enforcement of the constitution and there is no division among them on these questions. It would be a sad commentary on good citizenship if there were.

"No such issues impend as those described. They exist only in the imagination of certain new converts to republicanism, who hope thereby to make other converts. If they actually existed, no appeal would be necessary, for the overwhelming majority of the people of the south would be found on the right side of them and there can be but one right side to such issues. Not many of our people, however, would in my opinion, find it necessary, desirable or consistent to place themselves in the ranks of the republican party in order to be on the right side.

Moral Questions.

"Temperance, sobriety and morality are moral questions. They should be and for ages have been urged upon our people by the moral forces of the world. They are great and noble ends for which we should all strive and no division of sentiment exists among right thinking people over the desirability of their attainment. Division does exist, however, as to the best and most effective means for their attainment.

"There are those who believe that our present prohibition laws are but one of many means proposed for their attainment, and that in their present form these laws have failed of their purpose and for that reason some change or modification of them should be made in the further effort to attain the great ends sought. They contend experience has shown that these laws not only have not eliminated whisky, drunkenness and debauchery, but to these things have added bootlegging, the most demoralizing and corrupting of all crimes, increased the use of intoxicants by our young people, brought about an increase of crime generally, a gradual breaking down of the moral fiber of the nation, and a general laxness in the observance of all law. They point out that with all our boasting of prohibition as the real and certain cure for crime, the American nation is today the most lawless of all the civilized earth.

"Conceding to every one the right to his view, the point I would make and stress is that no justification exists for the most ardent and zealous democratic prohibitionist in the south to desert to the republican party because of the prohibition question. A moment's quiet reflection will disclose to anyone that this is so.

Under No Pledge.

"The facts are that the republican party is no more of a prohibitionist party than is the democratic party. It is under no pledge directly or indirectly to maintain the continued existence of the eighteenth amendment or the Volstead act. Its candidate has aligned himself with those who believe that our prohibition laws are but a proposed menas to an end and have not become sacrosanct, for he refers to them as an "experiment." The republican party has been in control of our government practically throughout the life of the Volstead act and has failed to enforce it. The open and flagrant violation of this law is known of all men. Because of it changes or modifications of the act to make it more enforceable are being urged. No basis in reason exists for continuing the republican party in power on the theory that it may reform and hereafter enforce the law. It has been tried and found wanting in this as in other regards. On the question of enforcement which is the only one as regards prohibition that exists, the country couldn't possibly be in any worse condition under Governor Smith than it is today.

"So far as the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead act are concerned no president, no matter who he is, can change, alter or repeal them. They are here to stay just so long as the people of the United States want them to stay. Few people, so far as I know, expect the amendment to be repealed and as for the Volstead act only the congress can change it. Our people have a choice in the election of the congress and so long as they continue to elect representatives and senators who favor it, they will continue to have it regardless of who may live in the white house.

"We must choose between the party that sought to overthrow and for a time succeeded in overthrowing, white supremacy in the south, and the party that defended, restored and has since maintained it. The horrible results reached in the south during reconstruction days, when a faction of white men affiliated with the negroes politically to overthrow the dominant white majority, are personally known to some who are still living and are known to us all as a matter of history.

Saturnalia of Corruption.

"During the past eight years of republican rule we have witnessed the greatest saturnalia of corruption in government in all our history. We have seen the public domain stolen, our war veterans robbed, peculations everywhere and bribery rampant. This corruption has not stopped with minor and insignificant officials, but has invaded the cabinet of the president himself. We have witnessed the humiliating spectacle of a former attorney general, the chief law officer of our government, publicly charged with and tried for the offense of accepting a bribe. We have witnessed another former cabinet member on trial for the same crime. We have seen other high officials and many minor ones of the republican administration forced out of office and some of them into the penitentiary. We have witnessed stupendous proceedings to recover property of the people which through the connivance of trusted officials had been stolen from them. We have witnessed one of the beneficiaries of this corruption dividing his ill-gotten gains with the chairman of the national republican party and we have seen that chairman accepting such money in order to perpetuate the republican party in power and at the same time resorting to subterfuge and deceit, in order to hide from the people the iniquitous thing he had done.

"I have recently had sent me, from Georgia, a hand-circular, which I am told received wide distribution in the town from which it came. The heading to it reads: 'To murder Protestants! To destroy American government! Is the oath binding Roman Catholics!'

Pity for Misguided.

"For the misguided, misinformed and unpatriotic person or persons responsible for this circular, I have the profoundest pity. It states a charge several times made through a long series of years and as many times refuted and shown to be utterly false. It has been one or more times exposed and denounced as false by a committee of responsible officials in the Masonic fraternity.

"Throughout the history of the world, as our reading discloses, many dark crimes have been committed in the name of religion and these crimes have by no means been limited to the Catholics. In the enlightened and civilized age in which we live, we have passed away from such things and in addition have learned religious tolerance. Our forefathers learned it long ago, for in founding our government they not only proclaimed religious liberty and the separation of church and state, but they wrote into our constitution the provision that 'no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.'

"It is inconceivable to me that any intelligent, patriotic citizen of our country would seek directly or indirectly to nullify this wise provision.

"So far as my reading and personal observation go there is nothing in the history of our country that would justify its nullification. According to recent figures, there are more than 18,000,000 Roman Catholics in the United States and to hold that no one of this great body of citizens is eligible to hold office would be monstrous

"Throughout the life of our republic many Catholics have held high office, and, so far as my knowledge goes, no one of them has ever been charged with betraying the trust reposed in him because of any religious influence, and the record of Governor Smith has made as governor of New York guarantees that if called to the presidency no such charge during his administration of that great office can ever justly be brought against him.

"As governor he has ever been surrounded by his own choosing with far more Protestant than Catholic advisers. He has ever been the friend of the public school. In all his appointments and recommendations there has never been found a taint of sectarianism, nor has it ever been charged against him. He has ever been guided by his oath of office and in his appointments to office has insisted upon applying fitness as the standard.

"The advance he has bade from an humble origin and obscurity to his present position of eminence demonstrates the real worth of the man, his honesty, courage, high character and ability, and makes a career that not only has been, but will continue to be an inspiration to the youth of our land."

Political - 1928

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

Would End Handshaking And Kissing in Campaign

CATSKILL, N. Y., Sept. 10.—A crusade for a "sanitary election campaign," in which kissing and handshaking shall be eliminated as campaign adjuncts, is advocated by the Catskill Examiner.

The newspaper urges that when Hoover announced recently that he did not intend to kiss babies for publication, he unconsciously called attention to the arrival of a new order in politics. "It had been hitherto supposed," says the editor, "that women voters could be enticed by an invitation to line up for hours waiting for the handshake of a prominent official."

Modern hygiene, according to the advocates of the new crusade, has risen up to shield the babies from indiscriminate kissing, political or otherwise. The same principles, they hold, should be applied to miscellaneous handshaking. Health authorities who have been interviewed say that the handshaking custom should be abandoned, as many harmful organisms can be transferred from hand to hand. According to one eminent doctor, "there is a real risk to health unless precautions of cleanliness are taken in passing voters down a campaign reception line."

"EQUAL OPPORTUNITY"

Strange indeed, how a catch phrase, full of light but devoid of substance can carry men beyond the confines of reason and sound judgment.

Herbert Hoover, in the course of his "Essay on Acceptance" gave forth the glittering generality that he believed all men should have an equal opportunity. The poor deluded Negro answered, "Amen—thank God, a Daniel come to judgment." Now suppose Hoover does believe that as an abstract proposition, is that any promise or indication that if elected, he will do anything in his great office to give the Negro an equal opportunity? If he knows of a great Negro lawyer will be give him an equal opportunity to serve as Attorney General or Justice of the Supreme Court. Will he give any Negro statesman an equal opportunity to be Ambassador to the Court of St. James? Will he give any Negro an equal opportunity to b eappointed to the Postmastership of any first class city? Not on your life. Now, what does he mean? He simply means to give every Negro an equal opportunity to vote the Republican ticket—to support the Ku Klux Klan and to march in the parade after victory. How gullible is the average Negro. Tom Heflin will tell any bunch of cheese head Negroes: "I think you are entitled to all the rights of any American citizen."

Yet, he is resolved in his soul and conscience to do his utmost to prevent the exercise of such rights. Thomas Jefferson said, all men have certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," yet he robbed men of life, liberty and happiness, and riveted upon their weary limbs the wicked chains of slavery.

Coolidge said: "I am opposed to lynching," yet he did nothing to get any legislation to stop it. Vardaman, Tillman and Blian all declared the Negro entitled to his rights, yet they moved heaven and earth to obstruct their exercise.

Negro preachers and editors all over the land have bitten like trouts at Hoover's bait of "equal opportunity." Perry Howard was for Hoover. Did he get an equal opportunity with other dealers in appointments? Bob Church was for Hoover. Does Bob figure he is getting an equal opportunity?

When Hoover's aides sent Mrs. Hildebrand down South to cut Ben Davis' throat, did Ben feel he was getting an "equal opportunity?"

When Pennsylvania allowed Tom Heflin to address the K. K. K. and array all the bigoted fanatics against other fellow-mortals, was that an equal opportunity for the Jew, the Catholic, and the Negro?

Oh, my brother in black, don't hold the flattering unction to your soul that Mr. Hoover means anything by his great catch phrase of equal opportunity. If you have nerve and brains your opportunity is at hand. God grant you the wisdom to improve it.

JOURNAL
Dothan, Ala.
AUG 30 1928

THE NEGRO QUESTION

From present appearances the race question promises to play a more important part in the presidential campaign than it has in many years. That the question is liable to prove a serious handicap to political ambitions may yet be proven before the votes are counted. Neither political party is honest in it's open statements in regard to the negro which colored voters are now learning for themselves.

Leaders of the Republican padty have claimed to be the friends of the Negro, yet very little has been done to secure for the colored race the ambitions they hold. On the other hand the Democratic party has been held together very largely by the prejudice of the race question: Up in New York a large body of Negro voters are friendly to the Democratic nominee and are openily supporting his candidacy.

Now Democratic campaign managers know that unless Governor Smith can carry New York he stands no show whatever of winning his election. This body of negro voters in New York must not be driven away from his suppirt by appeals from Demicratic headquarters to Southern Democrats to vote for Al in order to prevent "Nigger Domination." Therefore headquarters must keep quiet and depend on Southern leaders in southern states to play on race prejudice.

There is no sense or reason in attempting to evade the negro question in a presidential campaign. We may wish to avoid it or to make it appear as trivial but the fact remains that the vote of the colored electorate is a serious menace to either political party and may have great influence in the outcome of the election.

When dealing with this question it is better to secure the negro viewpoint if possible and learn what may be expected from this direction. The following, taken from the editorial columns of The Christian Record the official organ of the African Methodist Church says:

> "When it comes to the Negro we are normally Republican. While the Negroes have been steadily growing restive under the Republican party the majority still feels that, in the language of Fred Douglass, "the Republican party is the ship; all else is the sea" Though the boat rocks why jump into the sea?
>
> "The recent actions of the Republican convention with regard to Negroes, in Kansas City, has not added to the confidence of the race in the party. The growing disposition of the Lily White Republicans to treat Negroes just as the Democrats treat them in the South is opening the eyes of many Negroes. The refusal of the Republican party to make any attempt to enforce the 14th and 15th amendments, while it vociferously calls for the 18th amendment, is not adding to the prestige of the party in the minds of thoughtful Negroes. In 1912, led by Bishop Walters, Negroes tried to make a revolt against the Republicans. The result is generally known and was not encouraging. Woodrow Wilson was a Southerner and an aristocrat, and while he could have done a great many things he looked upon the Negroes' complaints as trivial. He was unwilling to give the Negro a square deal. His Southern instincts showed themselves, and although Mr. Wilson had the greatest opportunity since Abraham Lincoln, he failed to use it. Possibly had the War not intervened he might have done differently.
>
> "It will be interesting to note how the Negro electorate will take Al Smith who has a record of fair treatment to Negroes; who has touched Negroes in politics all of his life and does not appear to be afraid of them. It will be interesting to see how the Negroes who handle his campaign will be able to organize the disgruntled sentiment of the hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the border doubtful states.
>
> "The fight is on. At least it will be interesting."

Just whether the colored vote will be delivered to the Republicans who have always been favored by them or whether there will be sufficient colored "bolters" to Smith to assure his victory in New York is now a question causing leaders considerable concern. Those inclined to consider the colored vote of little consequense may be surprised

at the attempts of political leaders of both parties to gain the negro support.

The success of the Democratic nominee may depend on the eastern negro vote while the hope of the Republicans is that this normal negro support may be prevented from "bolting" the ranks of the regulars. In either event the result of the presidential election may be changed by the result of the efforts to swing the colored electorate into line.

With what appears to be a balance of power in the most doubtful state in which victory lays the negro question assumes proportions which furnishes a problem of increasing importance.

NEW YORK
EVE. TELEGRAM

SEP 7 1928

COLORED VOTE TO PLAY PART IN CAMPAIGN

Negroes Can Turn Election by Ballots in the Doubtful Border States.

POLITICIANS KEPT BUSY

Democrats Are Attempting to Steal Away Support in Northern Territory.

By LUDWELL DENNY,
New York Telegram Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7.—Negro voters can turn the national election in doubtful border States. Hence the politicians are scurrying about trying to devise ways and means to make the colored vote safe for Hoover or Smith, as the case may be.

Republicans have reason to fear a revolt at the polls in some Northern cities, where negroes in the past have voted with almost automatic regularity for G. O. P. candidates. These changed conditions are said to be due to younger radicals of the race, who are preaching to their fellows that the Republican party has long exploited them by taking their votes without doing anything in return to justify the boasts of "Lincoln's party."

Quick to take advantage of this discontent, Democrats are going out for the first time with an almost nationwide organization to catch these racial ballots.

Three Fronts in Fight for Colored Vote.

According to the campaign strategists on both sides, there are three fronts in this battle:—Industrial centres of the North such as New York, Chicago and Indianapolis; border States, including Missouri and its St. Louis colored belt, and, of less importance because of so-called disenfranchising laws, certain Southern States such as North Carolina, where election returns may conceivably be close.

The Republican and Democratic problem in the industrial areas of the North is both political and economic. To meet racial discontent this year, they find they must pledge not only adequate political representation, but also protection for the welfare of the negro workers who are becoming "class conscious."

Unfortunately for the politicians, however, they find that the very propaganda required to capture the negro vote is the kind that will lose white votes in the doubtful border and Southern States.

In the North, Republicans are trying to sell their ticket on the basis of being the traditional party of the negro, committed to championing his equality of rights. But with Hoover trying to crash the border States and lead the G. O. P. into the solid South for the first time, Republicans find their worst obstacle the Democratic warning to beware of the "negro's party."

This situation is becoming no less embarrassing to the Democrats. In the North they want the valuable negro voters to forget that the party in Congress is dominated by Southern whites. In the South they want the whites to forget the Democratic appeal being made to colored voters above the Mason-Dixon line.

Smith's Forces Are Working in Harlem.

Smith's aids are working Harlem, the New York city belt. Organizations include Colored Democracy, led by F. Q. Morton, a negro municipal employe, and the Smith for President Colored League, under the National Democratic Committee, said to be active in many States.

In Chicago Republicans hope to hold the colored vote by allowing a negro to succeed the late Martin B. Madden in Congress. Direct political representation by a negro Congressman is generally recognized by politicians to be the most effective manner of "keeping the colored vote in line," provided this end can not be achieved "less expensively."

Not to be outdone in this, the Democrats have broken precedent by backing a negro for the Congressional seat from the Twelfth Missouri District in St. Louis. This young man is Joseph L. McLemore, formerly an employe at the national Capitol. He is running against Representative L. G. Dyer, author of the anti-lynching bill and popularly known as "the negroes' best friend in Washington."

ADVERTISER
ELMIRA, N. Y.

SEP 5 1928

COLORED FOLKS ORGANIZE CLUB

Charles D. Williams was elected president of the Colored Hoover and Curtis Club of Chemung County at its organization meeting at Republican headquarters Tuesday night.

Other officers chosen were: David Campbell, vice president; Miss Jennie Gibson, secretary; Mrs. Anna Johnson, treasurer.

Asaph B. Hall, secretary and acting chairman of the Republican county committee, and James Armstrong made addresses in which they praised the Republican national ticket and urged intensive campaign work on the part of members of the new club.

Other meetings are being held, at which it is planned to have prominent speakers.

DEMOCRAT
JOHNSTOWN, PA.

SEP 8 - 1928

Fear Lily White Movement

Southern Negroes Worked up Over Effort of White Republicans to Reconstruct G. O. P. in Dixie

In a special to the New York Herald Tribune from Jackson, Miss., Carter Field says that that state has little worth while Republican history. It was virtually untouched by the "new Republican" movement in the south which began in Texas some eight years ago. This amounted to something in Texas and Arkansas, and while not so strong in Louisiana as those states, it did make some headway, but in Mississippi it ran up against a stone wall due to the adroitness of the negro Republican leader, Perry Howard.

Aid to Howard Charged.

Incidentally it has frequently been charged that the Democratic leaders in the state found it to their interest to throw a little patronage in Perry Howard's way and used other means to encourage his continuance in power. Their motives have been variously described, sometimes rather unpleasantly, as notably by W. D. Jamieson, former member of the house and assistant treasurer of the Democratic national committee, in his publication called The Windowseat, but the underlying thought on their part was obviously that they could continue to dominate the state and hold all the local offices without a struggle, under the one-party system, as long as the local Republican party was controlled by negroes.

At any rate Howard remained dominant right up to the time of the Kansas City convention. A contest was staged against him there, but the national committee felt obliged to decide in Howard's favor. This was rather interesting in view of the fact that Hoover managers were absolutely in the saddle at the time, but Howard was smarter than Walter Cohen, over in Louisiana. He had his credentials all ship-shape and there was nothing to do but seat him.

It so happened that the contesting delegation was for Mr. Hoover and Howard was regarded as anti-Hoover, but Howard made a desperate effort to keep his organization afloat by earning the gratitude of the Hoover managers.

Howard's Eclipse Seen.

While some of the anti-Hoover leaders were still claiming that they had him "stopped," Howard issued a statement that his delegation had caucused and bound itself to vote for Hoover as long as his name was before the convention. Shortly after the convention adjourned, however, Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt of the department of justice began to get after Howard on alleged sales of patronage and the general impression now is that Howard is through politically.

Some of Howard's negro lieutenants resent the prosecution of Howard very bitterly. They regard it as a persecution and insist that the real object is to do what has been done in Texas and Louisiana and create a lily white party. They do not discuss the moral issue involved, waving that aside with the comment that compelling men appointed to federal office to contribute to campaign funds heavily at the time of their appointment has been the accepted method of obtaining the sinews of war for campaigns for these many years. They call attention rather bitterly to the fact that there has been no prosecution of men generally believed to have done the same thing in states where the Republican leadership is white.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican

Asheville, N. C., Citizen
Sunday, September 9, 1928

Negroes Seek Right To Vote Democratic

HOUSTON, Texas, (AP)—After 58 years of allegiance to the republican party, many negro voters in Texas are promising feastly to the Democrats if they are allowed to cast ballots in the democratic primary elections.

So eager are the negroes to obtain a vote in the primaries that they have instituted suits which, their attorneys say, will be carried to the United States supreme court if necessary.

Texas laws leave to the political parties the power to fix qualifications of elections. The state democratic executive elections. The state democratic executive committee has made color one of the qualifications, specifying that a pledge, to appear at the head of ballots in the primary, read: "I am a white democrat and pledge myself to support the nominees of this primary."

In Texas the election of a republican to any state or local office is unusual. With the democratic primaries tantamount to general elections, negroes assert they are deprived of a privilege granted by the fifteenth amendment to the constitution.

In the face of previous court decisions holding that primray elections cannot be limited, negroes have applied in several Texas cities for injunctions to prevent election officials from barring them at the democratic primaries.

Judge J. C. Hutcheson of the United States district court at Houston refused an injunction on the grounds that affairs of political parties are not the business of the courts. An appeal to the United States circuit court at New Orleans now is being prepared.

Roanoke, Ala., Leader
Wednesday, August 29, 1928

DEMOCRATS NOMINATED A NEGRO IN MISSOURI

We have before us The Chicago Tribune of date August 12, 1928, and we find in that newspaper the picture of the "Honorable" Joseph L. McLemore, of St. Louis, said to be the first negro nominated for Congress by the Democrats. The picture reveals the thick lips, the flat nose and the kinky hair characteristics of the negro race. This Democratic nigger will oppose L. C. Dyer, Republican representative from the Twelfth Missouri district.

The Democratic party under its new Tammany leadership is asking Southern white men to take a long step away from "the faith of our fathers" when we are called upon to endorse Democratic niggers for seats in congress against Republican white men.

The candidacy of the "Honorable" Mr. McLemore, a negro, and the nominee of the Democratic party in the Twelfth Missouri district, is respectfully referred to "Plain Bill" Brandon, Hon. Hugh Mallory, and Col. Samford for such comment as they deem pertinent in the premises.—Abbeville Herald.

An Open Letter To Negro Ministers of Georgia

TO COLORED PROTESTANT MINISTERS OF GEORGIA:

It is being argued by Al Smith's following that the preacher has no place in politics; that he ought to stay out of government affairs, and let Tammany Hall and the devil run the country.

The preacher has a place in the national equation everywhere the power of God can make men better. If the lawyer, doctor, teacher and farmer have a place in politics, why shouldn't the preacher talk for, and support those principles of government that he believes are best and most beneficial to man?

The white clergy in the South has risen up in righteous indignation against the foes of clean government and righteousness, in spite of those who protest in the spirit of evil doing.

The paramount question in this campaign is morality, and the Church being the world's greatest moral force cannot sit idly by, and see the devil take all the people to perdition without protesting.

We are a Christian nation, and the fundamental principle upon which our Government rests, is faith in God. When the Republic was formed by the Colonies, the Colonists sought the Church for its form of government, and why at this late day, should those who represent the genius and spirit of our institution be denied a voice in the selection of those who are to rule over them?

But, the object of this letter is to awaken Negro preachers to answer the Macedonian call; to sound the tocsin day in the day out; to tell him he has a place in the political life of his country, and he should join his white brother in arousing the public conscience against rum, race hatred, and the devil.

We have been listening with anxious ears and a bleeding heart to see Negro ministers join his white brother in the slogan, "Away with whisky and the immoral forces that debauch our bodies and destroy our souls." Have the Negro preachers no moral sensibilities? The white pulpit is warning its people of the impending dangers threatening the very life of our people. **Won't the colored preacher warn his race? Won't you say just a word? Won't you hold the light so high, we will not stumble? Are you blind to the evil of the liquor traffic?**

You have a place in the politics of our country. Take the church out of politics, and the world will forget God, and return to savagery and heathenism.

Let the colored preacher rise, and prove that he is a real leader of men, in all things that are righteous, and that his place is wherever he can serve God and humanity, all the Al Smiths, Joe Robinsons, Cole Bleases, and Pat Harrisons to the contrary, notwithstanding. **J. B. Davis.**

Whiteville, N. C., Reporter
Thursday, September 6, 1928

NEGRO NOMINEE SAYS RACE WILL SUPPORT GOV. SMITH

McLemore, Running In St. Louis Colored District, Is First Of His People Put Up By Democrats For Congress

By Ralph Coghlan
Of the Staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

St. Louis, Aug. 21. (Special)—Joseph L. McLemore, a 32-year-old Negro lawyer, claims to be the first member of his race to be nominated for Congress on a Democratic ticket. McLemore won his nomination for Congress in the Twelfth Congressional district from E. G. Hancock, a former police sergeant, by a vote of 2,712 to 1.475.

The Twelfth district lies within the boundaries of St. Louis and has a heavy Negro population. Leonidas Carstarphen Dyer, Republican candidate, was unopposed.

He Was War Veteran

Dyer and his Negro opponent are not unknown to each other. After McLemore returned from the war he attended Howard University in Washington. Upon recommendation of Frank L. Williams, superintendent of Summer High School, a Negro institution of St. Louis, Dyer got McLemore a job as an elevator operator in the Capitol.

Dyer thus helped to an education the man who will be his opponent in the November election.

Dyer Long In Congress

Dyer has represented the district in Congress for many years. He was first elected to the Sixty-second Congress. He received a certificate of election to the Sixty-third, but was unseated, to use the language of the Congressional Directory, "through a partisan contest instituted by the Democratic candidate."

Dyer was re-elected to the Sixty fourth Congress and has represented the district ever since, beating his Democratic opponents with east. In the last election he received 14,494 to his opponent's 9,120.

McLemore believes he has a strong chance of ending Dyer's long tenure. He says sixty-five per cent of the vote in the district is Negro. He believes he will get three-fourths of it on the basis of racial loyalty, which, when added to a part of the white Democratic vote, will send him to Washington.

"Most of the Democratic vote is white," says McLemore. "In the past the Negroes here have been voting the Republican ticket, but this year Al Smith is a big drawing power among the Negroes and many of those who formerly supported the Republican ticket are going to vote the Democratic ticket straight—from Smith on down.

"The trouble is the Negro has been to strong a Republican. As a result the Republicans count the Negro vote ahead of time and they don't do anything for him. In New York City the Negroes vote Democratic and consequently the Negro gets recognition there with an occasional office."

Dyer's analysis of his district is at variance with McLemore's. Dyer, who has been very successful in polling the Negro vote in the past, claims it represents only a third of the total.

Since the fact that McLemore is a Negro was not brought out strongly before the primary election, one veteran St. Louis politician, casting about for an explanation of his victory, thinks the prefix "etc" in McLemore had something to do with it. There are many Irish Democrats in the Twelfth district.

McLemore was born in Louisiana. "I was 12 years old before I got any formal schooling," he says. "My mother was a cook for white families. My father had died when

I was 7 years old.

"With the consent of my mother I left home and went to Galveston, Texas, and worked for a barber there. His wife inspired me to seek education.

"I managed to get into Fisk University. Then I heard about Summer High School in St. Louis and without funds I came here. I got a job and lived at the Y. M. C. A. Then I volunteered and went to war.

University Graduate

"When I returned from war I was admitted to Howard, studied law and completed my law studies at New York University. I started practicing law here six years ago. I was too busy getting a foothold to think of politics. This is the first time I've been in it actively."

McLemore's wife if the daughter of the man who gave an impetus to his career, Principal Williams of the Negro high school. It was Williams who took the penniless boy into the high school and who later recommended him to Congressman Dyer for employment in the Capitol.—(ADV.)—The Evening Sun, Baltimore, Tuesday, August, 21, 1928.

PORTLAND, ME.

Press

SEP 1 1928

The Negro Vote

New Bedford Standard

Political writers have been giving some space to the vote of the Negroes in states where they are allowed to vote. The facts entering into the situation are many and confusing. It is said, for example, that Mr. Hoover's action in putting an end to the segregation of Negro workers in the Department of Commerce should win him Negro support, but against this it is asserted that in some of the southern states the Hoover workers are making overtures to white Democrats who have never been friendly to the Negroes. At the same time, southern Democrats who are trying to hold the whites in line for Smith are also unfriendly to the blacks, and have used as one of their arguments against Hoover the consideration he has shown Negroes in his department. Argument along that line is in a circle, and one comes out by the same door at which one entered. On Smith's behalf it is being said that nowhere are Negroes more prosperous than in Harlem. Harlem is in New York City, New York City is in New York state, and Smith is the governor thereof. Still another matter that is considered as likely to affect the Negro vote is the prosecution of Negro Republican politicians in southern states for selling jobs. When all is said and done, it is possible that these things will be ignored at election, and that northern Negroes will be influenced in their votes by much the same considerations as influence the whites.

CONSTITUTION

ATLANTA, GA.

SEP 5 1928

HARRIS ATTACKS G. O. P. AT MADISON

Madison, Ga., September 4.—(Special.)—Senator William J. Harris addressed a large audience in the Morgan county court house today. Senator Harris gave an account of his stewardship as the senior senator for the nine and a half years he has served Georgia in the United States senate.

He referred to the republican party, under the administrations of Harding and Coolidge, and said that never before in American history had there been so much incompetency, corruption and graft and that Andrew Mellon, secretary of the treasury, was one of the richest men in the United States and that his fortune had been built upon the distillation of whiskey and beer and that William S. Vare, recently elected by the republicans of Pennsylvania to a seat in the senate, had but one plank in his platform, and that was the repeal of the eighteenth amendment.

Senator Harris said that Hoover owed his nomination directly to Mellon and Vare and asked how anybody who wanted to see a strict and legal enforcement of the prohibition laws could reasonably expect Hoover to do it.

The speaker told his audience that he worked harder than anybody, with the exception of Senator Simmons, of North Carclina, and Senator Heflin, of Alabama, to prevent the nomination of Governor Smith at Houston, believing that there were other candidates who would better represent the views of the southern people on the prohibition question than Governor Smith, but that he honestly believed that when Smith, if elected, held up his hand and took a solemn oath to support the constitution and all amendments thereto, that his record as governor of the state of New York would be a guarantee of his sincerity. And that in any event Smith would come nearer enforcing the law than Hoover.

The senator called the attention of his hearers to the fact that Senator Morris Shepard, of Texas, the author of the eighteenth amendment; Volstead, Josephus Daniels, Carter Glass, Dan Moody, Pat Harrison, Walter George and many others of the outstanding prohibitionists of the country had declared in behalf of Smith.

He said that Hoover, in the contest with Senator Willis, of Ohio, for the support of the Ohio delegates at the Kansas City convention, made a play for the negro vote of Ohio by abrogating the segregation order in the department of commerce whereby the whites and negroes were thrown into intimate contact. He told a story of a southern white woman who came to him in tears saying she could no longer hold her position in the commerce department and retain her self respect.

Senator Harris said it was hard to understand where Hoover stood on anything. That when serving under Wilson as food administrator he approved the veto of the Volstead act. That a few months ago he considered it as a mere experiment. That now he had swallowed it. That under Wilson he was pro-League of Nations, under Harding and Coolidge anti-League of Nations. That just a few years ago the people of this country didn't know whether he was a republican or a democrat and that he had trained in both stables.

The speaker touched on the Dyer anti-lynch law plank in the republican platform which, if put into effect, would make a county pay $10,000 if a crowd of hoodlums and lawbreakers came from another county and violated this proposed law. He also spoke of the iniquitous Lodge force bill that the opposite party tried to saddle upon the south a few years ago and said that the republican party was, had always been, and always would be the enemy of the south.

The senator was introduced by ex-Senator Albert G. Foster in a brilliant five-minute speech.

5 ORGANIZATIONS LIST RECEIPTS IN CAMPAIGN

Republican Senatorial Committee and Smith Colored League Report Expenditures.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12 (AP).—The financial report of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, filed today with the Clerk of the House, disclosed receipts of $19,974 and disbursements of $16,853 for the period from June 10 to Sept. 1.

Another financial statement received was that of the Smith-for-President Colored League, with headquarters in New York City. William Gaston, Treasurer, reported that $15,500 had been received, $15,000 of which came from the Democratic National Committee. Disbursements by this organization during August totaled $4,443.

A contribution of $10 and no disbursements were reported by the Campaign Committee of the Varney-Edgerton prohibition ticket by George L. Pennock of Lansdowne, Pa., the Treasurer. Pennock also attached an affidavit showing that he had advanced $150 in connection with traveling expenses for two delegates to the National Prohibition Executive Committee meeting recently held in Chicago.

Louis F. Powell of Richmond, Va., reported that the Anti-Saloon League Committee of that State had received $1,141 and disbursed $1,139. The West Virginia Anti-Saloon League Campaign Committee accounting, made by F. A. Thomas of Charleston, showed receipts of $796 and disbursements of $658.

Courier

SEP 6 1928

LOUISVILLE, KY.

A COLORED VOTER TO COLORED VOTERS.

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

There has never been a time, since the emancipation of the Negro race, when it was more vitally necessary for the colored voter to lift up his head, stop, look and listen.

The present conditions confronting the American people today are unprecedented in the history of our American Government. Both of the dominant political parties have headed their respective tickets with men of the highest possible attainments. The only difference between Hoover and Smith is in the personality of the two men. In consideration of the prevailing conditions confronting us, the ability to meet, and effect a satisfactory solution, the personality of Al Smith is far superior to that of Hoover.

We know what Hoover will be, from what Coolidge has been, for he will simply be a duplication of Coolidgism. We have had enough of Coolidge.

In this campaign, the Negro voters will constitute the balance of power in all the border States; hence it is more necessary that they act wisely in the consideration of these two men.

As is usually the case during heated political discussions, many things are said or propagated that when closely investigated will be found to be political buncombe. At this stage of the campaign, much is being said about the religion of Al Smith and his wet tendencies. Of course this is designed by the shrewd politicians to decoy and mislead the less informed voter.

It is amazing how densely ignorant some people seem to be in the midst of a political campaign, on such little matters, and they are not all colored people, either.

There are several reasons why the colored vote should go to Al Smith at this time. First, because he is hated and maligned by one of the most wicked and menacing institutions in America today, namely, the Ku Klux Klan. This infamous organization is traditionally and historically opposed to the Negro race. There has never been a time, since the War Between the States, when the Negro has had a better chance to destroy that notorious un-American movement than at this time. It can be done by electing a man at the head of our Nation who has the moral courage and the backbone to completely destroy and annihilate it.

It is generally known that the Republican party is klan-ridden from North to South and East to West. We have no stronger evidence of the truthfulness of this statement than what it has done and is doing in the State of Indiana, and what it is trying to do in Kentucky and other States throughout the United States. It is only a question of time when its baneful influence will inoculate the entire body politic of our American Nation. Nine-tenths of its victims will be Negroes.

There are those who pretend to believe that the election of Al Smith to the Presidency of the United States would mean the return of the saloon, when, as a matter of fact, if such an event was possible, the prohibition question could not be worse than what it is at the present time. Our greatest asset as a result of the functioning of the liquor law, for the last ten years, is a large number of hypocritical preachers and professional bootleg doctors.

It is remarkably strange that some of our so-called religious leaders have not found it advisable to go into hysterics over the failure to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, as well as the Eighteenth Amendment.

As a race we are not concerned about Al Smith's politics, religion or his nationality. What we need now, is a man with a record of splendid achievements and executive ability, with convictions and the courage to enforce them.

As the late Woodrow Wilson once said, "This country is not against the German people, but against Germany." In voting for Al Smith, we are not voting for his profession or religion, but for his personality. We need not necessarily call ourselves Democrats or Republicans. What we should be concerned about is the man, Al Smith. A COLORED VOTER.

Louisville.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

PROGRESS

Charlottesville, Va

SEP 7 1928

NEGRO VOTERS FAIL TO PLEDGE TO HOOVER

NEWPORT NEWS—By defeating a resolution pledging to their support to Herbert Hoover the Republican nominee and voting "to encourage the spirit of inquiry" as to the issues and candidates, the Independent Negro Voters' League, in session at Bay Shore bespoke their independence of the Republican party in the coming presidential election.

BROOKLYN STANDARD UNION

SEP 11 1928

MILLION NEGRO VOTERS WORRY HOOVER CHIEFS

Colored Population Resents Indifference of Republican Party in Past

SWING TO SMITH SEEN

Klan and Liquor Issues Are Factors That Cause Leaning to Democratic Bandwagon

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11.—A million negro voters in the Northern and border States are giving no end of concern to the Hoover campaign managers.

For the first time since they were given the vote, the colored brethren are divided. In the past they have been so regular in their Republicanism that it was unnecessary to give them any thought before the election or any substantial recognition afterward. This year all this is changed.

Instead of "The party of Abraham Lincoln is good enough fo' me," the chant of the colored folks in the present campaign is: "What has the Republican Party ever done for us?"

See Smith Get Bulk.

Insurgent ideas, fanned into flame by leaders of their own race, have brought about a situation which is not only unprecedented in Presidential politics, but to students of politics s among the most fascinating phenomena of the 1928 campaign. In some sections the swing to Gov. Smith is so strong that it appears probable the Democratic nominee will get the bulk of the negro vote. In other States the colored voters appear torn between their old allegiance, dating back to the Civil War, and the opportunity offered them to vote against the Ku Klux Klan in casting a vote for Smith. The resultant confusion has given the organizers for both parties a problem with which they have never before been confronted.

In addition to the Klan issue, there is the liquor issue. The negroes who "want their gin"—and Prohibition has never had the appeal for the blacks it has for the white population.

Although there are approximately 11,000,000 negroes in the United States, about 3,000,000 of this number live in the Northern or border States, excluding Virginia—in short, in the States where they are accustomed to vote. It is estimated that half are of voting age, and that except in Tennessee, the percentage of voters runs high, due to the fact the negroes in the cities are usually well organized.

Of the 3,000,000 voters who live outside the States of the Solid South, approximately 1,400,000 are found in the five border States of Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Missouri, and a corresponding number in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Kansas.

More Swing to Democrats.

It is in a dozen States or less, therefore, that the colored vote really counts. And there it counts so heavily that some statisticians insist President Coolidge was the first Republican Presidential candidate to be elected without the aid of the negroes. The colored vote, up to a few years ago, was considered to constitute a balance of power without which the Republicans could not have carried New Jersey Ohio and Indiana.

Under the circumstances, to find the negroes of the North swinging to Smith in numbers never before imagined possible is disturbing to the complacency of the Republicans and correspondingly welcome to the Democrats, who are making the most of it.

Only in New York City in past years have Democratic leaders ever been successful in organizing the negroes in effective numbers. There the methods of Tammany have succeeded where other efforts failed. This year, however, the swing to Smith is spontaneous—sufficiently so to force a revision of earlier election estimates in several States.

Under the caption, "The Rising Tide of Protest," the Washington "Eagle," one of the negro newspapers published here, says editorially in summing up the political unrest among members of the colored race:

"The Republican Party must view with alarms the unrest obtaining among the colored voters of the country. The break away from party alignment is due in many cases to the desire to register a protest against Hoover for the attitude of the leaders of the Republican Party toward the negro under the past two administrations. . . . Thinking negroes are tired of the humiliation they have suffered for eight long years under the Republican Party."

NEW YORK AMERICAN

SEP 9 1928

G. O. P. STARTS DRIVE TO HOLD COLORED VOTE

Stirred by Reports of Heavy Drift to Smith, Work Opens Counter-Move Campaign

By ARTHUR HACHTEN.
Universal Service.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8.—Stirred by reports of a heavy drift of negro votes to Governor Smith, Republican chieftains today applied high pressure methods to curb this migration and hold the bulk of the colored vote for Hoover in the Presidential race.

Democratic leaders were reported driving wedges in the Republican colored vote, especially in the larger Northern cities. Defections to Smith were reported in Ohio.

WORK ORDERS DRIVE.

The G. O. P. in past Presidential elections has counted the colored vote as safe for its nominee. Orders went down the line today from Dr. Hubert Work, chairman of the Republican National Committee, to make counter moves to offset the Democratic inroads.

He announced appointment of Harry E. Davis, of Cleveland, as a member of the executive committee of nine of the colored voters' division to help in the Hoover-Curtis campaign.

Davis, college graduate and former member of the Ohio General Assembly, is a director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Word was passed from Republican national headquarters here today to Hoover-Curtis forces in New York State to drive for a huge Republican registration there.

G. O. P. REGISTRATION HEAVY.

Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., of New York iCty, reported to Hoover and Work that the Republican registration in the Empir State exceeds by 200,000 the Democratic registration. He predicted Hoover will carry New York by at last 100,000 mapority.

Hoover was guest at a farewell dinner by about eight hundred employes of the Commerce Department here tonight in appreciation of his seven years as Secretary.

Assistant Secretary of Commerce Walter H. Brown, on behalf of 2,200 employes of the department, presented to the Presidential nominee a grandfather's clock. It was sent to Hoover's home, and a book containing autographs of the 2,200 contributors was handed to him tonight

RECORDER

Milledgeville, Ga

AUG 30 1928

NEGROES AND WHITES THROWN TOGETHER BY ORDER OF MR. HOOVER

(Walton Tribune)

The editor of The Tribune had a long talk with United States Senator Walter F. George during a railroad journey last week and was greatly impressed by his earnest support of the national democratic nominees as well as with his splendid grasp of national problems as a whole.

Senator George talked informingly of Hoover's act in throwing together the whites and blacks employed in his department and stated that Hoover himself was directly responsible for this shameless condition of affairs.

After Hoover got in the race for president he was visited by some negro politicians from Ohio and told that unless he abolished the order segregating the races he was likely to lose the negro vote of that state.

The order was abolished almost immediately afterwards. The day after it went into effect Senator George was visited by a poor little white woman from Alabama who broke down and cried when she told him that she had been put to work right beside a burly negro man. The woman had to work somewhere, and there was nowhere else for her to go. Visits of white women from Georgia and other states followed, but of course there was nothing that the Senator could do.

There has been some attempt to deny that Hoover has made any chnages in his department affecting the two races, but the facts above set out are vouched for by Senator George, who personally knows the situation as it exists, and will be substantiated by every member of congress from Georgia at Washington.

The whites and blacks were thrown together and are still working together, and at Hoover's order. And to make the situation worse, the republican candidate did not issue his order throwing them together until he was threatened by the negro politicians from Ohio.

As we understand it, the mixing of the races occurred in the census department, a section of the department of commerce, which is administered by Mr. Hoover.

New Orleans, La., States
Sunday, September 2, 1928

MUST HOLD ON TO NEGRO LEADERS

Republicans Unable To Get Rid of Them In South

BY BASCOM N. TIMMONS

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 1.—Ridding many of the Southern states of negro Republican leadership has been found virtually impossible and will not be attempted by the G. O. P., it was learned today.

A system entrenched in fifty years cannot be rooted out within a single campaign, even if the Republican high command could agree that it was desirable. There is a sharp division among Republican leaders as how to handle the situation.

One group believes that former Secretary Hoover to achieve victory must carry at least two of the ten old Confederate states, "secession states" as they used to be referred to by the Republican orators. They would have him root out the negroes who they insist have earned their living in the past largely by trafficking in federal jobs and national convention delegates, and go after the white votes.

Midsummer Night's Dream

The other group thinks the whole Southern business insofar as the obtaining a single electoral vote for Hoover and Curtis is concerned is a midsummer night's dream. This group, a rather hard-headed one, thinks that the principal result of a campaign in the South would be to increase the popular vote without increasing the electoral vote. In support of their position their point out that the ten Confederate states, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina Texas and Virginia have a total population of 25,415,000 and yet in 1924 they cast fewer votes for Coolidge than he received in the one state of Iowa.

This second group thinks that, admitting there is strong opposition in the South to Governor Smith, the ground that would have to be made up to carry any of the Southern states is too great in a campaign where every dollar than can be raised and every bit of work that can be done is needed to save normally Republican territory.

Klan Leading Fight

Another danger is that were the negroes ousted the white Republican party in several of the states would begin its career under the dominance of Ku Klux Klan sentiment and influence, due to the fact that the Klan in many places is leading the movement against Smith. Such a condition might result in many of the negroes in states where their votes are needed for Republican success, remaining away from the polls. The Republican leaders do not believe many negroes will vote the Democratic ticket. The presence of the Southern Senator Robinson on the Democratic ticket is regarded as a sufficient guarantee against that. But if the Northern negro voters stayed away from the polls in large numbers the result might be fatal.

Another reason why it is impossible to jar the negro leaders loose in the Southern states where they are in power is the fact that most of them were pre-convention supporters of Mr. Hoover. Of the sixty negro delegates to the Republican National convention at Kansas City, just one, Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, was anti-Hoover. It was the negro delegates lined up by Perry Howard of Mississippi and Ben C. Davis of Georgia which formed the nucleus around which the Hoover strength grew.

Therefore, for the present at least, the negroes are not to be displaced. In Mississippi since the Kansas City convention Perry W. Howard, who managed the Hoover pre-convention activities among negroes, both in the North and South, has been indicted for alleged sale of federal jobs. Howard claims a frame-up against him by elements desiring "lily whitism." His associate on the national committee from Mississippi, however, Mrs. Mary C. Booze, a negress, is on the committee working to get out the negro vote for the Republican ticket.

In Georgia

Ben C. Davis, the Georgia negro leader, is back in full command in that state. He has recently placed in the field a full slate of white electors, including two former Democrats who were delegates to the Democratic National Convention at Houston. Davis, through his paper, "The Independent," is whooping it up for the Republican ticket. In his latest issue he prints the following editorial:

"Sometimes we may vote for a Democrat because of the man, but we can never vote for the Democratic party, so long as it stands for ignorance, meanness and race hatred as exemplified in Memphis, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic party.

"Al Smith is no better than the Democratic party. His record does not disclose a single favor that he has done for the negroes in New York. He (the negro) knows the Democratic party is his sworn enemy.

"As infamous and as wrong and as cowardly as lily whitism is, it is no worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic party against the American negro."

COLUMBUS, O.
Citizen
SEP 5 1928

COLORED VOTES.

Editor of Citizen:

ALL this talk about the colored voters deserting the Republican party in November is hot air. The colored votes for Al Smith will be few and far between.

Why should we bite the hand that feeds us? If it had not been for the Republican party we would not have the right to vote. And this November we will exercise that right by voting for Hoover.

COLORED VOTER.

Macon, Ga., News
Sunday, September 2, 1928

Pot and Kettle

For several weeks past our esteemed contemporary, The Macon Telegraph, has been suffering from a Ben Davis complex. Just as "all is yellow to the jaundiced eye," so everything connected with Hoover and the cause he represents has, in the eye of our contemporary, taken on the sable hue of Ben Davis.

Lacking in any sound reasons to advance as an apology for its support of the Tammany candidate, whose record—to use The Telegraph's own words of April 26, 1927— "BELIES HIS BELIEF IN THE RIGID ENFORCEMENT OF THE VOLSTEAD ACT," and who therefore, in the opinion of our contemporary, would be false to his oath if he were elected, The Telegraph has constantly harped on Ben Davis, in an appeal to race prejudice, and has indicated that the men and women who voted for Hoover would, in some occult way, be defiled by asociation with Ben Davis.

On August, 31, in a weird editorial whose more solid qualities consisted of nine semi-colons and a bed-time story, our contemporary worked itself up to the point of declaring that the "head of the Republican ticket" was actually "nominated by Ben Davis."

From the beginning our contemporary has been strangely silent as to the position enjoyed by Ferdinand Q. Morton, the negro member of the New York Civil Service Commission, who has a white secretary and many other white persons immediately under him, and who is one of Tammany's chief lieutenants in keeping the negroes of Harlem lined up for the Tiger and its cubs, such as Al Smith.

Our contemporary has been strangely silent as to the candidacy of one Joseph L. McLemore, Jr., a negro, who has been nominated by the Democrats of the Twelfth district of Missouri (the district being a part of St. Louis), for representative in Congress. The magazine, Time, of August 20, says "he is the first negro in a border state or Southern state to be nominated for Congress by the Democratic party," and adds:

"Last week he optimistically predicted that he would be elected to Congress, said that three-fourths of the voters of his St. Louis district are negroes. His opponent, Representative Leonidas Carstarphen Dyer, white, Republican, denied that more than one-third of the voters are negroes. A bitter battle loomed.

"There have been 19 negro representatives and two negro senators, most of them members of the Reconstruction Congresses and men of little education. In Northern cities, Republicans have made profitable political use of negroes. Democrats, cramped by party tradition, have only recently allied themselves with negroes (particularly in New York City)."

Has none of this come to the attention of our morning contemporary? If so, why this continued horror of Hoover because he and Ben Davis belong to the same party?

And who is this Leonidas Carstarphen Dyer, who is being opposed by a negro Democrat. He is the gentleman with hoofs and horns who introduced the Dyer anti-lynching bill, so frequently held up to frighten Democratic children into remaining "regular."

Does our contemporary imagine that if Dyer is defeated by the negro Democrat in Missouri, the colored representative will press any less vigorously for the antilynching bill that Dyer himself fostered?

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And poor Ben Davis, robbed of his solitary eminence as a source of contamination, will look as lonely as Marius among the ruins of Carthage.

But in his loneliness he will have the satisfaction, which the opponents of the Tammany candidate will have, of not voting for a candidate, who, in the opinion of The Macon Telegraph, has a record "WHICH BELIES HIS BELIEF IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE VOLSTEAD ACT."

New Orleans, La., States
Sunday, September 2, 1928

MUST HOLD ON TO NEGRO LEADERS

Republicans Unable To Get Rid of Them In South

BY BASCOM N. TIMMONS

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 1.—Ridding many of the Southern states of negro Republican leadership has been found virtually impossible and will not be attempted by the G. O. P., it was learned today.

A system entrenched in fifty years cannot be rooted out within a single campaign, even if the Republican high command could agree that it was desirable. There is a sharp division among Republican leaders as how to handle the situation.

One group believes that former Secretary Hoover to achieve victory must carry at least two of the ten old Confederate states, "secession states" as they used to be referred to by the Republican orators. They would have him root out the negroes who they insist have earned their living in the past largely by trafficking in federal jobs and national convention delegates, and go after the white votes.

Midsummer Night's Dream

The other group thinks the whole Southern business insofar as the obtaining a single electoral vote for Hoover and Curtis is concerned is a midsummer night's dream. This group, a rather hard-headed one, thinks that the principal result of a campaign in the South would be to increase the popular vote without increasing the electoral vote. In support of their position their point out that the ten Confederate states, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina Texas and Virginia have a total population of 25,415,000 and yet in 1924 they cast fewer votes for Coolidge than he received in the one state of Iowa.

This second group thinks that, admitting there is strong opposition in the South to Governor Smith, the ground that would have to be made up to carry any of the Southern states is too great in a campaign where every dollar than can be raised and every bit of work that can be done is needed to save normally Republican territory.

Klan Leading Fight

Another danger is that were the negroes ousted the white Republican party in several of the states would begin its career under the dominance of Ku Klux Klan sentiment and influence, due to the fact that the Klan in many places is leading the movement against Smith. Such a condition might result in many of the negroes in states where their votes are needed for Republican success, remaining away from the polls. The Republican leaders do not believe many negroes will vote the Democratic ticket. The presence of the Southern Senator Robinson on the Democratic ticket is regarded as a sufficient guarantee against that. But if the Northern negro voters stayed away from the polls in large numbers the result might be fatal.

Another reason why it is impossible to jar the negro leaders loose in the Southern states where they are in power is the fact that most of them were pre-convention supporters of Mr. Hoover. Of the sixty negro delegates to the Republican National convention at Kansas City, just one, Walter Cohen, of Louisiana, was anti-Hoover. It was the negro delegates lined up by Perry Howard of Mississippi and Ben C. Davis of Georgia which formed the nucleus around which the Hoover strength grew.

Therefore, for the present at least, the negroes are not to be displaced. In Mississippi since the Kansas City convention Perry W. Howard, who managed the Hoover pre-convention activities among negroes, both in the North and South, has been indicted for alleged sale of federal jobs. Howard claims a frame-up against him by elements desiring "lily whitism." His associate on the national committee from Mississippi, however, Mrs. Mary C. Booze, a negress, is on the committee working to get out the negro vote for the Republican ticket.

In Georgia

Ben C. Davis, the Georgia negro leader, is back in full command in that state. He has recently placed in the field a full slate of white electors, including two former Democrats who were delegates to the Democratic National Convention at Houston. Davis, through his paper, "The Independent," is whooping it up for the Republican ticket. In his latest issue he prints the following editorial:

"Sometimes we may vote for a Democrat because of the man, but we can never vote for the Democratic party, so long as it stands for ignorance, meanness and race hatred as exemplified in Memphis, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas. A vote for Al Smith is not a vote for the man, but a vote for the Democratic party.

"Al Smith is no better than the Democratic party. His record does not disclose a single favor that he has done for the negroes in New York. He (the negro) knows the Democratic party is his sworn enemy.

"As infamous and as wrong and as cowardly as lily whitism is, it is no worse than the robbery and outlawry of the Democratic party against the American negro."

COLUMBUS, O.

Citizen
SEP 5 1928

COLORED VOTES.

Editor of Citizen:

ALL this talk about the colored voters deserting the Republican party in November is hot air. The colored votes for Al Smith will be few and far between.

Why should we bite the hand that feeds us? If it had not been for the Republican party we would not have the right to vote. And this November we will exercise that right by voting for Hoover.

COLORED VOTER.

Macon Ga., News
Sunday, September 2, 1928

Pot and Kettle

For several weeks past our esteemed contemporary, The Macon Telegraph, has been suffering from a Ben Davis complex. Just as "all is yellow to the jaundiced eye," so everything connected with Hoover and the cause he represents has, in the eye of our contemporary, taken on the sable hue of Ben Davis.

Lacking in any sound reasons to advance as an apology for its support of the Tammany candidate, whose record—to use The Telegraph's own words of April 26, 1927— "BELIES HIS BELIEF IN THE RIGID ENFORCEMENT OF THE VOLSTEAD ACT," and who therefore, in the opinion of our contemporary, would be false to his oath if he were elected, The Telegraph has constantly harped on Ben Davis, in an appeal to race prejudice, and has indicated that the men and women who voted for Hoover would, in some occult way, be defiled by asociation with Ben Davis.

On August, 31, in a weird editorial whose more solid qualities consisted of nine semi-colons and a bed-time story, our contemporary worked itself up to the point of declaring that the "head of the Republican ticket" was actually "nominated by Ben Davis."

From the beginning our contemporary has been strangely silent as to the position enjoyed by Ferdinand Q. Morton, the negro member of the New York Civil Service Commission, who has a white secretary and many other white persons immediately under him, and who is one of Tammany's chief lieutenants in keeping the negroes of Harlem lined up for the Tiger and its cubs, such as Al Smith.

Our contemporary has been strangely silent as to the candidacy of one Joseph L. McLemore, Jr., a negro, who has been nominated by the Democrats of the Twelfth district of Missouri (the district being a part of St. Louis), for representative in Congress. The magazine, Time, of August 20, says "he is the first negro in a border state or Southern state to be nominated for Congress by the Democratic party," and adds:

"Last week he optimistically predicted that he would be elected to Congress, said that three-fourths of the voters of his St. Louis district are negroes. His opponent, Representative Leonidas Carstarphen Dyer, white, Republican, denied that more than one-third of the voters are negroes. A bitter battle loomed.

"There have been 19 negro representatives and two negro senators, most of them members of the Reconstruction Congresses and men of little education. In Northern cities, Republicans have made profitable political use of negroes. Democrats, cramped by party tradition, have only recently allied themselves with negroes (particularly in New York City)."

Has none of this come to the attention of our morning contemporary? If so, why this continued horror of Hoover because he and Ben Davis belong to the same party?

And who is this Leonidas Carstarphen Dyer, who is being opposed by a negro Democrat. He is the gentleman with hoofs and horns who introduced the Dyer anti-lynching bill, so frequently held up to frighten Democratic children into remaining "regular."

Does our contemporary imagine that if Dyer is defeated by the negro Democrat in Missouri, the colored representative will press any less vigorously for the antilynching bill that Dyer himself fostered?

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Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS DEAD --NEVAL THOMAS

Party Which Abolished Slavery Silent On Peonage And Segregation

NO LIMIT TO THEM BRAZEN EFFONTERY

Grandson Of General Grant As Bad As Descendent Of General Lee

By NEVAL THOMAS
President Washington (D. C.) Branch N. A. A. C. P.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—True The real Republican Party was the greatest political agency in the history of our government, and one of the greatest in the history of the world, but, IT IS DEAD.

I refuse to allow a crowd of oppressors who are opposed to everything Republican masquerade in its sacred name. This aggregation now parading in its name stands for everything that Republicanism condemned and destroyed. They are in solemn compact with the Bourbon South in their wicked schemes against the Negro.

The Republican Party destroyed slavery. Today, the so-called Republican group is silent upon peonage, and the Department of Justice with its industrious feminine Crusader, is still. The Republican Party destroyed the Ku Klux under the mighty Grant; while this modern aggregation has embraced it, given it enfranchisement, a welcome home, and ridden to power through its support.

The Republican Party enfranchised the Negro, and made proper use of the army sending detachments to the polls of the South to prevent the Rebels from polluting the springs of government; while its illegitimate heir not only smiles at the infamous violation of our Constitution, but refuses to obey its plain mandates by reducing Southern representation and has even given the all-powerful Federal Judiciary to the Southern view. The Republicans passed The Civil Rights Bill, containing the learning of Charles Sumner, Roscoe Conkling, Benjamin Butler, and Robert Brown Elliott; yet a modern Republican Supreme Court stuck down this precious safe-guard, and doomed 12 millions of black Americans to insult, and every other kind of obstruction, from their cradles to their graves.

Color Caste

The Republican party opposed every kind of color caste, while the present-day group fosters it, even beyond the efforts of our ancient enemies. For instance, Secretary Work extended segregation to the Pension office where Woodrow Wilson had failed, and tried rough tactics upon our committee when we went to lodge our protests. In the six heated conferences we had with him he finally yielded the Pension Office, making his administration equal to that of the Democrats, but stubbornly, and with a loud voice, refused to yield the General Land Office. In color discrimination these modern Republicans have outdone the Democrats.

Picture Requirement

The picture requirement still remains in the Civil Service, and our poor young people who appear for appointments are sent back home by these impostors who claim to love the name of Lincoln. Our constant appeals are of no avail.

There is no limit to the brazen enmity of this modern Republicanism. It will not even defend us from mob law, and America's veneer of civilization from destruction; for it torpedoed the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill with a shameless farce enacted with the wicked South. Prominent Republican leaders like Senator Borah, and the powerful chairman of the judiciary of the Senator opposed it, and the superb manipulator of the Senate made an agreement that discussion cease until after the fall election. The guillible element of Negroes under the leadership of Negroes who were to be rewarded for misleading, rallied again to the support of the party, and the party then told them that it could do nothing with the Dyer Bill, and that it stood helpless before the groans of black men dying at the stake.

Col. Grant 3rd—Segregation

Yes, Republicanism is dead. No one in national public life will stand for its noble ideals, or hold any reverence for party traditions. Col. U. S. Grant, 3rd, may as well have come from heathen Mississippi or Georgia, and may as well have descended from Jefferson Davis, for he has no understanding of the nobility and statecraft of his great sire. Segregation is his theme.

Ogden Mills Loud

Ogden Mills, head of the largest bureau of the government, the general of sixty-seven thousand toilers, makes it hard upon Negro clerks. Not one is in executive position, there are only a few clerks, and they are segregated, and kept in low salary grades. And worse, he gets angry and loud in voice, every time we go to see him.

Abandoned by those we have loved trusted, and kept in power where they have made their billions, what other course is open to thinking black men but to go to his former foe and sue for peace?

Republican

PRESS

Newport News Va.

OCT 30 1928

REPUBLICAN PARTY NOT WHAT IT USED TO BE NEGRO SAYS

G. O. P. No Longer Party of Lincoln and Grant, is Not Coalition Intolerant Elements Negro Editor Says.

That the Republican party of 1928 is not the Republican party of Lincoln and Grant, but that it is now a coalition of the Ku Klux Klan and certain other intolerant elements that are not friendly toward the negro, and not conducive to the progress and development of the state of Virginia, was the charge made last night by P. B. Young, editor of the Norfolk Journal, one of the most widely quoted negro papers, before a meeting of the Independent League of Negro voters of Newport News, held in the Dixie theatre. The meeting was attended by approximately 1,000 negroes who are members of the league, it was stated.

In addition to the address made by the negro editor a program of entertainment was offered, including selections by the Newport News Jazz Quartet, invocation by Rev. J. M. Rollins, musical selections by the Newport News band, the introduction of the chairman, by W. R. Walker, colored attorney; remarks by the chairman, Dr. P. A. Scott; introduction of the speaker by H. C. Midgett, colored attorney; response to the address by J. Thomas Newsome, colored attorney, and general remarks by Captain G. A. Holland of the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute.

During the course of his address the colored editor from Norfolk said that he is campaigning for Alfred E. Smith, governor of New York and Democratic party candidate for the presidency of the United States. He was of the opinion that "the Republican party is no longer the party of Lincoln and Grant, but that they have formed a coalition of the Ku Klux Klan and certain other intolerant elements that are not friendly toward the negro, and not conducive to the progress and development of the state of Virginia." He advised the negroes of Newport News to "cast your votes for the Democratic nominees, representing the best element of the white population of Virginia and in support of their progressive program and the election of Governor Smith for President and for the full Democratic ticket."

Captain Holland, formerly of the 9th U. S. Army Cavalry, endorsed the independent negro movement and said that there is no other course for the negro to follow than to find relief elsewhere than in the Republican party as it is now constituted.

Resolutions were passed to the effect that a committee of 40 should be appointed to look after the direction of the movement and to assist the colored people in casting their vote with intelligence on the day of election. This committee will inform voters of the stand taken by the Independent League of Negro voters. Committee shall decide also of not another meeting is before election.

The Debt Of Gratitude

IT is almost pathetic reasoning that impels a Negro of the present generation to feel that he is morally bound to perpetuate his fealty to the Republican party as an act of gratitude, in the face of unmistakable signs, plainly observable to the honest intellect, that the party is studiously and purposefully carrying out a divorcement of the Negro. Though there may be those of our group who still feel that the debt of gratitude has not yet been paid, it is certain that the party is no longer concerned about collecting upon it, and certainly has ceased to make any claims that would be calculated to hold a debtor in perpetuity. It is a plain and bold affront to the intellectual independence of the Negro of the present to hold out to him as a bid for support of the Republican party nothing more than its ancient and original principles which the party itself has abandoned, rather than to have him to seek to subject present-day issues to a penetrating analysis and honest appraisal with a possible view of adjustment to his immediate requirements. It is evidence of mental slothfulness for anyone to vote or act in any way upon tradition without thought of whether that tradition still conscientiously manifests and conforms itself to the needs of the hour.

The truth is, it is impossible for any intelligent and discerning person who has borne conviction that the Republican party was the party of tolerance and liberalism to escape a feeling of chagrin over the strange bedfellows it has lately acquired. Those who have held to the conviction that in the Republican party were wound up their largest measure of political and civil freedom of the past, present and future, cannot be less than mortified over the spectacle of the party of their first love consorting with forces plainly recognizeable as being persistently and maliciously opposed to an extension to them of political and civil freedom. There is none so stupid as not to perceive that the forces of organized sectarian and racial hate, illiberalism and bigotry are overwhelmingly lined up with the Republicans in this campaign, and those of us of even scant sophistication recognize these forces as being one and the same which press the iron heel of proscription and denial upon submerged groups. Surely, no political campaign in all history ever presented a more pathetic spectacle than what we witness today in those who have followed the party for its original liberalism and tolerance finding themselves confronted with the confounding proposition of fighting its cause in battle line with a motley crowd of repressors and haters of open enmity.

If there are some who maintain the hope that the Republican party might possibly be redeemed to its state of pristine tolerance and fundamental political and social conscience with the help of their continued loyalty, in spite of its thorough infestation with lily-whiteism on one hand and organized illiberalism and hate on the other, they are optimists of the first order. Viewing the company the party has lately kept, it requires desperate thinking for one to pin his future political and civil hope solely upon continued allegiance to it. And when the party accepted or actually corraled this strange company, it inferentially handed the Negro his passport to other political havens, peradventure, he might find them. And if there are some who feel that we could be accused of or even given credit for deserting the party we should recast our political allegiance, let them be reminded that it is impossible to desert that which has already deserted them.

HOOVER ELECTED

The campaign is over and maybe, we will soon get back to normalcy. It has been a campaign unusually interesting to us as we have watched those of our race while they "played the game". We are anxious to see if we were playing the game in the same old way. We are anxious to see if we are moving along in the same old rut which was made by our forebears a half or a quarter of a century ago, or were there amongst us those who have the courage to strike out into the new paths for better or for worse.

To-be-sure, we are pleased with the election of Herbert Hoover as President of the United States. We share the belief with those who say that he is the better man for the place to which he has been elected, but we have no quarrel with those who voted for and supported Gov. Smith. It was their right and privilege and as such, we do not question their sincerity.

Of course, we have heard so many good and pleasing things said about and by candidates for public office, until we hardly know which is which. But some-how, the words of Herbert Hoover concerning equality of opportunity still resound in our consciousness. We are trying with all our souls to accept them for their face value.

Mr. Hoover repeated his statement on that subject in his St. Louis speech recently. He enlarged upon his previous statement. He impressed us as being sincere. We hope he was.

We herewith quote from part of his speech that appealed to us which was as follows:—

> "If we should maintain America as the land of opportunity where every boy or girl has the chance to climb to that position to which ability and character entitle him or her we shall need to be increasingly on guard. If I could drive the full meaning and importance of maintain equality of opportunity into the very conscious ness of the American people I should feel I had made some contribution to American life. It is the most precious of our possessions that the windows of every home shall look out upon unlimited hope. Equality of opportunity is the right of every American, rich or poor, foreign or native born, without respect to race or religion."

WE HOPE HE MEANS EVERY WORD OF IT.

VOTE STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN TICKET

After comparing the records of the two major political parties both in Texas and the country, in their attitude towards the Negro race, The Informer realizes that the colored voter is in somewhat of a dilemma to decide which party should receive his support and vote; but, if we can be pardoned for considering both parties as evils, wisdom and prudence suggest or dictate that we choose the lesser of the twin evils.

The Informer is also cognizant of the fact that the Republican party of today, particularly in Southern states where the "lily-white" faction is in charge of partisan affairs, is not what it used to be, and that there is scant, if any, difference, in many respects, between the Dixie Democrats and Republicans; but when one weighs the issue on all sides and looks at it from an unbiased angle, he will find it exceedingly difficult and embarrassing to swallow the Negro-hating species of Democratic leadership now infecting and infesting the South.

While this paper has been an ardent supporter and backer of Herbert Hoover, Republican presidential nominee, it has not been enthusiastic over the state, district and county ticket of the same party, due to the fact that the Republican leaders in this state have virtually bartered away their partisan birthright for a mere mess of political pottage of a very doubtful nature; and thus no full tickets were placed in the field and no campaign has been conducted to line up the voters back of the party candidates "from president to constable."

However, the Republicans of Texas should march to the polls next Tuesday, November 6, and roll up a large vote for all of the candidates on the ticket, and thus keep the party in the category of a major political party in this state.

Any political party, which polls less than 100,000 votes for its gubernatorial candidate, is considered a minor political party, and can hold conventions and manipulate partisan affairs at the wishes and behest of designing and scheming party leaders; but where political parties cast more than 100,000 votes for their nominee for governor, the law requiring the holding of primary elections is mandatory upon such political parties under the civil statutes of Texas.

There are enough colored Republicans in Texas to roll up sufficient vote for the Republican gubernatorial candidate to keep the party in the "major" class, and no Republican should remain away from the polls next Tuesday and fail to register his ballot for the Republican presidential electors and the straight Republican ticket.

PRESIDENT HOOVER.

The Presidential Campaign is over. Hon. Herbert Hoover has been overwhelmingly elected President by the great majority of American voters. In fact, he has been given the greatest electoral vote ever accorded in American history. He has done too what for many years has been the dream of the Republican Party—broken the "Solid South." At this writing, Mr Hoover seems to have carried the following Southern States: Tennessee North Carolina, Virginia, Texas and Florida. There is no doubt about Virginia and Florida. The indications are that the electoral votes for Mr. Hoover will be 444.

The campaign has been a nasty one; full of abuse, racial prejudice and other mean passions. Many hard and mean things have been said about Mr. Hoover, especially in his decent treatment of Negroes. This however, did not seem to meet the approval of the fair minded American people, who believe that every American citizen is entitled to decent treatment. But colored citizens are expecting no special treatment from Mr. Hoover as President nor are they asking for special favors. All they ask and expect is the treatment of them as worthy citizens and not as slaves.

Governor Smith personally is recognized as a fine upstanding American who has wrought well in his sphere. Had he been elected, no doubt he would have made an excellent president. However, the country does not believe in the policies and practices of his party—certainly the practices of a large wing of his party.

After March 4th next, it will be President Herbert C. Hoover and Vice-President Charles C. Curtis. May the broad Americanism which has characterized Mr. Hoover be with him thoughout a successful administration.

Gloster, Miss., Record
Friday, November 2, 1928

Whites Not Willing to Affiliate With Negroes Should Stay out G.O.P., says Booze

Dear Mr. Editor:—

I am glad that Eugene Booze come straight out in his letter telling Mr. Crosby that he wasn't needed in the G. O. P., or wanted. Said he welcomed all good men in the party, but wanted them to understand that they would have to consult the negroes about any change and there wouldn't be any change if they didn't want to associate with the negroes.

Bitter pill, but 'tis true.

Several in our town seem to think they would like to associate with the negroes in politics, and the great Democratic Party wants that kind in the G. O. P. It's up to them only to get in.

The Crow race is going to hand out the "pie" for the Federal jobs in Mississippi as long as the G. O. P. is in power, and you Lilly Whites that want something, you must go to the leaders, who are Howard, Booze and Redmond. There are others in the ring but no need of naming them.

I give you the closing paragraphs of Booze's letter to Crosby, read it and digest it:

"The Democratic party in Mississippi and the south has been regarded and is in fact the exclusive party of the white man, but it is the negroe's belief that no native born southern white man, except a person who is seeking his own preferemnt, objects to the negro's participation in the Republican party, and he feels that if a white person voluntarily forsekes the Democratic party and desires to unite with and become a member of the Republican party, he should not resent the fact that upon his entrance therein he finds the negro actively participating in its activities. It is our view that if the white man is unwilling to participate in the Republican party along with us, he should remain in the Democratic party. In other words, if he desires an exclusive white man's party he should either join or remain in the Democratic party.

"We welcome all people of every race and creed and of every color into the councils of the Republican party, but we solemnly protest against any person entering the councils of the Republican party and attempting to bar negroes from participation therein, due to no other reason than that they are negroes.

"If Mr. Crosby and Mr. Rowlands and other members of the so-called "Lilly White" Republican party in Mississippi, feel that they can't become members of the Republican party without barring the negro from membership therein, and denying him the privilege of exercising right of franchise, then it is our view that they should continue their membership in the Democratic party as it has existed since its foundation.

"We do not concede that there is any such thing as a 'Lilly White' Republican party either in Mississippi or elsewhere in the United States. To do so would be to admit that the mistake, and would constitute an insult to the meomry of Abraham apostles of justice and freedon.

mission and teaching of the Republican party since its foundation was a Lincoln and all of the other great

—Anti-Hoover Democrat.

Political- 1928

Party Affiliation

Candidate for Governor and Roosevelt Address Mass Meeting at Abyssinian

Theodore Roosevelt Quotes Alabama Congressman, Who Said "Vote for Smith Is Vote for White Supremacy"

Attorney General Albert Ottinger, Republican candidate for Governor, began his campaign in New York Monday with five addresses, including an appearance at a Republican mass meeting at Abyssinian Baptist Church, 138th street near Seventh avenue, where he recounted his achievements while in office since 1926 and urged the election of Presidential Candidate Herbert Hoover. Alderman John Clifford Hawkins, who presided, introduced him to the large audience.

Theodore Roosevelt, who also addressed the meeting, called Al Smith the most expensive Governor the state has ever had, and branded both him and his party as enemies of the Negro. He quoted Congressman Oliver from Alabama, who said, "You cannot vote against Al Smith without voting against white supremacy." Mr. Roosevelt said that Smith was like the chameleon that changes its color according to its environment.

Mr. Ottinger stated that he was instrumental in drafting the Civil Rights law in this state, which makes it a misdemanor to discriminate in public places; and that he also fought for the protection of the colored Elks.

Among his other outstanding achievements, Mr. Ottinger mentions his fight against the loan sharks who charged from 250 to 1,000 per cent interest on loans to working people. The sharks persecuted their victims in such a manner, he said, that they were driven out of their jobs and were afraid to testify against their oppressors. "This condition might exist in darkest Russia, but it must not exist in America," he shouted.

He reminded his audience that it was Charles Evans Hughes, a Republican, who was the author of the Workman's Compensation law, and that it was a Republican administration which interpreted the 48 hour law to give the worker a half holiday on Saturday. "When I took office we were 1,000 cases behind," he said, referring to cases that had come up under the Workman's Compensation law, "and within a few months they were all brought up to date."

Mr. Ottinger also told of his fight against the "bucket shop," a stock broker's game wherein millions of dollars were swindled from the people who were induced to buy worthless securities. Over $500,000,000 was lost in this manner, he said, and during his term of office $300,000,000 was saved by the prosecution of these swindlers.

"This country has never enjoyed greater prosperity than it has under the administration of Calvin Coolidge. There are 450,000 Government employees and 52,000 of them are Negroes. The Democrats may try to salve you with a few jobs, but you know who your friends really are."

The Attorney General described Hoover as a man with a great heart and a great brain. He called him "the Secretary for Prosperity" and quoted Hoover as saying "I am going to abolish poverty in America."

He accused the Democrats of being in favor of "free trade," or "competitive tariff," that "would place American workers in direct competition with the underfed and underpaid workers of Europe."

He warned the Negro not to be misled by the Democrats but to remember "those who are with you." The Attorney General closed his address with a plea for the election of Edward A. Johnson, candidate for Congress.

Mr. Roosevelt exposed the inconsistencies within the Democratic party and its platform which, he said, "places them on all sides of all questions at all times." He quoted liberally from Smith's campaign speeches to prove that Smith contradicts himself on public and national questions. In the words of the Bible, Smith might truthfully say, "The words of mine own mouth hath condemned me," Mr. Roosevelt said.

He declared that the Democratic party is as bitter against the Negro today as in the days of slavery. The Republican party, on the other hand, has written into its platform a renewal of its determination to pass an anti-lynching law, he said. He stated further that Hoover in his acceptance speech specifically stressed equality of opportunity without regard to color. On the other hand the Democrats have issued anti-Negro propaganada.

Mr. Roosevelt is a member of the committee which each year awards the Springarn Medal for the most outstanding achievement by a Negro He is not running for any politica office. He declared that he was campaigning for Hoover because he believed that, if elected President Hoover would be of the greatest benefit to the nation's posterity.

Edgar M. Gray delivered a bitter tirade upon the Democratic party. He said that confidence is now placed in parties and not in individuals and that it is stupid for any man to believe that an individual, a Presidential candidate, can change or reform his party overnight.

John W. Remer, candidate for assemblyman from the Twenty-first assembly district, told the audience that the battle at the polls will not be won by talk but by votes.

Other speakers who were scheduled to speak included Alanson B. Houghton, candidate for United States Senator; Charles C. Lockwood, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor; Horace W. Palmer, candidate for State Senator from the Twentieth senatorial district; Robert S. Conklin, leader of the Twenty-first district; and Oscar Waters, one-time Republican, then Democrat and now Republican again.

A mass meeting for political discussion was held the same night in the auditorium of the West 135th Street Branch Public Library, 103 West 135th street, where Assistant District Attorney Thomas B. Dyett, Democrat, and Alderman Fred R. Moore, Republican, attacked and indicted each other's party; and Richard B. Moore, Communist, attacked, indicted and denounced both parties.

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Press

OCT 9 1928

PARTIES PLAY FOR NEGRO VOTE

Republican

May Hold Balance of Power in Several States.

By RAY TUCKER
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer.

Washington, Oct. 9.—Governor Smith's invasion of the border states on the heels of Herbert Hoover's trip to Tennessee has centered attention on a group of voters who furnish a disturbing and incalculable element in the presidential campaign—the Negro vote.

In Tennessee and Kentucky as well as other states, including possibly Illinois, their vote may prove decisive. The present concern over their position is felt chiefly by the Republicans, who have had the support of the Negro voters in the past. But this year there are claims that a good part of it will go to Smith, as it has in New York for many years.

Should a large part of this group in Tennessee and Kentucky vote for the Democratic nominee, it would enhance his chance of carrying those states. The number of Negroes there who can vote is greater than the majorities by which the G. O. P. has carried them in 1924 and 1928.

300,000 IN OHIO.

The same element has a large voting population in the four middle western states Smith will visit—Missouri, Indiana, Ohio and Illinois. Their total is put at 300,000 in Ohio alone, and perhaps more in Illinois.

In northeastern territory, too, the Negroes have great influence, notably in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. It is no secret that the Democrats expect to corral some of these hitherto Republican votes, while the Republicans are working equally hard to keep them in line.

A threatened rebellion against Hoover on the ground that he sponsored the recent "Lily White" movemen in the south has been suppressed. Representatives of the race met at Chicago late in August with intentions of putting up a candidate of their own merely to punish the two major parties, but nothing came of it except speeches and resolutions denouncing political neglect of the Negro.

The two Negro leaders credited with stifling the movement are Roscoe Simmons of Chicago and "Bob" Church of Memphis.

Smith is said to have won many Negro voters to his standard during his recent campaigns in New York. His wet views, together with the Tammany organization's defense of the five-cent fare, appealed to the Negro population.

A. M. E.'s Endorse G. O. P. Candidate

Chicago Daily Tribune
9/22/28

CHICAGO, Ill., Sept. 20.—The Illinois Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of the Fourth Episcopal District went on record Thursday afternoon at its session here as favoring the program of the Republican party, especially in reference to prohibition. Bishop A. J. Carey, civil service commissioner for the City of Chicago, is the presiding officer of the Fourth District.

Atlanta, Ga., Journal
Monday, October 15, 1928

Republican Dyer Speaks Out: South Is Fairly Warned

AT last the cat is out of the bag, and the Hoovercrats have their reward.

No less a figure in Republican councils than Leonidas Carstarphen Dyer, congressman of the Twelfth Missouri district and author of the notorious bill bearing his name, a bill confessedly designed to humiliate the South, predicts as follows:

"On November the sixth, that great engineer-politician, Hoover, with the votes of the prohibitionists and those swayed because of the religious question in the South, *will drive such a thick wedge through the heart of the 'Solid South' and their 'White Supremacy' slogan that it will blow up their whole unconstitutional program.* After the Solid South has been blown to pieces by Engineer Hoover, our next president, that will be the finish of the nullificationists of the South, who have for sixty years violated and prevented the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. *Then congress will enact enforcement laws that give millions of negroes their constitutional rights as citizens, and place them on equality with all other races.* My anti-lynching bill, intended to enforce the Fourteenth amendment, was passed by the Republicans of the House of Representatives by a vote of two to one. In the Senate it had the support of the Republican members, but Southern Democratic senators took advantage of the despotic Senate rules to stage a filibuster that prevented its coming to a vote. Had these rules been changed, as advocated by Vice President Dawes, the Dyer anti-lynching bill would now be a law. *The passage of my bill would have been followed by the passage of still another law*

designed to enforce the Fifteenth amendment also, and thus the negro in the south would have come into the full rights guaranteed him by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments."

Such, then, is to be the crowning glory of "that great engineer-politician" for whom the Political Saints in Georgia are exhorting us to desert the Democratic party. The question so properly asked the other evening by Senator Glass, of Virginia, as to just what notable piece of engineering Mr. Hoover ever had done, has been answered sooner than we expected—not as regards the past, it is true, but interestingly enough concerning the years to come. We know, Senator Glass observed, that De Lesseps built the Suez canal, and General Goethals built the Panama canal; that Eades carried out the great Mississippi projects; that Cooper achieved wonderful things at Keokuk, at Muscle Shoals and at the Ontario electric plant of Niagara; "but nothing is known of the unidentified work of Herbert Hoover." Well, Congressman Dyer has enlightened us on that point. The great engineering work of Mr. Hoover, according to his well-known, his all *too* well-known Republican brother from Missouri, lies futureward, and will consist in driving "such a thick wedge through the heart of the 'Solid South' and their 'White Supremacy' slogan that it will blow up their whole unconstitutional program."

The Hoovercrats are to be congratulated. At least, those who are not so hopelessly deceived by slanders upon Governor Smith and not so utterly obsessed by "religious" hate as to lock their minds against all truth, are to be congratulated. For the character of the political cause they are supporting and the kind of political company they are keeping has been revealed to them, thank heaven, before it is too late!

The author of the Dyer bill is to be commended for putting them so fairly on notice. Their Democratic friends and neighbors from time to time have suggested the dangers of rending the Solid South, but only to be scorned as alarmists and denounced as allies of Tammany. What was a mere layman of the old-fashioned Jeffersonian school that he should be counseling the Political Saints or remonstrating with the "Political Pulpiteers?" What was a mere Democrat that he should talk of duty and peril, of Southern rights and Southern loyalty to a *Hoovercrat?* But when Congressman Dyer himself speaks as he has done our friends needs must listen. *And if they reflect they can but tremble at thought of the precipice on which they have been blindly playing.*

SENATOR MOSES DENIES REMARK CHARGED TO HIM

New York.—(ANP)—Senator Geo. H. Moses, in an interview granted colored newspaper men Wednesday morning, declared that the statement attributed to him referring to positions held by colored men in New York is false.

Mr. Moses said: "At the time of the luncheon, I was heckled by a Southern woman who said that the Republican party was noted for its attitude of respect to the colored citizen, in which the policy of the party was to place colored men and women in positions where they could have supervision over white people, naming Charles W. Anderson, of New York, as an example of this policy on the part of my party."

Then Mr. Moses stated he told the woman, she could have no fault to find nor criticism to offer, for in her own party in the city of New York, Tammany had given just such a position to a member of the democracy, who happens to be a colored man. "I had no idea at the time that the members of the press who were present could fail to see the look of contempt on my face for the lady who was asking such a question and at the same time indicating thereby that she was opposed to the most elemental characteristic of our party—that of a square deal to all, regardless of color," he added.

PROTESTING VICIOUS POLITICS.

Characterizing the present struggle for a majority of the votes as "The Dirtiest Political Campaign," The Nation, the liberal weekly edited by Oswald Garrison Villard, said that the nearer the end of the campaign comes, the worse it appears. The Nation hopes that out of the evils witnessed in this display of intolerance will come a realization of the gravity of denying free speech, free assembly and justice in the courts. It claims that they are all tied together, including lynching, the Ku Klux Klan and the denial to Communists of the right of peaceful meeting.

So far has the indecency of political warfare gone in the treatment of the Negro, as has been pointed out in the columns of The Age, that it finally provoked a solemn protest on the part of the heads of various racial organizations, which took the form of an Appeal to America, which appeared in many of the daily papers last week. The specific nature of the protest was against the permitting by political leaders in this campaign of public and repeated asssertions on the platform, in the press and by word of mouth, "that color and race constitute in themselves an imputation of guilt and crime."

It instanced that it had been said by partisans of the leading candidates in various parts of the country:

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2. **That colored persons should not hold public office, no matter what their character may be nor how well they do their work nor how completely they satisfy their constituents.**
3. That the contact of white people and black people in government, in business, and in daily life, in common effort and cooperation, calls for explanation and apology.
4. That the honesty and integrity of party organization depend on the complete removal of all Negroes from voice and authority.
5. That the appointment of a public officia is an act which concerns only white citizens, **and that colored citizens should have neither voice nor consideration in such appointments**

The protest went on to say that the signers did not believe that the majority of the white people North or South believe in the necessity or the truth of the assertions current in this campaign, but it was the absence of any sense of their unfairness and their complacent acceptance that constituted the grave danger of taking these arguments at their face value. The protest called for a public repudiation of this campaign of racial hatred and a recognition of the essential humanity of the millions of Americans who happen to be dark-skinned.

Of all the dirty work perpetrated in "the dirtiest political campaign," the vicious propaganda promulgated about the Negro, as a pawn in the game, has been the most poisonous, in that it resorted to the inciting of racial animosities that were being supplanted by more harmonious relations. The protest is justified by the facts.

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NEWS
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Sir.—It surpasses my comprehension how any Southern man or woman can, for a moment, contemplate voting the Republican ticket, or for any nominee of the Republican party. Have the Southern people forgotten that it was this same Republican party that put shackles on Jefferson Davis, not as a necessary precautionary measure (he was than an old, sick and feeble man) but to humiliate and insult the Southern people, whose great representative he was? It was this same Republican party, after the Southern armies had surrendered in good faith and were scattered, the Southern people prostrate and disarmed, subjected them to the humiliation of provisional government, the despotism of military government, and the rapacity of reconstruction government. It was this same Republican party that disfranchised the white people and enfranchised the Negroes, and with United States bayonets maintained and defended the domination of scallawags, Negroes and carpetbaggers, in the Southern states, for eight years, and that it was the great Democratic party, with the assistance of Tammany Hall, that rescued the South from those almost unbearable burdens. This same Republican party, the arch enemy of Southern civilization, white supremacy and of all that the South reveres and holds sacred, has nominated Mr. Hoover for president of the United States. Mr. Hoover is a fitting representative of the Republican party. He believes in and advocates Negro political and social equality (see Congressional Record, April 10, 1928).

The chairman of the national Republican convention which nominated Mr. Hoover was Senator Moses, of New Hampshire, who on more than one occasion has denounced the Southern people as a bunch of traitors and has said that Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee should have been hung for treason.

Just after the war between the states, General Howell Cobb, of Georgia, said that a generation or two would replace the loss of life and the destruction of property, but that after the failure of the Southern states to establish their independence, the results of the war were to be deplored, because it is the teachings of history that the descendants of the conquered abandon the principles and tenets of their heroic and patriotic fathers and adopt the tenets and principles of the conquerors. I cannot believe that this prediction of General Cobb's will be verified in 1928.

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JOHN S. BEARD.

Pensacola, Fla.

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JOHN S. BEARD.

Pensacola, Fla.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

SOME SPECIOUS REASONING.

Following the lead of the Chicago Defender, the Baltimore Afro-American last week came out in advocacy of the election of Governor Alfred E. Smith as President of the United States. The reasons given by our Baltimore contemporary for this step are predicated on Mr. Hoover's acceptance of support from the ku klux klan and his campaign in the South to make the party lily white, which it said, "leave us no alternative. We are leaving before we are kicked out." It charges Mr. Hoover with having eliminated every Negro leader of the party in the Southern states and printed a cartoon on its firstpage, headed" Another Whispering Campaign," in which the candidate was depicted as a Cave Man grasping a club, with a clump of trees in the background bearing the several interrogations:

Where is Bob Church?
Where is Walter Cohen?
Where is Ben Davis?
Where is Perry Howard?

Over the head of the Cave Man is the enigmatic response "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Of course, it would deprive this cartoon of much of its point if the several questions were answered literally, to the effect that Mr. Church is in Memphis helping to carry Tennessee for the Republican ticket; that Walter Cohen is attending to his duties as Comtroller of Customs at New Orleans, and Ben Davis is making Republican speeches in the West, having spoken over a week ago in Cleveland. Perry Howard is probably preparing his defence to the indictment found against him by a Mississippi grand jury.

Several other members of the Negro press have pronounced for the Democratic ticket in their columns, even the conservative Norfolk Journal and Guide printing an editorial giving "Some Reasons for Supporting Smith." But the Norfolk editor does not see in Smith "panacea for any political or economic ills peculiar to our own group." It has the faith, however, "that as social justice is quickened", will the whole people be happy and prosperous, "and these conditions cannot prevail without our group, in common with all other grops, sharing the resplendent light."

While hardly sharing the anticipations of our Norfolk contemporary as to the benefits to be expected from the election of Governor Smith, judging from his display of intolerance when called upon to sign the bill for additional municipal judge in Harlem, he having twice vetoed the bill which might have brought about the election of a colored judge, we would point to his associate on the ticket. Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas is the candidate for Vice President, who would succeed to the Presidency in case of the disability of the head of the ticket. This is the man whose attitude toward the race is illustrated by an incident that took place when he was Governor of Arkansas and visited a Negro college at Pine Bluff. Upon his introduction by the late Prof. F. T. Vinegar, who was described as an orator of the first rank, the Governor rose and said to Prof. Vinegar: "I did not come here to be praised by Niggers, for I am not their friend." If you vote for Smith you at the same time vote for his associate on the ticket, who thus brutally proclaimed his animosity toward the race.

The papers who are supporting Smith for President have to swallow Robinson at the same time. The specious reasoning employed to justify their action will not stand the test of the facts of the situation However, they have apparently convinced themselves of the wisdom of their course even if they cannot convince their readers.

Republican.

AN INFAMOUS CANARD EXPOSED!

Not being satisfied with charges and counter charges against Hon. Herbert Hoover, Republican presidential nominee, regarding his alleged pro-Negro attitude and relations, a former governor of a Dixie state—Mississippi—is credited with having placed in circulation a baseless canard that Mr. Hoover, during a visit to Mound Bayou, Mississippi, attended a colored social function and danced with a colored woman!

According to this Southern fabrication, Mr. Hoover practiced "social equality" with the colored inhabitants of this exclusive Negro town, during one of his visits to the Mudcat State during the rehabilitation work subsequent to the Mississippi River flood; and therefore he is unfit to be president of the United States of America!

Isn't it funny how so many Smith-Democrats are denouncing and anathematizing members of their party for their intolerance in opposing the Gotham governor for president because of his Catholic religion, while these same denouncing Democrats are exhibiting a worse form of bigotry, intolerance and hatred against both Mr. Hoover and the Negro race without any justification or reason?

In branding and exposing this canard of the former Mississippi governor, Mr. Hoover's secretary issued a public statement in which he stated that Mr. Hoover only passed through Mound Bayou on his special train and that his train only stopped at the station about 15 minutes for the former secretary of commerce, who was director of Mississippi delta rehabilitation commission, to receive an expression of the gratitude of the colored citizens for his great work in helping suffering humanity during the worst disaster in the history of the "Father of Waters."

However, if we had to choose between the white man—Democrat, Republican or whatnot—who dances at a social function with a colored woman, and the one who maintains immoral and illicit relations with a colored woman or girl under the cover of darkness, resulting in mulatto offspring, we believe that we would prefer the dancing Nordic to the one who leaves visible signs of his cohabitation with some colored woman!

In this connection, since the "solid South" is both the Democratic stronghold and the land of countless thousands of quadroons, octoroons and other human products resulting from clandestine relations between white men and colored women and girls, it appears that thousands of white Dixie Democrats, who are perennially harping on the "Negro question" and deprecating "social equality" and the "intermingling of the two races," have not practiced and do not practice the doctrine which they preach and publicly profess to espouse.

Would these "pure, spotless and unblemished" Nordic Democrats of the Southland attempt to lead one to believe that all these "bright" and "light colored" Negroes are the descendants of black fathers and mothers; or, since Dixie Democrats are always accusing Northern Republicans of advocating and practicing "social equality," do they mean to infer or insinuate that the fathers of these numerous Southern mulattoes are Northern white men who have slipped into Dixieland, pulled off their "stunt," returned to their home and made it appear as if so many of our Southern Democrats of Nordic extraction are guilty of practicing "social equality" where it shows up in its worst and most shocking form?

Boasting of their "superiority," it is a sad commentary upon the South when some of its "leading" white citizens and pseudo-

statesmen resort to such tactics to inflame the minds of white Southerners against a presidential nominee of an opposing political party, and thereby endeavor to keep the "solid South" in solid ignorance so that the politicans can manipulate partisan affairs to their own fancy, liking and benefit!

Having maligned, misrepresented and mistreated the unfortunate and disadvantaged black race for so many years, and having almost converted the country to its way of thinking on the "Negro question" and treatment accorded the race, the South has become emboldened and is now trying to circulate damaging and spurious propaganda of the most pernicious species against one of the ablest and cleanest men in the public life of America.

These same Dixie demagogues are mute and seem to lose their faculty of speech when mention is made of the fact that their presidential candidate, Governor Alfred Emanuel Smith, has been openly accused of mixing and mingling with Gotham blacks on terms of absolute social and political equality; and no denial has ever come from any Dixie supporter and backer of Nominee Smith that their "ideal candidate" has attended, during his past political career in New York, black and tan cabarets in Harlem.

When a former chief executive of a Southern state will give credence to and circulate such baseless untruths and will handle veracity so parsimoniously, one can readily see why the "solid South" remains SOLID in more ways than one!

Yes, sir, between the white man who dances with a colored woman in the open and the white man who cohabits with a colored woman in the dark, give us the former every time! Selah!

Keep a Cool Head

ELECTION DAY is less than one week away. Judging from the character of the campaign which has preceded it, this day will be memorable in American political history. There will be more emotional voting than in any election since 1856, when the Republican party was born and men's passions ran hot and high on the subject of human slavery. Since the Civil War men have generally voted according to their economic interests; they have voted with their heads. This year millions of them are going to vote according to their prejudices. They may pretend to vote on the great questions of farm relief, hydro-electric power and the tariff; but they will really vote on Prohibition, religion and the political background of one of the candidates.

THIS IS TRUE of both great parties, for in this campaign the bigotry is not one-sided. If those who vote against a man because of his religion are to be called bigots, those who vote for him because of his religion are equally deserving of that name.

IN THE STORM of emotion every thoughtful citizen should be careful to vote with his head and not with his passions. It will not be an easy thing to do, especially for the Negro voter, who has more cause for resentment than any other part of the population. The Negro has been so betrayed and kicked about that it is not surprising to find him on the point of bolting from his traditional associations. The party which he has supported through thick and thin for sixty years, the party which is pledged to secure him his life, liberty, justice and manhood rights—that party has ignored him and even wronged him, playing into the hands of his enemies to gain their favor. Thus the Negro, more than any other race, has provocation for losing his head on Election Day, for yielding to blind rage against the party which has played him false.

FOR THAT VERY REASON the Negro has more need to keep a cool head than other voters. His false friends may deserve injury, but by revenging himself upon them he may injure himself even more. Granting all that the Republican party has done to him, and all that it has failed to do for him, it is still a safer haven for him than his avowed and active enemy, the national Democratic party. If the national Democratic ticket were headed by a square, fearless man like Grover Cleveland, there would be less to say on this score; but it is now headed by a man whose public life has been consistently anti-Negro and who is plainly afraid of the Negro's enemies.

THUS there is nothing for the Negro to do but vote the Republican ticket, state and national, from top to bottom.

THE SAME THING applies to Harlem, where many Negroes are disaffected because of internal conflicts over district leaderships. It applies to the Nineteenth District, with its rebellion against the leadership of Assemblyman Grenthal.

IN REGARD TO MR. GRENTHAL, The Amsterdam News supported the movement against him when it was a matter within the party. It supported Myles Paige, who opposed him in the primaries. It stood firmly behind the movement for a Negro leader in a Negro district. It was not against Mr. Grenthal himself, nor does it blame him or any leader for taking all available steps to defend and secure his leadership. His victory was won, not by any unfair tactics on his part, but by a group of Negroes who played traitor to the cause of Negro leadership. If they could be bought off, scared off, or promised off, the fault was theirs and not Grenthal's. Since Grenthal remains the leader and candidate by the act of the Negroes themselves, the Negro voters should support him as solidly on Election Day as the rest of the ticket.

NEGROES MUST LEARN that politics is not a game of give; it is a game of give and take. If they had registered in such numbers as they should, and as this paper begged them to, they could have sent Edward A. Johnson to Congress on a purely Negro vote. But they did not register in sufficient numbers for that and Johnson will have to depend partly on white support. If they want Grenthal to support Johnson it is up to them to support Grenthal. It is up to them to support John W. Remer for the Assembly in the Twenty-first district and Horace W. Palmer for the State Senate in the 20th Senatorial district, to support Ottinger, Houghton, Lockwood and Crowley, the entire state ticket.

ABOVE ALL, every Negro with a ballot should vote for Edward A. Johnson for Congress.

Negro Misleaders Collect Thirty Pieces of Silver

The Daily Worker 11-15-28

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 14.—The reason why the misleaders of the Negro masses supported one or other of the parties of the white oppressors and exploiters of the Negro workers was humiliatingly revealed in the reports just filed by the republican and democratic parties.

The republican report shows the following misleaders collecting their thirty pieces of silver for passing out republican bunk:

Robert L. Mays, Chicago, $50.00; A. H. Roberts, Chicago, $125; Roscoe Conkling Simmons, Chicago $125; Rienzi B. Lemus, Washington, $50; George W. Harris, New York, $125; Fred R. Moore, New York, $125; R. L. Vann, Pittsburgh, $125; Ernest T. Atwell, New York, $125; Miss Jeannette Carter, Washington, $50; W. H. C. Brown, New York, $70; Mrs. Amy Garvey, wife of Marcus Garvey, $35; William H. Davis, New York City, $800; William Monroe Trotter $250.

The democratic report shows this other bunch of Negro Judases as receiving their hand-out for betraying the Negro masses:

Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom of the African Methodist Episcopal Church about $5,000; Lester A. Walton, $150; Mizelle $125; Nelson $150.

Girl Savagely Beaten Up By White Police Cossack.

Trotter of the Guardian drew handouts from both parties, getting $200 from the democrats and $250 from the republicans. Calude A. Barnett of the Associated Negro Press, secretary of the publicity committee of the republican jim-crow division, got $150 from the democrats. Prattis of the same news service received $150.

Police terrorism against Negro workers in this city has reached such a pass that white officers of capitalist "law and order" no longer content themselves with beating up Negro workers on the streets but actually force themselves into the workers' homes to do their dirty work. Such was the astounding testimony of Miss Louise Jackson, soda fountain clerk, of 214 West 62nd Street, who offered a beaten bruised body and a blackened eye as evidence against officer William Fitzgerald, white, of 9A Precinct, in a hearing Friday before Inspector Bolan of the third division.

Charges of forcing entrance into a citizen's home without explaining his mission, brutality and intimidation were preferred by Miss Jackson and her employer, S. J. McCall, of the same address. They declare that Fitzgerald came to McCall's apartment last Tuesday morning demanding admission, that he refused to state his identity of his mission and when refused admission forced entrance through a window.

The Daily Worker 11-13-28

Challenged by McCall, he replied he was "coming in to smash your head." Alarmed, McCall hurriedly made his exit. The policeman finding McCall gone and coming across Miss Jackson sleeping in another room demanded of her the whereabouts of her landlord. Upon being unable to tell him, he struck her a heavy blow with his fist in her abdomen, she asserted. She protested and received a kick on the shins, and later a punch in the eye.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

BY JOHN B. HUDSON,

Commercial Appeal Staff Correspondent.

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 24. — Herbert Hoover, Republican nominee for president, was asked today by Gov. Theodore G. Bilbo to say "from your own lips" whether or not Hoover had been done an injustice by the Mississippi governor when Bilbo repeated a "common rumor" that Hoover had danced with Mary Booze, Mound Bayou negress, Republican national committeewoman.

The Mississippi executive propounded a series of questions relating to Hoover's attitude toward social equality between the white and negro races, and told him that "you owe it to the American people to answer these questions before the election."

George Akerson, assistant to Hoover, started the row on its present national scale when he indignantly telegraphed Bilbo denouncing in bitter words a statement accredited to Bilbo in the latter's speech at a Democratic rally in Memphis last week, in which it was alleged that Hoover had danced with Mary Booze.

Republicans Now Explaining.

Since picking up the local rumor and spearding it across the continent, Republican campaign managers in the northern states have been trying to explain to the colored brethren in the doubtful states that Akerson was indignant because it was charged Hoover had attended a social function during the flood of 1927, and not because he was charged with dancing with a negro woman.

On Mississippi and other southern states however, the same campaign managers have been trying to make much of the "race purity'" of the Republican party, so recently taken on in the bitter fight being waged to woo the dissatisfied Democratic brethren into the Republican ranks.

Already harassed in the border and northern states by the Akerson boomerang, some of the local Republican leaders are trying to follow up the "political bust" of Akerson's by trying to get the national Republican chieftains to oust Perry Howard, negro Republican national committeeman, and Mary Booze, from the national organization, thereby adding to the pain and agony of party leaders in the north.

They are being met by horrid protests from the frightened leaders who declared that it would be fatal if they should remove the two negroes from the national committee. As it stands, and very likely will stand, Mississippians are witnessing the spectacle of the state campaign being in the hands of Lamont Rowlands of Picayune, wealthy lumberman, as chairman of the ways and means committee, and in supreme command, but at the same time seeing Howard and Mary left on the national committee, but shoved into the discard so far as local political strategy is concerned.

Now Democrats awaiting a reply from Hoover — andGovernor Bilbo has asked him bluntly in his reply to "not be as evasive and ambiguous as your position on so many other public questions in this campaign" have been.

Asks for a Show Down.

"Answer these questions frankly," wired Governor Bilbo. "Put your cards on the table. Republican office-seekers have 'buncoed' the negro voters long enough with sweet promises for political purposes.

"You say that Democrats favor tariff for revenue only. Judging by past performances, the Republican party is for the negro for offices only."

Howard, by the way, although still retained as national committeeman for the Republican party is under indictment in Federal court on a charge of alleged trafficking in Federal patronage. At the time of indictment he was active as assistant to the attorney general of the Unites States, but Attorney General Sargent "suspended" him from that office until his trial. The national committee took no action.

The Bilbo statement at Memphis, and the telegraphic retort by Aberson, has resulted in the Mississippi executive receiving thousands of telegrams and letters from all over the United States. Most of them are congratulatory, but some of them are couched in such foul language that they can not be printed.

The governor today took occassion to reply to one of the milder critics, one Major Emmett P. Smith of Montgomery, Ala., said to be chaplain at Kilby prison. Major Smith in his telegram demanded that Governor Bilbo give proof of his assertion that Hoover had danced with a negro woman, or be branded as a 'cheap purveyor of falsehood and prejudice." Smith described himself as being "an anti-Smith Democratic speaker, a Baptist, and a veteran of the World War; a native son of the south, and the son of a brave Confederate veteran."

In reply to this attack Governor Bilbo wired him calling his attention to the telegram he had just dispatched to Hoover. "This explanation, I am sure, will satisfy the American people and should satisfy yourself," said the governor.

"As to your challenge and incidental denunciation, I have no desire to take up my time with men of your type.

"After making some investigation as to you and your alleged record, I am not surprised at your activity in defense of Mr. Hoover when charged that he cut the light fantastic toe with Mary Booze 'a lady of color from Mound Bayou.'

"Your bolting the Democratic party, the white man's party of the south, in the hour of trial, is in keeping with your alleged conduct during the World War.

Telegram Is Given.

The telegram to Hoover follows:

"In reply to a telegram of the 19th inst., given to the press by your personal representative, Mr. George Akerson, and which telegram I presume meets with your approval, I desire to say that the statement that you had danced with Mary Booze in Washington was made by me on common rumore and I so stated in my speech in Memphis, Tenn.

"The rumor had been current in Mississippi for some time that Mary Booze stated after returning from a meeting of the Republican national committee in Washington that "she had danced with Mr. Hoover. This statement was repeated in a public speech in the city of Jackson by another party and it was upon this information that I made the statement in question in my speech in Memphis. Nothing was said about your dancing with Mary at Mound Bayou.

'I notice that you, through your secretary, brand the statement that you danced with Mary as the most indecent and unworthy statement in this whole bitter campaign and you state further that for any person to vote against you upon a representation of this kind would forever be a most infamous blot upon the record of the state of Mississippi.

"Now I do not desire to be unfair to you in the slightest degree, but I want to ask you if you think it would be offensive to you or indecent infamy or disgraceful for you to come in contact with or dance with a woman of the negro grace.

"If, according to your ideas of social equality, you do not think it indecent or infamous to have it said of you that you danced with Mary Booze, a member of the negro race, then why do you get exercised and all 'heated up' when it is said of you that you danced with Mary Booze?

Demands Frank Answer.

"Please answer these questions so the people can know from your own lips whether or not I have done you an injustice.

'You owe it to the people to answer these questions before the election, and I trust that your answer will not be as evasive and ambiguous as your position on so many other public questions in this campaign.

"Answer these questions frankly, put your cards on the table. Republican office seekers have 'buncoed' the negro voters lang enough with sweet promises for political purposes.

"You say that the Democrats favor tariff for revenue only. Judging by past performances the Republican party is for the negro for office only.

"The American people will wait anxiously for your full and frank reply."

WOULD PURIFY POLITICS BY ELIMINATING THE NEGRO

TAMPA, Fla., Oct. 24—Speaking before a meeting of the Hillsborough County Republican Club at the Board of Trade auditorium, Dr. Paul Ernst, member of one of Virginia's oldest families, and an ardent supporter of Herbert Hoover for President, told his audience if he was elected he would lend his strength to purifying politics of the Republican party by the practically elimination of the Negro vote as a factor of that political organization.

G. O. P. IS LIKE "POTATO" SAYS KELLY MILLER

"Best Part Underground"— "Uncle Toms" Will Stand Pat

VOTE OF YOUNGER GENERATION FOR "AL"

Campaign Has Wholesomely Divided Negro Vote, He Says

By KELLY MILLER

WASHINGTON, D. C.— For the first time since reconstruction, the Negro goes to the polls next Tuesday emancipated from his emancipators.

He has thrown off the thralldom which has held him like a vise to the fortunes of the Grand Old Party. The old Negro may indeed feel bound by ties of eternal gratitude to the party of Lincoln and Sumner, but the young Negro does not. There is a limit beyond which gratitude ceases to be a virtue.

The American colonies stung into revolt by injustice and tyranny, quickly forgot the deep debt of gratitude which the struggling daughter in the wilderness owed to her generous and genial mother across the sea. No manly people can ever pledge its love and loyalty in perpetuity under change of time and circumstances. The present election is held in 1928, and not in 1872

Youth For Smith

The Negro who places his back to the future and his face to the past will continue to vote the Republican ticket to the end of time. The fleshpots of Egypt are always more enticing to the timid and the timorous than the dangers and vicissitudes of the untried desert.

I have just scanned in a widely circulated and influential Negro paper, a paid advertisement in two parallel columns, of the goodness of the Republican party and the badness of its Democratic rival. But these contrasted lists of good and evil refer to the things that are past and gone. There is not one absolute or relative word about future prospect and promise.

So far as the Negro is concerned the Republican party is like the potato, the best part is under ground.

10 Elections Won't Change G. O. P.

If the Negro, as a race supports the grand Old Party in the present election and in the next ten elections to come, there is no apparent likelihood that his political lot would be improved thereby.

The Negro acquired an initial momentum for the party of freedom and equality in the early days which it is admittedly difficult to reverse. Those past middle age, the over optimistic who somehow believe that the spirit of Abraham Lincoln will be reincarnated in the Grand Old Party, the timid and hesitant who rather endure the ills they have than risk those they know not of, those of the slavish Uncle Tom type of temperament, the cunning and crafty who hope to gather in the crumbs of favor which fall from the white master's table, wil adhere to the Republican standard, though the dry land turn to sea.

Progressives Revolt

On the other hand. the forward looking, the progressive, the radical the new Negro, the intelligentia will revolt against the Republican recreancy, and will risk whatever expediency which may promise change It must be conceded that the Democratic party does not hold out a promising prospect; but protest against a false friend often incidentally results in benefit to an avowed enemy. If the Negro, North or South expects to make any further political progress, he must by some means overcome the hostility of the Democratic party which effectively blocks his advancement whichever party is in national ascendency. It is abundantly demonstrated that this cannot be done by aligning either way without humiliation.

Hoover Tabooed Prohibition

I had hoped to rally the race around the standard of prohibition under the banner of Hoover. But the candidate himself sent down word that prohibition was not to be discussed. His influential wet supporters in the East forbade. The Grand Old Party of ancient idealism has harked back to the stand pat doctrine of Mark Hanna. It now proclaims the glad tidings of prosperity and the gospel of guts. None of these things appeal to a people smarting under a sence of moral wrong. You cannot cure the hurt of the soul by proffer of a full dinner pail.

Race Vote

So far as I can ascertain by careful analysis of the situation, the Negro next Tuesday will split his vote in something like two equal parts

Both parties are appealing to him for support, openly in the North and furtively in the South. Both Work and Rascob are operating whispering galleries among Southern Negroes It is a campaign of easy speaking Southern Negroes will be well distributed between the two contending parties.

The most active campaign among them in either camp is conducted under the leadership of "Goose Neck Bill' of Texas, the old time Republican war horse for Governor Smith It seems that both chairmen are letting loose rival inducements of a substantial kind in the Negro field

Papers Anti-Hoover

Orators of equal fame and prominence are working for Hoover and Smith. The Negro newspapers of widest circulation and influence are either friendly to Smith or at least unfriendly to Hoover. The general sentiment of the Negro press, as between the two candidates, is practically a stale mate. No Negro reproaches his brother for voting this way or that. Whatever also may happen, this campaign has hopelessly and as I believe, wholesomely divided the Negro vote.

Can't Tell Party By Color

Hereafter, no one will be able to tell, the colored man's political affiliation by his race. This, I hope, will attone for all of the humiliation which the Negro is forced to suffer at the hands the of both parties. More Negroes will cast their ballot next Tuesday than at any time since reconstruction. Each voter must decide for himself.

There will be something like two million Negro voters, but no Negro vote.

HOOVER SUPPORTERS FAVOR BOTH SIDES

Nominee Pictured As Wet To Wets, Dry To Drys, Pro And Anti-Farm Relief

By RUSSELL KENT
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Nov. 3—Critics of Herbert Hoover claim that through his own statements or the statements of his principal spokesmen he has been on every side of every question in this campaign.

11-4-28

Hoover has been pictured in wet districts as a wet and in dry districts as a dry. Senator Brookhart, his principal spokesman in the corn belt, has been telling that he is an advocate of the McNary-Haugen bill, which went out, until Hoover called McNary-Haugenism socialistic.

Some of Hoover's newspaper supporters were telling that Hoover's position on Muscle Shoals was just exactly opposite to what Hoover made it plain it was in Madison Square Garden.

At the very outset of his campaign Hoover changed his Los Angeles speech on Boulder Dam. He made two statements on Muscle Shoals, after some of his Tennessee supporters said that his omission of it in the Elizabethton speech made a statement necessary. The first statement displeased the Coolidgeites and the second was to please Mr. Coolidge, it is charged.

Nominee Too Silent

One of the principal faults with the Hoover campaign, it appears to many, is that the nominee does not talk enough and his spokesmen talk too much. The statement of Gov. McMullen that Hoover would call a special session on farm relief is a case in point. Hoover's managers denied he intended to call such a session. That greatly embarrassed the Hoover campaign in the West. Finally, after numerous conferences, Hoover himself issued a statement that he would call a special session, if Congress at the session beginning in December and ending March 3, did not do something about it.

Some of the Democrats have been suggesting that a joint debate be arranged between Charles Evans Hughes and William E. Borah, the two principal Hoover spokesmen. Hughes has been declaring that prohibition is not an issue in this campaign and that Smith could do nothing about it if elected. Borah has been declaring that it is the principal issue and therefore drys must vote against Smith.

Democrats say that never before has a political party on the eve on the election changed its main issue as the Republicans did, abandoning the tariff for "State Socialism" as their issue.

Some of the Democrats have been chiding Mr. Hoover to name his "crime-breeding big cities."

Opinions "Mixed"

Speaking to a rural audience at Elizabethton Hoover told his audience that he "resented the sneers at Main Street. For I have known that in the cottages that lay behind the street rested the strength of our national character. Many of our most difficult problems in national life have come because of the extraordinary growth of our great cities. History shows that crowded cities too often breed injustice and crime, misery and suffering."

But, Mr. Hoover, addressing a city audience at Madison Square Garden said of New York City:

"Your city has been an outstanding beneficiary of this great progress and of these safeguarded principles. With its suburbs it has, during the last seven and a half years, grown by over a million and a half of people until it has become the largest metropolitan district of al lthe world. Here you have made abundant opportunity not only for the youth of the land but for the immigrant from foreign shores. This city is the commercial center of the United States. It is the commercial agent of the American people. It is a great organism of specialized skill and leadership in finance, industry and commerce, which reaches every spot in our country. Its progress and its beauty are the pride of the whole American people. It leads our nation in its benevolences to charity, to education and scientific research. It is the center of art, music, literature and drama. It has come to have a more potent voice than any other city in the United States."

WHAT THE NEGROES OF LOUISVILLE AND KENTUCKY HAVE DONE FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Dr. Joseph L. Joshnson, of Columbus, Ohio, former Minister to Liberia, gave out the following statement today with reference to the movement which has express approval of Herbert Hoover regarding the regeneration of the Republican party in the South on a white basis, as one of the principal reforms he expects to carry out if elected to the presidency. Dr. Johnson said:

"The Republican party in the South, particularly in the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, never had a Republican victory except for the colored vote in these states. Since the war of the Rebellion the Republicans have carried Kentucky several times for President, and have elected four Republican governors. Each time it was accomplished by the colored vote, which if it had been given to the side would have turned the election the other way In Tennessee, the Republicans have carried that state for president once, and they have elected the Governor several times, besides numerous members of Congress ,and other local officers. In Louisville, Kentucky, it is a well known fact that but for the colored vote this city would be Democratic overwhelmingly.

"Now in return for all this loyal service, these loyal soldiers of the Republican party who have helped them win all their victories, are to be put aside like a faithful wife who is put aside for some trivial reason and another wife taken up. This has been discovered in time for the colored people to resent such treatment as this. Their votes are counted upon to deliver the States of Kentucky and Tennessee to Hoover, an then they are to be dumped bodily and receive no consideration whatever at the hands of the party they have sustained for half a century. I can imagine the Methodist and Baptist preachers of the colored people in the South reading this news with great pleasure, and I can imagine how enthusiastically they will preach to their congregations to vote for Hoover, who after all is nothing but a renegade Democrat

"The Democratic party in the South owes nothing to the colored vote because they have never given their votes to the Democratic party, but the Republican party, who has always received its vote, now proves its base ingratitude by allying itself with the movement to exclude the colored people from any participation in the councils of the Republican party.

"I was surprised when I read this account which appeared in the Chicago Daily Tribune of Wednesday, October 3rd, the leading Republican newspaper of the midwest, in the article of Arthur Sears Henning, who is the leading writer on that newspaper and who always speaks by the card whenever he writes. Among other things he says:

"The plan to bulid a white Republican party in the south received the approval of Hoover early in the campaign, according to somewhat varying versions obtained from Southern Republicanl leaders. Some say that the program was mapped out prior to the Kansas City Convention for the delivery of certain Negro delegates from the South, but promised rival "lily white" delegations to recognize them in the party reorganization after the convention.

"According to another version, the project did not actually take form until shortly before Hoover's acceptance speech, when a number of Southern white Republicans headed by Col. Jennings C. Wise of Richmond, Va., visited the candidate at Palo Alto. They explained to Hoover the opportunity of annexing that Anti-Smith Democrats permanently to the Republican party if he would authorize the elimination of the Negro and the reorganization of the Southern G. O. P. as a white man's institution.

"They particularly sought declaration in Hoover's acceptance speech which could be used in the south to convince the bolting Democrats that the Republican party henceforth is to be the party of white supremacy no less than the Democratic party."

"All this goes to show that the Republican party managers in the National Committee are perfectly willing to throw overboard the colored votes in the south, forgetting that if the colored vote was removed from the Republican column in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, Illinois, Missouri, Oklahoma, and ever so many states in the North, they would have absolutely no show whatever.

What do you think the colored people of the North are going to say when they hear that the Republican party and its candidate for President have deliberately entered into a scheme to cast the colored voters overboard in the Southland? I miss my guess if hundreds of thousands of them do not resent this, not only in the South but in the North by casting their votes with the Democratic party headed by Governer Alfred E Smith.

TATE JOURNAL
COLUMBUS, O.

W 4 1928

COLORED VOTERS REVOLT.

Editor Ohio State Journal:

Wrangling in Republican state headquarters over state and national candidates has sprung confidential leaks which concede Martin L Davey's election by 50,000. Davey has a united organization back of him, the first time the Democrats have been thoroughly united for four years, and he is immeasurably stronger than Donahey was two years ago. Cooper will lose 20,000 votes in Cleveland on account of the primary scandal and more than that number in Cincinnati on account of his unpopularity with the colored voters.

The colored voters are in open revolt for the first time in history and realize they have been held in political slavery by the Republican party for 60 years and they intend this year to exercise an intelligent determination which the Constitution grants them. They also realize that the Ku Klux Klan, their deadly enemy, is in complete control of the Republican party.

A COLORED VOTER.
Columbus, Nov. 1.

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation.

NEW YORK WORLD

OCT 9 1928

Moses Raises Racial Issue In Speech to Women Here

Eastern G. O. P. Manager Objects to a Negro Civil Service Official Dictating to White Woman

Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire, Eastern manager of the Republican National Committee, closed a speech yesterday at the campaign school of the Women's National Republican Club, No. 8 East 37th Street, with a reference to a Negro official in New York dictating "to a white stenographer of the female sex."

Senator Moses referred to Ferdinand Q. Morton, Negro Civil Service Commissioner of New York, a Democrat, appointed from Harlem.

About two weeks ago the same matter was brought to public attention in a photograph of Commissioner Morton dictating to a white stenographer, published on the first page of the Fellowship Forum, anti-Catholic publication.

After his speech, in which Senator Moses criticized the Democratic stand on tariff, and Gov. Smith's attitude on Prohibition and his affiliation with Tammany, he opened the floor to questions.

One of the women in his audience asked about reports that Herbert Hoover had placed Negroes over white men doing work on the Mississippi flood relief, and about another report that the Republican nominee had made promises to Virginia Negroes for their support.

"I don't know that any such condition exists," replied Senator Moses, "but if any promises have been made, they will be kept."

Senator Raises Racial Issue

"I do know this, however," continued the Senator, "that in Washington there is no colored Civil Service Commissioner who dictates to a white stenographer of the female sex, such as I understand is done right here in New York."

Some of the audience applauded, but about half of the women received it in silence.

Many Republican leaders frankly disliked the Senator's remark. They took the stand that it was unnecessary and could serve only to create bitterness and misunderstanding.

It was pointed out by these same men, however, that the Republicans as a party should not be placed in such a position, since Negro recognition is given by the party in New York City as elsewhere.

Duplicate Case in U. S. Service

One such case, Republican leaders pointed out, could be found in the United States District Attorney's office, where Huburt Delany, Negro, is an Assistant District Attorney. No discrimination has ever been made against Mr. Delany in allotting white men and women of the office force for his assistance.

The incident was all the more regretted by prominent Republicans because it came from one of Mr. Hoover's highest campaign officers. They insisted that the Senator only meant to draw a comparison, in which he wished to show that "Democrats and Republicans alike both acknowledge the place of the Negro to serve in public office."

In the main speech Senator Moses said that the Democrats are "but recent converts to high tariff and represent only a party which has copied the Republican Party through expediency."

In his criticism of Tammany, Senator Moses said Gov. Smith would not escape the background of the Democratic organization.

Commenting on the defense of Gov. Smith that Tammany "must be all right because it has existed so many years," the Senator said:

"So have the Black Hand and the Mafia, and perhaps by the same methods."

News
Griffin, Ga.

SEP 29 1928

Republican.

EVEN DEMOCRATS WILL DEFEND WHITE REPUBLICANS AGAINST THESE ATTACKS.

Ben Davis, negro Republican leader in Georgia, who has been removed from office as executive committeeman has published editorials in his newspaper—The Atlanta Independent—that will make the blood of every white man in Georgia boil.

Davis in an attack on the "lily white" wing of the party refers to them as "bastard Republicans" and "commercialized negro grafters."

Davis says that the Republican party in the south has been kept alive by the negroes and that the "lily-white" element has always been a menace to the party.

Such charges as these infuriate even a White Loyal Democrat, who believes that many of the persons in Georgia, who have deserted the Democratic party and are going to vote the Republican ticket this year are in earnest in their views and are good citizens. For such people as these to be flayed by a negro politician who has been handling patronage in Georgia for many years and who has waxed fat at the Republican trough, is too much.

The Republican party, if it has a spark of manhood will repudiate, instantly, these editorials of Ben Davis.

Part of the editorial of Ben Davis is reproduced. It goes to show what sort of cattle the Hoover Democrats of Georgia are going to be forced to team up with in the coming election.

Davis says:

"The great menace to republican success in November is the curse of "lily-whiteism" in the south. For forty years these ignoramuses have been arguing to the national republican leaders that if the party would eliminate the negro from the party councils they would break the solid south, but have never made anybody believed their story except the lamented President Harding, who said before he died that he had been deceived by these crooks and set about to repudiate them, and correct the error that they had led him into."

Continuing in the same vein, the editorial further reiterates:

"The negroes despise the lily-whites and the lily-whites hate them unqualifiedly.

"The lily-whites vote in the democratic party primaries and want to hold all of the offices under every republican administration and control the party machinery in the south. All the trouble in the south today is traceable to lily-white treachery, perfidy and ignorance.

"The first step of the half-breeds, after they come into control, instead of working to elect the ticket, is to drive the negro out of the party. They never think of electing the ticket, but of eliminating the negro. They'll tell any lie, commit perjury or stoop to any depths to play their game.

"While we do believe that Mr. Hoover is a party to, or has guilty knowledge of this diabolical scheme to disfranchise the negro; plotted by the lily-whites and executed by his agents, we have many reasons to conclude that the scheme is being encouraged by men higher up in his war councils.

"In Georgia the regular organization surrendered everything to a white committee which has turned out to be a dyed-in-the-wool lily-white outfit, which is carrying more scurrilous matter about the negro than the democrats are carrying. Charles Adamson, king of the lily-whites, is sending out a letter soliciting funds and assuring those who will give, as an inducement, that the party will never have another negro national committeeman. This animal is at the head of our electoral ticket and was placed here by 'nigger' votes. He is only a sample of the lily-whites who are doing more to defeat the republican ticket than elect it. But Mr. Adamson has never been anything more than an ignorant piece of self-conceit without influence outside his own factory. If we hear any more of him, the 'niggers' who put him on the ticket will take him off. Just such men as he are responsible for the northern negro's attitude towards Mr. Hoover.

"The one effort of the lily-white organization is to eliminate the negro, discredit the organization that created it with a view of regular organization was controlling the 'pie counter' after the election. speaker, Mr. Hoover would lose white votes.

"The head of this lily-white organization "Who believes that Mr. Hoover loves humanity, expressed the view the other day that it stand for this abominable rot and at the miliate the race. white speakers took part in the meeting in same time appeal for negro votes through- not races any further than races make hu- Clinch county at which the secretary of the out the country? No, Mr. Hoover is too manity."

Political - 1928
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Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire, Eastern manager of the Republican National Committee, closed a speech yesterday at the campaign school of the Women's National Republican Club, No. 8 East 37th Street, with a reference to a Negro official in New York dictating "to a white stenographer of the female sex."

Senator Moses referred to Ferdinand Q. Morton, Negro Civil Service Commissioner of New York, a Democrat, appointed from Harlem.

About two weeks ago the same matter was brought to public attention in a photograph of Commissioner Morton dictating to a white stenographer, published on the first page of the Fellowship Forum, anti-Catholic publication.

After his speech, in which Senator Moses criticized the Democratic stand on tariff, and Gov. Smith's attitude on Prohibition and his affiliation with Tammany, he opened the floor to questions.

One of the women in his audience asked about reports that Herbert Hoover had placed Negroes over white men doing work on the Mississippi flood relief, and about another report that the Republican nominee had made promises to Virginia Negroes for their support.

"I don't know that any such condition exists," replied Senator Moses, "but if any promises have been made, they will be kept."

Senator Raises Racial Issue

"I do know this, however," continued the Senator, "that in Washington there is no colored Civil Service Commissioner who dictates to a white stenographer of the female sex, such as I understand is done right here in New York."

Some of the audience applauded, but about half of the women received it in silence.

Many Republican leaders frankly disliked the Senator's remark. They took the stand that it was unnecessary and could serve only to create bitterness and misunderstanding.

It was pointed out by these same men, however, that the Republicans as a party should not be placed in such a position, since Negro recognition is given by the party in New York City as elsewhere.

Duplicate Case in U. S. Service

One such case, Republican leaders pointed out, could be found in the United States District Attorney's office, where Huburt Delany, Negro, is an Assistant District Attorney. No discrimination has ever been made against Mr. Delany in allotting white men and women of the office force for his assistance.

The incident was all the more regretted by prominent Republicans because it came from one of Mr. Hoover's highest campaign officers. They insisted that the Senator only meant to draw a comparison, in which he wished to show that "Democrats and Republicans alike both acknowledge the place of the Negro to serve in public office."

In the main speech Senator Moses said that the Democrats are "but recent converts to high tariff and represent only a party which has copied the Republican Party through expediency."

In his criticism of Tammany, Senator Moses said Gov. Smith would not escape the background of the Democratic organization.

Commenting on the defense of Gov. Smith that Tammany "must be all right because it has existed so many years," the Senator said:

"So have the Black Hand and the Mafia, and perhaps by the same methods."

Griffin, Ga

SEP 29 1928

republican.

EVEN DEMOCRATS WILL DEFEND WHITE REPUBLICANS AGAINST THESE ATTACKS.

Ben Davis, negro Republican leader in Georgia, who has been removed from office as executive committeeman has published editorials in his newspaper—The Atlanta Independent—that will make the blood of every white man in Georgia boil.

Davis in an attack on the "lily white" wing of the party refers to them as "bastard Republicans" and "commercialized negro grafters."

Davis says that the Republican party in the south has been kept alive by the negroes and that the "lily-white" element has always been a menace to the party.

Such charges as these infuriate even a White Loyal Democrat, who believes that many of the persons in Georgia, who have deserted the Democratic party and are going to vote the Republican ticket this year are in earnest in their views and are good citizens. For such people as these to be flayed by a negro politician who has been handling patronage in Georgia for many years and who has waxed fat at the Republican trough, is too much.

The Republican party, if it has a spark of manhood will repudiate, instantly, these editorials of Ben Davis.

Part of the editorial of Ben Davis is reproduced. It goes to show what sort of cattle the Hoover Democrats of Georgia are going to be forced to team up with in the coming election.

Davis says:

"The great menace to republican success in November is the curse of "lily-whiteism" in the south. For forty years these ignoramuses have been arguing to the national republican leaders that if the party would eliminate the negro from the party councils they would break the solid south, but have never made anybody believed their story except the lamented President Harding, who said before he died that he had been deceived by these crooks and set about to repudiate them, and correct the error that they had led him into."

Continuing in the same vein, the editorial further reiterates:

"The negroes despise the lily-whites and the lily-whites hate them unqualifiedly.

"The lily-whites vote in the democratic party primaries and want to hold all of the offices under every republican administration and control the party machinery in the south. All the trouble in the south today is traceable to lily-white treachery, perfidy and ignorance.

"The first step of the half-breeds, after they come into control, instead of working to elect the ticket, is to drive the negro out of the party. They never think of electing the ticket, but of eliminating the negro. They'll tell any lie, commit perjury or stoop to any depths to play their game.

"While we do believe that Mr. Hoover is a party to, or has guilty knowledge of this diabolical scheme to disfranchise the negro; plotted by the lily-whites and executed by his agents, we have many reasons to conclude that the scheme is being encouraged by men higher up in his war councils.

"In Georgia the regular organization surrendered everything to a white committee which has turned out to be a dyed-in-the-wool lily-white outfit, which is carrying more scurrilous matter about the negro than the democrats are carrying. Charles Adamson, king of the lily-whites, is sending out a letter soliciting funds and assuring those who will give, as an inducement, that the party will never have another negro national committeeman. This animal is at the head of our electoral ticket and was placed here by 'nigger' votes. He is only a sample of the lily-whites who are doing more to defeat the republican ticket than elect it. But Mr. Adamson has never been anything more than an ignorant piece of self-conceit without influence outside his own factory. If we hear any more of him, the 'niggers' who put him on the ticket will take him off. Just such men as he are responsible for the northern negro's attitude towards Mr. Hoover.

"The one effort of the lily-white organization is to eliminate the negro, discredit the organization that created it with a view of regular organization was to be the principal controlling the 'pie counter' after the election. big to have any part in this conspiracy to humiliate the race. Hoover loves humanity, speaker, Mr. Hoover would lose white votes.

"The head of this lily-white organization "Who believes that Mr. Hoover would not races any further than races make humanity." expressed the view the other day that it stand for this abominable rot and at the white speakers took part in the meeting in same time appeal for negro votes throughout the country? No, Mr. Hoover is too Clinch county at which the secretary of the

Davis in another editorial says:

"The Independent is 100 per cent republican because it cannot be bought by the democrats' money or be bulldozed out of the party by lily-white bastard republicans and commercialized negro grafters, who would sell their wives and daughters into political slavery and economical ruin, for pelf and plunder.

"We are republicans and offer no apology for our faith. The Independent has the same right to go along with the republican organization that the World has to trail the democratic party outside of the ranks, with the hope of receiving a few crumbs from the hands of Heflin. Blease and Pat Harrison. We are not going to get out of the ship into the sea. We are republicans and no man inside the party, black or white, can make us forsake its principles because of real or imaginary grievances. Let come what may, our houses and we are going to fight it out aboard the republican ship."

Surely Ben Davis has sounded the death knell of the Republican party in Georgia. Georgia white people who were intending to support Hoover and Curtis cannot swallow this.

The Telegraph
October 4, 1928

Parsons and Davis

Early in this campaign, when Mrs. Marvin Williams made her appeal to the Negro women of the W. C. T. U., to register and vote for Hoover, The Telegraph said that it would be the worst thing that could happen to the Negro would be to drag him into the campaign. He has been dragged in and has been made an issue and, because there are such Negroes as Ben Davis and Lee Parsons of North Carolina, he is getting the worst of it, as he always does when white men bring him into their own fights.

Ben Davis' part in the Georgia campaign has been of no aid to Mr. Hoover, nor has it been of consolation to those who are associated with Mrs. Marvin Williams on the Hoover electoral ticket in the state. The objection to Davis' participation in Republican politics in Georgia is not based primarily in the fact that he is a Negro, but because he is the sort of man he is. The Senate committee developed that he and his gang were levying an actual charge for federal patronage offices in Georgia of 5 per cent of the salary of the office holder. Besides that, Davis has become emboldened or infuriated in this campaign and has stigmatized the white people who regularly vote the Republican ticket by calling them "lily-white bastards." It does the good Negro much harm when a member of his race is put in position where he can levy tribute on white women who solicit jobs because their finances compel it and where he can go about the state profanely stigmatizing white people. The reaction against Davis is not the primary thing; the reaction against his race is important. Davis has no esteemed position to lose; many members of his race do have the esteem of their white friends.

In North Carolina, much the same situation has been brought about by W. Lee Parsons, who, during the Reconstruction days, was elected to the North Carolina legislature. He later ran for congress, but was defeated in the famous fight that Senator Simmons, now a bolter, led against Negro domination in North Carolina. Parsons has been holding a federal job in Washington the past several years, while retaining the leadership of North Carolina Negroes. He shows the result of his elevation to a position of importance in a letter to the Asheville Citizen, regarding Senator Simmons' announcement that he would support the Republican party. Parsons says:

> I welcome the accession of Senator Simmons to our ranks. Conversion is better late than never. Long ago we were antagonists, but we never struck below the belt. Today I welcome him with open arms to the grand old party of God and morality. After all these years of defeat and disaster for the black man's party in the South I can see us again coming into our own. Not a great many of us remain alive, who can recall the days when black men sat in the chairs of state in the Southern capitols. Those days have long been gone, but, bless God, I can see them returning. It is said that a house divided against itself cannot stand, and now we see the white people of the South dividing.
>
> I wish to use the newspapers of North Carolina to urge my people to get behind Senator Simmons and support him. What is true in North Carolina may be true in other Southern states. Just let us get control of the state machinery this time and Mr. Hoover in the White House will give us such help as will wipe out all the laws in the South which will keep the black man from moving on the same plane as the white man.

After welcoming Senator Simmons "to our party," he tells the Negroes what a Republican victory will mean. It will "wipe out all the laws in the South which will keep the black man from moving on the same plane as the white man."

He thanks God that he can see such a division among Democrats as will enable the black man's party to "again come into its own."

He recalls the days of the reconstruction era, "when black men sat in the chairs of state in the Southern capitols," and sees these days restored.

Intelligent people know well enough, of course, that there is no danger of the return of those days when governmental posts in the South were held by the Negro; nor is there any probability that the white and black man will move upon the same planes in the South, until those planes be civil justice and mutual courtesy. The harm that Parsons does is that by his misinterpretation of the aims of his race and of the feeling of his race, he is harming the race. Intelligent Negroes and intelligent white people long ago realized that there can be no miscegenation, no breaking down of social barriers and that the development of the races must be parallel and not unilateral. Yet, such wild statements as Parsons has made leaves with a considerable element of white Southerners the old bogey fear of "black heels on white necks." Such a feeling is not best for the development and amicable relations of the two races.

The Telegraph has not said and does not now say that the Negro ought to vote. The intelligent Negro, as well as the intelligent white man, ought to be allowed the privilege of suffrage. But, for their own good, Negroes ought not to be dragged in and ought not to project themselves into fights between white men. In one case, Davis has been dragged in by Mrs. Williams' plea to his followers in the state and in the other, Parsons has injected the Negro of North Carolina into the fight there.

NEW YORK TIMES

OCT 8 1928

MAKING THE NEGRO A PAWN.

Into Secretary HOOVER'S speech on Saturday, especially directed to the South, were inserted several minor statements, or pledges, which did not attract much attention, though they deserve it. One of them was the following: "I believe in the merit "system of the civil service, and I "believe further that appointive of-"fices must be filled by those who "deserve the confidence and respect "of the communities they serve." This sounds harmless enough, but in Southern ears it can mean only one thing. Just now in the South the negro question is more violently debated than for years. And it is certain that this quiet utterance by Mr. HOOVER will be taken there as tantamount to a promise not to appoint colored men as postmasters, United States Marshals or Federal Collectors of Internal Revenue. It will be regarded as confirmation of the many reports that, if Mr. HOOVER is elected President, the Republican organization in the South will be virtually "lily white."

This is fully in line with a great deal of Republican campaigning now going on in the South. Strange as it may seem, an effort is made to show that the Democrats are more favorable to the political and social aspirations of the black man than are the Republicans. A full-page advertisement has been inserted in several Southern newspapers with the heading, "AL SMITH, the Negro Lover." It details some of the alleged favors shown by Governor SMITH to colored men in New York, and explains in large type that "AL "SMITH is the worst foe of White "Supremacy in public life in the "United States today." To us in the North this may seem fantastic. But it is a serious business in the South. It may be said that the whole is merely a political manoeuvre, designed for the coming election only, after which it will be dropped. But such movements, calculated as they are to renew and intensify racial animosities, create evils which live after them. The chief sufferers from them are only too likely to be the colored men themselves, whom it is thus sought to make use of insincerely by the campaigners of the two parties.

COUNCIL BLUFFS

IOWA

OCT 3 1928

G. O. P. NEGROES MEET

Enrollment In Hoover-Curtis Club Now Exceeds 100.

At the second meeting of the Hoover-Curtis club, Negro division, held Tuesday night at the Calvary Baptist church, thirty-five new members were added to the local organization to bring the total enrollment well over the 100 mark, according to Mrs. Christine Althouse, 2538 Fourth avenue, chairman.

An open discussion of the subject, "Why I am a Republican," was entered by many of the members. Short addresses were also delivered by several local republican Negroes on various phases of the political situation.

The next meeting of the group will be held Monday, Oct. 8, at the Tabernacle Baptist church. "What the Republican Party Has Meant to the Negro," will be the subject of discussion.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT

The present political campaign presents a situation that becomes intreasingly complicated as the election approaches. Controversies over Catholicism, prohibition, Tammany Hall, farm relief, the tariff, control of water power, and many other questions, with their accompanying slander and reviling, have resulted in such unprecedented party bolting in all sections of the country as to make the outcome of the election extremely doubtful.

Independent

Every day one reads a new forecast of the result of the election. In one he is told that nineteen states will surely go Republican and eleven Democratic; whereas eighteen, including New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Missouri, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Kentucky, and Tennessee, are doubtful. In another, twelve states are listed as surely Republican, seven as Democratic and twenty-nine as doubtful. In a third forecast, the doubtful list is still longer. Nearly every day releases from Republican headquarters predict victory for the Republicans in certain hitherto doubtful states; while releases from Democratic headquarters do likewise for the Democrats.

In all this confusion no one is more greatly preplexed than the Negro. The Republican party's indifference to him is responsible for his extensive bolting in this campaign. On the other hand, the hatred the South has shown toward him for so many years makes him shudder at seeking protection within the Democratic fold. Both Hoover and Smith have not dared to mention him either in their platforms or in their speeches. He is nonplussed. It is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that such a state of mind will tend to create indifference to the ballot on his part. Nothing could be more disastrous at this time.

It has been estimated that there are about six million Negroes in issues in this campaign. He should make a thorough investigation of the past public record of each candidate; should study his speeches in the present campaign; and above all should seek to determine his fitness to handle successfully all the intricate problems, national and international, that come within the scope of his office.

Apart from problems more or less domestic, there are serious international problems that will confront the new President, and that will demand wise leadership. There are the Kellogg peace treaty, the World Court, military disarmament, immigration, conditions in the Latin-American countries, our relations with Soviet Russia, and many other serious problems the proper disposition of which is just as vital to the Negro as to any other group in this country. It is necessary, therefore, that he should exercise his right to vote, and by all means should be guided by reason and intelligence in making his decision. To be indifferent or to heed the appeal of sentiment would be tragic.—Washington Sun.

WATSON "ICED" AT NEGRO MEET

Given Cold Welcome by Negro Republicans

CHICAGO, Oct. 15.—There was little applause when senator James Watson of Indiana, was introduced at a political meeting here. The Negro audience did not welcome him as enthusiastically as the republican party officials were led to expect, and to the contrary gave him the well known cold shoulder. Watson whose affiliation with the K. K. Klux Klan is known throughout the country, although he sat on the speaker's platform during the entire meeting, did not speak because of a "sore throat." He was scheduled to make the principal address of the evening When introduced, he made a bow and sat down without saying a word.

The republican leaders are reported to have said that they surmised that the senator's withdrawal "may have been" due to anti-Watson sentiment among the Negroes.

Republican.

G O P GUILTY OF DASTARD CRIME, KELLY MILLER

Howard Publicist And Professor Writes Hoover 4,685 Word Open Letter

HOOVER IS COMPARED WITH T'DDY ROOSEVELT

Dean Miller Reminds That Only Al Smith Has Condemned Klan

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Kelly Miller sent Presidential Candidate Herbert Hoover a 4685 page open letter this week entitled the "Negro at the Cross Roads."

In it Mr. Hoover is taken to task for his lily-white program and his silence on the Ku Klux Klan.

"I have met with the feeling of colored voters," said Dr. Miller, "to which I think you are entitled."

Some of the striking paragraphs of the letter are:

Would Bolt Party

"If Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens and the galaxy of brilliant Republican statesmen who incorporated the three Civil War amendments into the Constitution were living they would in all probability bolt the Grand Old Party as it faces up today.

Coolidge Harding

Both Presidents Harding and Coolidge refused to appoint a Negro minister to the Negro Republic of Haiti, a precedent set by President Grant and followed by Republican Presidents till the time of Taft.

G. O. P. Raped Haiti

"Haiti, our little black sister of the West Indies, has been raped of her virtue of self-sovereignty. A similar assault seems to be planned upon Liberia. Of course, material advantage and substantial reward have been presented in extenuation. Alluring gifts usually preceed seduction.

U. S. Worse Than Gambling House

"The last two Republican administrations have permitted the manipulation of the Civil Service machinery so as to cheat the Negro competitor to follow them. Usually it is a cross between an excuse and an apology.

Comparison With Roosevelt

"In order to carry out your evident purpose to split the solid South, it may have been necessary to remove Negroes from the chief places in state organizations. Theodore Roosevelt declared this to be his policy in building up a Progressive party in the South in 1912. But he had the courage and candor of his policy. He stated frankly that he would place white men at the head of the table, but not merely because they were white, but under the existing conditions, they were better instruments with which to carry out his purpose. At the same time he made room for colored men to find their places at the table according to their ability, weight and worth. His policy was as far from yours as night from day.

Howard, Davis, Church Cases

"After telling how Perry Howard (Miss), Robt. R. Church (Tenn.), Walter Cohen (La.), and Benj. Davis (Ga.), have been discredited and pushed aside by Hoover for lily-whites, Dr. Miller says.

"Files of the Congressional records will show that the Hon. Bascom Slemp, national committeeman from Virginia, was charged with documentary evidence, with the same type of offense for which the Mississippi national committeeman was indicted, and yet Mr. Slemp became private secretary to President Coolidge, and is now functioning as high priest in your campaign management, with out of his just dues. When a loya and patriotic American citizen is invited to open competition for a position and wins over other competitors and is then deprived of the promisec reward by tricky contrivances and cunning devices, he is justified in accusing the government of sharp practice which would not be tolerated in a first class gambling house.

Smith Condemned Klan

"During the present campaign Governor Smith, your agile adversary has condemned the Klan with his accustomed frankness and courage but up to date neither you, nor Mr Work, nor any other orthodox Republican of high party rank has opened his prudent lips.

The Old Klan

"The Ku Klux Klan sprung up after the Civil War for the express purpose of denying the Negro the full measure of his right as an American citizen. The Republican party o that day destroyed that evil and wicked order. The rejuvenated Klan began its operations in the South and in the Democratic party, but was driven body and baggage from that party by deliberate action at Madison Square Garden four years ago. It then sought and found hospitality in the Republican party. The basis of operation shifted to the West and North. It has gained all but complete control of the Republican politics in several western states, notably in Indiana, where it now has two governors—one in the penitentiary and one out.

Many Vote for Smith

"Many, many Negroes will vote the Democratic ticket, as a vindictive protest against the apostacy of the Republican party. A slap in the face by the hand of a friend inflicts a deeper hurt than a like blow, from the hand of an avowed enemy. The Negro is human and will be actuated by human motives.

Apologists Can't Find Agument

"I have been amazed and amused to notice your Negro adherents floundering around for firm grounds upon which to base their support; and upon which they can persuade others

Seattle, Wash. Enterprise Sept. 13 1928

John R. Hawkins In Chicago To Settle Discontent

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 12—(Special)—G. O. P. leaders here pooh, poohed the idea that Western chiefs have set next Wednesday for a strike if their demands are not met.

The Washington Post, in a special dispatch from Chicago, Tuesday, declared:

"After marking time for three weeks, colored Republican headquarters chiefs were ready to quit today. A general walkout of the Western division is threatened next Wednesday unless there are far-reaching developments by that time.

Phillips' Hands Tied.

"Homer G. Phillips, of St. Louis, who was defeated by John R. Hawkins, of Washington, to head the Negro Republican organization there, has discovered that his hands are tied as field organizer of the Western division. Organizers he commissioned are to be scrapped and their places filled by men in Washington.

"State Senator Odelbert Roberts, in charge of Negro headquarters here, brought back the revised organization when he returned recently from Washington. This revision, it is said, does not meet the approval of Roscoe Simmons nor of C. C. Calloway, chairman and vice-chairman of the speakers' bureau. These men, together with Arthur W. Mitchell, of Washington, and Mrs. Lethia Fleming, of Cleveland, feel keenly Senator Roberts' lack of national political experience as well as his inability to arrange satisfactory compensations.

Budget Too Small.

"They believed his $2,000 weekly budget here is much too small and resent the fact that the office personnel has been drawn entirely from the Windy City. But most of all, they resent their station here as or-

naments on a $6 daily stipend without instructions or schedule.

"Senator Roberts is closely aligned with major political interests here, and Negro Republican organization heads say he is about to freeze out the Tuskegee influence which Phillips and his co-workers represent. A showdown has been asked for in midweek.

Independents at Work.

Meanwhile, with the Elk convention adjourned, much organization activity has been noted in the Negro voters' political leagues opposed to voteless leadership. The league has the appearance of being amply supplied with campaign funds which can be traced to purely Negro sources."

How Trouble Started.

Trouble started several weeks ago when R. R. Church, Tennessee leader, Armond Scott and Finley Wilson of Washington, declined to serve on the colored G. O. P. advisory committee as at present constituted.

Church and Roscoe Simmons took their complaints to Herbert Hoover himself, and are reported to have had the understanding that the situation would be remedied as far as it concerns the organization in the West.

It is this revision which is reported as still unsatisfactory to Simmons and Church and Homer Phillips, chief of the Western bureau.

Hawkins in Chicago.

Claude A. Barnett, chief of the Associated Negro Press, and secretary of the G. O. P. publicity committee, declared that he did not consider the threatened Chicago walkout as worthy of serious notice.

Dr. John R. Hawkins, head of the colored Republican campaign committee, is in Chicago, he said, straightening out the tangle.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Times
Sunday, September 23, 1928

ORATORY MARKS THIRD DISTRICT G. O. P. POWWOW

Silas Williams Nominated for Congress Race.

SPEAKERS SEE VICTORY PERCHED ON BANNER

Dr. W. A. Thompson, Negro Leader, Sounds Keynote of Campaign — Judge Jennings Raps Democracy.

Attorney Silas Williams was named republican nominee for congress from the Third congressional district at the district convention, held yesterday morning in the courthouse auditorium.

Dr. W. A. Thompson, prominent local negro republican leader, placed his stamp of approval on the proceedings of the convention and called attention to the fact that the republicans of the Third ward in Chicago have nominated William Harrison, negro, as the candidate for congress. According to Dr. Thompson, Harris is running as an "anti-ring candidate" against Oscar DePriest, a white republican, for the office in Illinois.

After briefly referring to the spirit manifested by republicans during the national convention held at Kansas City last summer, where he served as one of the alternates from this congressional district, Dr. Thompson predicted the election of Herbert Hoover, the republican candidate for president, Silas Williams and William Harrison. The speaker said that he had attended Rogers Williams college, in Nashville, and later the University of Chicago, with William Harrison.

Referring to Harrison, Dr. Thompson said, in part:

"Yes, it is a fact, as the democrats have charged, that the republicans of Illinois have nominated a negro for congress. He is a brilliant man, one of the leading attorneys of Chicago. When he goes to congress we know we will all be glad that we have put no pettifogging politician, no man who will bow to the gallery, in office."

Dr. Thompson revealed that a campaign for funds for the negro aspirant for congress in Chicago has been in progress among republicans for some time.

Concerning the presidential campaign, Dr. Thompson said, in part:

"The leaders of my race never want to see this fair land reeling and rocking and swimming in alcoholic beverages." He predicted that Kentucky, Alabama and Georgia will all "go republican," and said there is no reason why Tennessee will not do likewise, provided the republican politicians of both races lend their best efforts to the cause.

Williams Nominated By J. H. Anderson.

United States Commissioner J. H. Anderson, in nominating Attorney Williams, also made brief references to the negroes and the republicans. In northern Georgia the republicans are very active, he said, and Senator Hardwick recently was "sent to urge the democrats not to forsake the democratic party merely because Smith had been nominated."

"He had told those people that the republican party was a negro party," the speaker said, in part. "I replied to him by saying that in Smith's own state of New York, in New York City, there are 300 negro school teachers and 200 negro policemen. They also chided us because in Chicago, in a negro district, the republicans have nominated a negro for congress. I replied that in St. Louis the democrats have nominated a negro on the democratic ticket.

"The republican party in not a sectional party, nor is it a racial party. I would not object to a colored man voting for the democratic party if he considered its principles were right. But I say to the colored man: 'Politics are not a matter of the color of your skin; they are a matter of principle.'"

The convention was opened with the singing of "America," led by Attorney John Ray, chairman of the Hamilton county republican executive committee. After Attorney John H. Early led in prayer, Gen. A. J. Fletcher, of Bradley county, was elected permanent chairman and Parks High, of Polk county, permanent secretary.

After taking the figurative gavel, Gen. Fletcher expressed himself in part, as follows:

"What we want to do is to show these democrats that we mean business. There are enough God-fearing democrats in this county and state to successfully help us carry this state for Herbert Hoover." He characterized Hoover as "one of the greatest men alive on the face of the earth today."

Every republican present was named a delegate to the convention, on a motion that effect by Attorney P. H. Thach. Attorney Foster V. Brown moved that the usual "committee on resolutions" be dispensed with "because the world knows already what we stand for," he said. The motion was passed.

Commissioner Anderson announced that the honor of nominating the candidate for congress from the Third congressional district had been conferred on him.

"The committee also said that I might indulge in a few 'whispers'," commented Commissioner Anderson. "They have said that this is a 'whispering campaign.' It has been my pleasure to have heard several republicans supporting our candidate for president, but I have also heard democrats appealing for the support of Hoover.

"This is a remarkable campaign, ladies and gentlemen. Those of us who are in middle life and past middle life have never before seen democratic campaign orators going before the south and asking them to support a republican candidate."

The speaker described his impressions of the national republican convention, which he attended. He then centered on the democratic national convention, held in Houston, Tex.:

"Three minutes after the democratic convention at Houston was over, what occurred? The presidential nominee who had been named by that convention sent a telegram repudiating the platform of his party. So we have the spectacle of a democratic candidate for president running, not on a platform, but on a telegram. * * *

"Some people may say that it is too late for us to nominate a candidate for congress, but this is not true. As the son of a Confederate veteran, I rise to nominate the son of another Confederate veteran as the republican candidate for congress from the Third congressional district."

Attorney Williams will "stand for the present immigration laws," according to Commissioner Anderson. Concerning prohibition, the speaker said:

Declares Williams Stands With "Drys."

"He (Williams) will not align himself, when he comes to consider prohibition, with those who long for the time to return in America when one could put his foot on a rail and blow off the froth. * * * He will stand with Hoover, for upholding the Eighteenth amendment, and the laws pursuant thereto * * *

"The man nominated by the opposition (Congressman Sam D. McReynolds, who is seeking re-election on the democratic ticket) is my personal friend, but what has he done in Washington by which he has a right to ask to be sent back? He has done—practically nothing!"

The nomination of Attorney Williams was seconded by Judge Sam Brown, of McMinn county, and passed by acclamation.

Postmaster Willard Springfield, who recently declined the nomination for congress, then expressed himself, in part, as follows:

"During the Aug. 2 primary the republicans of this district nominated me for congress. I want to say that I appreciate the honor they conferred on me, but there were some conditions and circumstances under which I could not accept. It pained me to make the statement that I could not accept that nomination, because I knew it would disappoint my friends. But some of my strong personal friends contended that I should remain in my present post as postmaster."

In closing, Postmaster Springfield warmly eulogized Attorney Williams, and predicted that the latter will be elected.

Attorney Williams was escorted to the platform by Attorneys Foster V. Brown and P. H. Thach.

"I accept this nomination with the idea of winning the election," said Attorney Williams, in part. "I believe that Herbert Hoover will be elected president of the United States and that he will carry Tennessee and the Third congressional district by an overwhelming majority.

"I have made no promises to anyone for this nomination. I am no one's candidate, except the candidate of the republican party of the Third congressional district. However, I am going to make a promise now, that in every speech I make during my campaign, the burden of my song will be the preeminency of Herbert Hoover for the presidency of the United States. If I am elected, I will give just as much consideration and weight to the requests of the most humble person in my district as to the requests of the most powerful person."

Williams Challenges Judge McReynolds.

Attorney Williams stated that he was born in South Carolina, "born and raised a democrat, the son of a Confederate soldier." He came to Tennessee a democrat, he said, and in 1920 he cast his first vote for a republican, Warren G. Harding, former president of the United States.

"I am 'dry' in principle and in practice, and for Hoover," he said. He declared that he is "behind Hoover" on the latter's stand for "restricted immigration" and for "a high, protective tariff." "I believe American prosperity—and there really is prosperity, it is no myth—is due to republican administrations and prohibition."

In conclusion, Attorney Williams demanded answers to questions concerning Congressman McReynolds' stand on "certain questions."

"Does my honored opponent (McReynolds) indorse Smith's stand on immigration?" he asked. "Does he indorse Smith's stand on the proposed plan to put the states back in the liquor business? If Smith and my honored opponent are elected, and Smith carries out his proposal to amend the prohibition and immigration laws, will Congressman McReynolds give Smith his support or oppose him? I believe that the public has a right to have these questions answered."

Jennings Speaks And "Wise Cracks."

Judge John Jennings, of Knoxville, former chancellor, was introduced by Attorney Sam J. McAllester, referee in bankruptcy.

Judge Jennings, in a rather lengthy speech, interspersed with numerous "wise cracks" at the expense of the democrats, made remarks such as the following:

"When a man like Raskob leaves our party, it is to the party's credit."

"Talk about intolerance! Who is intolerant? Don't Smith 'fuss' with somebody almost every time he makes a speech?"

"Concerning this 'whispering campaign': We have heard from the 'whispering pines of Maine' that grew into a roar of 90,000 republican majority."

"Smith proposes that the 'alcoholic content' be raised to 'Tammany per cent.' He seems to think that enlargement of the alcoholic content is the supreme issue of this campaign."

"This is the first time in history that Tammany Hall has been strong enough to go into a democratic convention and swallow it body, soul and britches."

"The republican party has been in power in this country for fifty-two years out of the past sixty-eight years."

Attorney Williams will formally open his campaign Monday afternoon at 4 o'clock in the Bradley county courthouse in Cleveland. He is expected to discuss the current issues of the national campaign, together with his claims for the office to which he is aspiring. He is planning other speaking engagements, among them being an address at Birchwood next Friday night. The dates of other engagements have not been definitely assigned as yet, but will be released next week.

LaGrange, Ga., Graphic
Friday, September 7, 1928

Speaking of bolters, the colored voters seem to be deserting the republican party and swearing allegience to the leaders of Tammany. The reason for this change of heart is explained by this and similar instances as described in the New York Times of August 16. "With more than 500 negro delegates from all over the country attending, the twenty-ninth annual convention of the National Negro Business League opened yesterday morning at the Mother Zion A. M. E. Church, 151 West 136th street. Mayor Walker welcomed the convention to the city at the evening session in the Abyssinian Baptist church, 132 West 138th street. The Mayor's only reference to national politics came when he paused for a moment towards the end of his address and then concluded with a smile: 'After the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November—I won't say what is going to happen—but I can assure you now that you will be as welcome in the White House as you are here in New York City.' The Mayor's remarks were cheered until he left to go to another engagement."

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican.

Declares Republicans in Washington Permit No Negro Commissioner to Dictate to White Female Stenographers, as Is Done in New York City

The color issue was boldly raised here Monday, this time by one high in the ranks of the Hoover campaign forces, when Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire, Eastern manager of the Republican National Committee, slammed a broadside at the Democrats for permitting a Negro civil service commissioner to dictate to a "white stenographer of the female sex." He hurled his scathing criticism out before 500 members of the Women's National Republican Club.

Senator Moses, a New Englander, who is not conversant with the political intricacies of New York, was following the lead of the Ku Klux Klan organ, the Fellowship Forum, which published a picture of Ferdinand Q. Morton, Democrat, civil service commissioner, dictating to a white stenographer. His reference was made of the same man.

One woman asked if it were true that Herbert Hoover had placed Negro officials over white men during the Mississippi flood relief. Another wanted to know whether the Presidential candidate had made promises to the colored Virginians for their support.

Moses Didn't Know

"I don't know that any such condition exists," he replied, "but if any promises have been made, they will be kept."

Continuing, he declared: "I do know, however, that in Washington there is no colored civil service commissioner who dictates to a white stenographer of the female sex, such as I understand is done right here in New York."

Party Regrets Rashness

Regret that the color issue should be raised by one of the highest campaign officers flowed freely through Republican circles. The Senator only meant, it was insisted, to draw a comparison showing that Democrats and Republicans alike acknowledge the place of the Negro to serve in public office. Meanwhile, the campaign forces await the wave of protest expected to come from the Negro constituency.

Leaders Disagree

Applauded by half of his audience, a sector of equal size received his tirade in silence. Leaders of the Republicans openly disagreed with the remarks, which they contend can only serve to arouse bitterness and possibly create a breach between white and colored Republicans.

It was pointed out, also, that the senator was unwise in choosing his subject, for recognition is given colored Republicans in New York as elsewhere. There are Assistant District Attorneys Hubert Delaney and Richard Baltimore in the United States Attorney's office; Charles W. Anderson, Collector of Internal Revenue, post office superintendents and other officials holding appointive offices without engendering the least friction and no discrimination is made in assigning white workers to assist them.

The bombshell of Moses came after a speech in which he ridiculed the Democrats for their tardy espousal of the tariff. Concluding, he submitted to questioning.

HOOPING FOR HOOVER

THE LOUISVILLE LEADER, that is the organ of the Hoover ite "Sham pain" in Kentucky, had an article from a note Baptist minister, which contained these shocking and appalling assertions:

"Five Million Masons Will Vote For Hoover."

If that many Masons will vote against a man on account of his religious belief they ought to burn up their regalia, wreck every temple and disband to meet no more 'til we are all called before the judgment seat of God. To vote according to that prediction is to trample upon the rights of an humble and honest citizen and to soil with the hoof of brutal bigotry the roses and violets of constitutional liberty.

The Catholics, of all religious sects, were the first to make a motion for freedom of conscience in the new world and are the last to receive its benefits.

Again it says, "Ten million members of the Ku Klux Klan will vote for Hoover." That must be very comforting to the Negro to learn that the Grand Dragon, D. C. Stephenson, now serving a life term in the penitentiary for murder, will be released through the Klan's influence and that "Imperial Lizzard," H. W. Evans, will be a member of Hoover's cabinet. This band of pirates that has spread terror into the hearts of poor, defenseless Negroes by hanging, burning, branding and whipping them, is to direct the destinies of this Republic. A vote for Hoover is a vote for the Klan.

Further it says, "Colored Americans, en bloc, will vote for Hoover." That is to say that Negroes are so blind as to lick the boot that kicks them and though the Republican party has spurned him from its door, as a strange cur, yet will he return, wagging his tail and barking to get in. We deny that ALL Negroes will vote for Hoover. To do so would justify his disfranchisement, for nothing could better demonstrate his unfitness for the ballot than a lack of intelligence to discriminate between good and evil.

Says the writer, "The bootlegger will support Hoover upon the ground that, should Governor Smith be elected, their business will end, and that means the return of the saloons.

That must be very edifying to these christian moralists to know they have the active aid and co-operation of bootleggers in their efforts to save us from the Catholics.

It is also good news to us that Smith's election means the "return of the saloons." That is beyond the mildest dream of the wettest wet. That out-jonahs—Jonah.

The article concludes with this piece of folly:

"The people are going to elect Hoover because they believe in America for Americans and are opposed to any entrangling alliances with Pope, King or other foreign ruler."

Pray tell us, how can any President get us into entangling alliance? It is more like Hoover has already gotten the Republican party into an alliance offensive and defensive with Ku Klux Klan and its rule is certainly foreign to American ideals, to our constitutions and laws and to the genius of all our institutions. Negroes who are caught with such chaff do not deserve to be considered within the pale of human brotherhood. They are mere Ishmaelites on Earth with their hands against every man and every man's hand against them.

A vote for Hoover is a vote for the political prostitutes in the Ku Klux Klan. It is an endorsement of every outrage committed against Negroes, while on the other hand a vote for Smith is a vote for the death of race prejudice, religious intolerance and the end of the most infamous and remorseless brand of assassins that ever scuttled a ship or cut a throat.

Vote for Smith.

Birmingham, Ala., News
Tuesday, September 4, 1928

NEGRO G. O. P. HEAD IN STATE AWAITS STREET'S ORDERS

Montgomery County Chairman Holds Plans In Check; Democrats Busy

While the negro chairman of the Republican executive committee of Montgomery County announced he was awaiting further instructions from Oliver D. Street, Republican national committeeman from Alabama, before perfecting his Republican machine in Montgomery County, the white Democratic organization of Alabama was swinging into action Tuesday in every section of the state.

Action of an anti-Smith speaker at a mass meeting in Birmingham Monday night in holding up the clipping of a letter from C. L. Robins and claiming it denied stories about threats on Mr. Robins' life in Jasper several nights ago, was denounced as false Tuesday by Mr. Robins in a telephone conversation with The News.

"My letter protested only the report that I had a sawed-off shotgun, which was erroneous. I only felt that the shotgun part only held me in the light of a thug, and the loyal Democrats of Walker County are not thugs.

Favors Old Party

"I am for the Democratic ticket from top to bottom, and so is Walker County. They (meaning the foes of Democracy) had better stay away, for they cannot intimidate us. I pledge myself not only to support the party, but to work for an overwhelming victory in November."

The report that Mr. Robins had a sawed-off shotgun was made prematurely by the reporter covering the story for The Age-Herald on authority of county officers there. The report was made to him late at night, just before The Age-Herald went to press, and he was told that the county officials were sending Mr. Robins a sawed-off shotgun for his protection, following the threats against his life. Mr. Robins, who lives in a sparsely settled section of the town, was called from his home at midnight last Wednesday by three armed men and told "to lay off" politics and that "somebody is going to get killed."

The Democratic nominee for president was lauded as the greatest friend of labor since Woodrow Wilson in an address of William L. Harrison, Alabama labor chieftain, in a Labor Day address at Anniston.

R. H. Harris, negro chairman of the Montgomery County Republican executive committee, stated he was waiting for his regular advices from Street and from C. B. Kennamer, United States district attorney, before perfecting the Republican machine in Montgomery County.

M. C. Jackson is secretary of the Montgomery County Republican executive committee, of which the negro is chairman. Other members are Maj. E. E. Winters, J. P. Knabe C. W. Lee and V. H. Tulane.

And while Republicans of the state awaited the perfection of their machine, guided by Mr. Street, Democrats were swinging into line with a series of rallies in every section of the state over the week-end and through Labor Day.

Crowds Greet Miller

Judge B. M. Miller, the first Alabama jurist to administer jail sentences for prohibition violators, was principal speaker at a gigantic Labor Day rally at Centerville, in Bibb County. Judge Miller was greeted with a packed courthouse of Bibb County citizens. His address was an appeal to the Democrats of Bibb County to continue their unwavering championship of the ideals of Democracy and turn the general elections in November into a landslide of Alabama votes for the Democratic party, with the greatest majorities ever given a Democratic candidate.

The friendship of Gov. Smith for labor, demonstrated during his four terms as chief executive of New York, was recounted by W. L. Harrison in an address before a Labor Day meeting at Anniston. Mr. Harrison has served for five terms as head of the Alabama Federation of Labor. He is a former city commissioner of Birmingham and a member of the Alabama Tax Commission. In his address, Mr. Harrison said:

"I make this declaration of my own responsibility without fear of successful contradiction and of my own personal experience and knowledge in labor affairs, that there was more progressive remedial labor legislation enacted in Congress and more direct relief given labor under the administration of the late Democratic president, Woodrow Wilson, than under all the Republican administrations combined, certainly the last two, Harding and Coolidge, administrations.

Smith Aids Labor

"I make the further declaration that more genuine progressive, social and remedial legislation of interest and benefit to labor has been placed upon the statute books of the state of New York by the present Democratic standard-bearer while governor of that state than by any other governor of any state in this union. These statements are facts and will be borne out by the records.

The laboring men and women of this state, and indeed this nation, value the worth of the ballot to them and will reflect long and ponder seriously these records before being diverted or shaken by any 'isms' or schisms in doing their duty to themselves, their families and the labor cause when casting their votes."

Mr. Harrison reviewed the history of Labor Day in the United States and the progress of the labor movement under such leadership as that of the late Samuel Gompers and of William Green, now president of the American Federation of Labor. He emphasized the peaceful procedure and lawful methods that have characterized the labor movement in the United States as contrasted with that in Europe.

Huntsville Plans Rally

Preparations for a vast Democratic rally in Huntsville Tuesday night, under auspices of the Madison County Democratic Club, have been completed. Judge Leon McCord will deliver the principal address, discussing the issues of the campaign. The meeting will be held in the Madison County Courthouse.

From Meadville, Miss., came the report of a second meeting of the Franklin County Democratic Executive Committee, rescinding its action of several days ago in which it attacked by resolution the Democratic nominee.

The meeting in Meadville was called by Chairman P. H. Gaugh following an indignation meeting of citizens of the county who condemned previous action of the executive committee. The meeting was called and the action rescinded.

Dallas Voters Signed

Every voter in Dallas County is now being signed by the County Democratic Club in order to get to the polls the greatest list of Democratic voters in the November elections this county has ever seen. Milton Wood, Selma city councilman, is in charge of the membership committee, and Mrs. Bowie Smith, as chairman, is directing registration of the women.

Judge W. W. Brandon, former governor of Alabama and chief of the speakers bureau of the campaign in the state, is perfecting rapidly an organization of orators over the state and declares every voter in Alabama will have an opportunity to hear the truth about the campaign before November. He predicts a landslide for Democracy.

"I have been agreeably surprised with the number willing to go on the stump for Democracy during this campaign, contributing their time and money to a campaign of education," he said. "I trust that all voters in the state will attend these meetings, and they may be assured that the speeches will be free from abuse and ridicule.

Campaign On High Plane

"We are pitching this campaign on a high plane and we will not stoop below our original intent—to demonstrate clearly and honestly the already established fact that Democracy is the South's salvation, morally and materially.

"I hope all Alabamians will read the statement of Chairman Oliver in Sunday's issue of The Birmingham News. That presents clearly and fully the issues in the campaign."

Among the widely known Alabamians who are listed on the vast speaking program for Democracy in Alabama are Congressman Oliver, Congressman Bankhead, Congressman McDuffie, Congressman Allgood, Congressman Almon, J. H. Bankhead, G. T. McElderry, Judge Bernard Harwood, Judge C. E. McCall, Congressman Lister Hill, Maj. Frank W. Dixon, Judge James Rice, Judge B. M. Miller, J. M. Foster, Judge Fleetwood Rice, Thomas Espy, Judge Leon McCord, Judge Walter B. Jones, and a great many others from all sections of the state, according to Judge Brandon.

DR. ROBINSON RAN 3RD

GOOD SHOWING MADE BY "BENNIE" for Governor's Council Nomination IN REPUBLICAN DISTRICT — ROBERT TALYOR NOMINATED — BULLOCK ON STATE COMMITTEE — BURRILL AND HAMLIN FOR LEGISLATURE

Dr. Benjamin E. Robinson did not win the Republican nomination for the Governor's Council in the 3rd district, which is Republican, but he ran third in a field of 5, all white but himself, being led by Mrs. Andrews and Philip Ammidon. Mrs. Andrews is already in the Council and won on her appeal as the only woman. Robert J. Taylor had no opponent for nomination to the Governor's Council in the 4th district which is democratic.

DR. BENJ. E. ROBINSON
Lost, But Made Good Run

Minor F. Hamlin won the Republican nomination for the Legislature from the 1st Middlesex district in Cambridge, and Rollins Burrill from the 9th Suffolk in Boston, both of which are democratic. In Ward 9 Matthew Bullock defeated Mrs. Harriet C. Hall for Republican State Committee. It is said the Charles C. Seales slate won for Ward Committee.

Greenwood, Miss., Commonwealth
Thursday, September 20, 1928

WHERE DO YOU STAND

The Republican party is planning to wage a great battle to carry Mississippi for Herbert Hoover.

That seems evident from the announcement that Lamont Rowlands, Picayune capitalist, had been appointed chairman of the Republican campaign in Mississippi.

Lamont Rowlands is a fine gentleman, but the Republican party is the Republican party, and the selection of Mr. Rowlands does not cleanse the party of its taint.

The issue in Mississippi is still black against white. The campaign question is white supremacy or negro domination. The addition of a few white men to the party councils in Mississippi does not change the alternatives before the voters in November.

The Republican party is still the party of the negro. Perry Howard, although under indictment by a federal court, is still the Republican national committeeman. Mary Booze, of Mound Bayou, is still the national committeewoman from Mississippi, and her picture is still being displayed in a group of Republican national committeewomen meeting to discuss the campaign.

Negroes in Leflore county are still the representatives of the regular wing of the Republican party, and the so-called Lily-White group of Republicans took care to send a group of negroes with their contesting delegation to the Kansas City convention.

There is no argument that can change these facts. There is no white wash that can change the leopard's spots, nor paint out of the Republican party its sixty-eight years of black championship.

Where does the white voter in Mississippi stand? There is no middle ground in this campaign. The voter is either for Smith or for Hoover. Either Democrat or Republican.

WEST VIRGINIAN
FAIRMONT, W. VA.
SEP 7 - 1928

COLORED VOTERS FORM CLUB AT RACHEL

MANNINGTON Sept. 7.—A political club has been formed in this neighborhood for colored voters, with headquarters at Rachel. At the opening meeting there were 50 members to enroll. The next meeting will be held September. 8, when more voters are expected to join. The officers elected at the first meeting are Charles Boyd, president; John Horn, vice president; J. P. Davis, treasurer; Thomas Moore, secretary; James Moore, corresponding secretary. This organization will occupy headquarters and will hold regular meetings until after the approaching presidential election.

Political — 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican

SOME ANGLES TO THE ELECTION

With the presidential election sufficiently out of the way to view it dispassionately and unbiasedly, some of the factors contributing to the unprecendented triumph of President-elect Herbert Clark Hoover and Vice President-elect Charles Curtis, and the overwhelming defeat of Governor Alfred Emanuel Smith and Senator Joseph T. Robinson, can be scrutinized and analyzed.

Despite the fact that he polled the largest popular vote of any presidential candidate in the history of America, excepting his Republican opponent, Governor Smith failed to carry the "solid South," and his showing in the electoral college—87 votes as against 444 for Mr. Hoover—is the most sorrowful showing ever made by any Democratic presidential nominee.

Governor Smith's failure to carry the erstwhile "solid South" is largely attributed to the religious and liquor issue, with the former as the real issue and the latter as the alleged issue.

Had Governor Smith been a Protestant and as wet as the liquid waves of the Atlantic Ocean, we seriously doubt whether the Democratic South would have landed such a solar plexus wallop upon the political anatomy of this distingushed American.

As between Smith and Catholicism and Hoover and his "chocolate drops," multiplied thousands of Southern Democrats, by their vote of November 6, 1928, stated that they preferred the latter to the former; and this notwithstanding all manner and types of appeals to racial prejudice and sectional acrimony by Dixie demagogues and professional politicians.

11-17-28

As The Informer has often contended in its editorial columns, this country is normally Republican, and this was convincingly demonstrated in the recent presidential election, when, with Governor Smith breaking the record for all time in popular vote for the losing or winning presidential candidate, Mr. Hoover received an even larger popular vote and 84 per cent of the electoral votes.

As popular votes do not elect presidents, Governor Smith was simply out of luck, but his defeat and downfall is due to his party affiliations.

Houston Texas

Thousands, yea, millions of Americans forgot party lines and voted for the Gotham governor because they admired the man, while not giving a snap of their finger about his party; and we presume Smith supporters of the Democratic household can truthfully say the same thing about some of the Hoover supporters in the South and other sections of the country.

The opposition to Governor Smith because of his religious views made millions of votes for him, while the hostility of the klan drove millions more to his standards.

Whether we wish to admit it or not, The Informer holds to the view that the liquor question played a very small part in the presidential campaign—not enough to have changed the final outcome of the election; for had the border and Southern states, which gave their electoral vote to Mr. Hoover, gone for Governor Smith, the Republican nominee would have been elected just the same.

Democratic leaders are "pointing with pride" to Governor Smith's staggering popular vote, and contending that it signifies that their party is very much alive and if properly reorganized their presidential nominee will be elected in 1932.

One statement can be truthfully made about the Democratic party: It is the most forward-looking party in America, for before the votes are counted, tabulated and announced every quadrennium, the party leaders are issuing optimistic statements concerning their chances of winning the presidency in the next quadrennial election.

Why such a forward-looking political organization can not elect a president of this country is the difference between these leaders' feigned optimism and the determination of the majority of American electors that they prefer the Republican to the Democratic chief executive of the nation.

As long as the Democratic party practices and preaches one gospel in one section of the country and another in another section; as long as its main strength is derived from people who boast that they have no respect or regard for the constitution of their country, and regard it as a "mere scrap of paper;" as long as the Democratic leaders must trot out the perennial "Negro issue" to drive their adherents into the party fold and keep them there by waving the bloody flag of reconstruction days and thereby reviving the sectional issue; as long as the party fails to represent the highest ideals of Americanism and democracy, its presidential candidates, like Cox, Davis and Smith, will be led as sheep to their political slaughter and extermination.

The American electorate chose Mr. Hoover because they considered him and his party superior to Governor Smith and his mongrel partisan organization.

"SOLID SOUTH" AND THE NEGRO.

The Republican Party for once in its history has made inroads into the heretofore "Solid South." While the Southern people were thinking kindly of the Republican Party, the colored brother was flirting with the Democratic Party. Just as more Southern whites supported the National Republican Nominee than at any time since the party has been in existence so have more Negroes given their support to the National Democratic Nominee than at any time since the privilege of voting has been theirs.

Jacksonville Fla.

Columbia, S.C.

Heretofore, the Southern whites have looked upon the Republican Party as the devil incarnate and at the same time the Negroes have regarded the Democratic Party as all that is mean and unfair—something to be shunned as one would a pestilence. However, it seems that both have at last learned something.

11-17-28

There is no more reason for all Southern whites to be Democrats than there is for all Negroes to be Republicans. The last National election marks an era in the political thought of the nation. There can be no doubt that this country has taken a step forward, the old reactionaries to the contrary notwithstanding. Let it be hoped that the future years will see no backward steps, as revolutionary as things seem in the late election.

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO

In the campaign which ended with the triumphant election of Hoover for President including the victory the breaking of the Solid South the Negro passed through the bitterest campaign that has been waged since the ballot was placed in his hands. Never before in a Presidential campaign, has the cry of "Negro Domination" and "White Supremacy" been raised with such venom and bitterness for the purpose of arousing racial hatred against the Negro.

Herald Communications

.. Disfranchised for thirty-five years and absolutely eliminated from State and local politics and possessing emancipation from his present condition of semi-political only a convention status in the Republican party during and civil servitude.

Presidential Campaigns he was nevertheless made the The first and greatest need of the Negro in the South chief issue in the campaign in the South. 11-17-28 is justice and equal opportunity. This can only be fully

And yet Hoover won five great states of that section. secured through possession of the ballot and with the ad-

It was a bloodless revolution achieved with the ballot. It vent of the two party system in the South the ballot will means a new birth, a new day for the South; it means a be attained. The attainment of the ballot with justice and New South.

Baltimore, Md.

It means a new day for the Negro of the South. It equal opportunity that will follow is worth any price or means that the old party skeletons held together only for sacrifice that may be needed to secure it.

the purpose of herding delegates to be bartered in exchange for patronage will be destroyed and the building up of an aggressive, militant, strong Republican party organization in each State that will attract to it voters of both races and bring to the Negro political relief and

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Baltimore, Md.

It means a new day for the Negro of the South. It means that the old party skeletons held together only for the purpose of herding delegates to be bartered in exchange for patronage will be destroyed and the building up of an aggressive, militant, strong Republican party organization in each State that will attract to it voters of both races and bring to the Negro political relief and emancipation from his present condition of semi-political and civil servitude.

The first and greatest need of the Negro in the South is justice and equal opportunity. This can only be fully secured through possession of the ballot and with the advent of the two party system in the South the ballot will be attained. The attainment of the ballot with justice and equal opportunity that will follow is worth any price or sacrifice that may be needed to secure it.

THE BID FOR THE SOUTH

11/17/28

EVER since the Harding campaign in 1920 the Republican party has been wooing the Solid South. In that campaign Tennessee and Kentucky deserted the Donkey for the Elephant and, encouraged by the turn of affairs, President Harding went to Birmingham and delivered his famous speech, in which he emphasized, to the delight of the white South, that there were "fundamental and inescapable differences" between the two races. But that gesture and considerations in the matter of patronage did not win the Solid South for Coolidge in 1924. There were tens of thousands of white people in the South who secretly wanted to vote the Republican ticket and believed that the old one-party system down there was injurious to the section. But to be a Republican is, or has been, next door to being a Negro in the South, and few Southern whites could afford to brook social ostracism, even though they looked longingly at Republican patronage.

And then came the nomination of Governor Alfred E. Smith as the Democratic candidate for President. A Catholic, a Tammany leader and an avowed Wet, his candidacy offended a substantial majority of Protestant and Dry members of his party. The Republicans could have asked for nothing better as a lever to break the grip of the Democratic party on the Solid South. Election day came and passed, and Governor Smith was swamped under a wave of Republican votes, as politically informed persons had prophesied. But no one seemed to thoroughly appreciate, until after the ballots had been cast and counted, the extent of the Democratic defection in the South. Not only did the Republicans carry West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, as was expected, but they carried Texas, Oklahoma, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Florida as well. The Republicans were amazed and the Democratic chiefs could hardly believe it.

Of course a great deal of this Democratic defection must be discounted in any attempt to estimate the actual political temper of the ex-Confederate States. It must be remembered that religious prejudices had a great deal to do with the decision of erstwhile Dixie Democrats to vote for Herbert Hoover. Again, while the South is just as wringing Wet as the rest of the country, it is politically and avowedly Dry. So the substantial defection of party members because of Governor Smith's Wetness was to be expected. But when these transient tempers are discounted, the astounding fact remains that all of the South except the most backward and savage sections has broken with political tradition.

The Republican party will not be slow to follow up its advantage. The first step, even before the campaign began, was the tacit agreement of those at the helm of the G. O. P. that the Lily White factions in the Southern States would be rid of Negro domination as the first step toward attaining respectability. With the Republican party in the South definitely a white man's party, so far as leadership is concerned, there would be greatly increased possibilities of splitting the solid Democratic vote and building up a two-party system. This first step was followed by intensive propaganda, both above and below board, and finally by Mr. Hoover's carefully prepared speech at Elizabethtown, Tenn. Now those familiar with G. O. P. strategy are saying that the cabinet of Mr. Hoover will contain at least one Southerner, and possibly two, while a great deal of patronage will be doled out to those who organized the Anti-Smith movement and succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. It is almost certain that all of the Republican National Committeemen will hereafter be white men, South as well as North, and that the Southern Negro politicians will have to relinquish their dominant position in party councils and control. With unequaled powers of dispensing patronage, the chances of the Republican party breaking permanently into the Solid South are very, very good.

But what of the Negro? Will the change help or hinder his political emancipation in the South? These questions are uppermost in the minds of intelligent Negroes in every part of the nation. The tendency is toward pessimism, but we do not believe that such an attitude is justified. The political power that Negro leaders in the South have bartered in the past quarter century has been largely non-existent. So far as the bulk of Negroes was concerned, it meant nothing. The Negroes were all theoretically Republicans, overwhelmingly disfranchised and thus helpless, while the whites were all Democrats with full voting power, and thus overwhelmingly dominant. To all intents and purposes there was but one political party in the South, and that one was "For white Only." There was no desire or bid for the vote of the Negro citizen, and consequently no one in the South made any effort to get him enfranchised. When there are real political contests in the South the Negro citizen will get consideration, and not until then. Since there can be no real political contests unless there are two parties, it seems obvious that the present trend is for the better, even though certain individual Negroes lose position and prestige. We must consider the good of the greatest number and we believe that will be best served as a result of the present G. O. P. tactics. Many Southern Democratic leaders realize this "danger" impending and that explains their fanatical aversion to any encroachments of the Republicans in what they deem their exclusive preserves.

Finally, the economic factors which are at the bottom of all human activities must be taken into consideration. The South is no longer overwhelmingly agricultural. Where up until twenty or thirty years ago there was but the one dominant economic interest, there are now two and possibly three. In addition to the Southern agriculturists, there are now the increasingly powerful factory and commercial classes. The inevitable differences between country and town have arisen and are growing stronger. This growing economic diversity of the South renders a one-party system obsolescent and ineffective, and marks its doom in the not-far-distant future. The results of the recent election are merely straws indicating the direction of the political wind in Dixie. The 1930 and 1932 elections will quite likely show a continuance of the trend. The Negro has nothing to lose by it and a great deal to gain.

20,000 VOTED IN OLD DOMINION

(By J. WARREN WHITTEN)

ROANOKE, Va.—C. Tiffany Tolliver, G. O. P. chairman of Colored Voters' Division estimated that 20,000 voted for Hoover in this state.

Virginia, tired of Glass and Byrd, will never go back to the Democratic column, he said.

Congratulations were extended by Arthur Froe, D. C. Recorder of Deeds, R. H. Angell, chairman of Va. State Republican Executive Committee; Bascum Slemp and W. B. F. Crowell, National Speakers' Bureau.

Florida To See Advent Of Republican Primaries

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., Nov. 8—(AP)—Florida not only left the "solid South," by giving its six electoral votes to Herbert Hoover but also became a two-party State under the state law as a result of last Tuesday's general election.

William J. Howey, Republican candidate for governor, was defeated by Doyle E. Carlton, Democratic nominee, but he succeeded in polling sufficient votes to bring his party into legal recognition in this state and there will be a Republican primary two years hence for the first time in history.

The Florida primary law recognizes any political party that polls 30 per cent of the total vote cast for governor in a general election. On the basis of unofficial returns from 1,000 of the state's 1,263 precincts, Howey counted 85,149 votes to Carlton's 124,717 and was maintaining more than the legal requirement under the primary law, as belated returns were received. Tonight, however, Howey conceded victory to Carlton.

JOURNAL

Lincoln, Neb.

OCT 23 1928

MRS. MYRTLE COOK TALKS

National Speaker Guest of Colored Women's Hoover Club.

Mrs. Myrtle Foster Cook of Kansas City, speaking under the auspices of the republican national committee, will address members of the Lincoln Hoover-Curtis Colored Women's club at the Masonic hall Wednesday night. Mrs. Jennie Edwards is president of the local Hoover organization and Mrs. Lula B. Alexander, secretary. The meeting will be open to the public.

This organization has a large membership and a few nights ago a large gathering turned out to hear Attorney S. A. J. Watkins of Chicago who spoke on national issues. Rev. John Adams presided. Nine Hooverite girls gave a gymnastic exhibition and the Hoover-Curtis quartet sang.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

SOUTH SENT BAKER HUGE SLUSH FUND

See Effort To Divide Vote In Publicity Given To Harrison Candidacy

BY SIDNEY GRAHAM

While Joseph L. McLemore of St. Louis went down to defeat by 7,000 votes to Congressman L. C. Dyer in the 12th Missouri district, and Edward A. Johnson the hope of Harlem, was beaten by a somewhat smaller majority by Congressman R. H. Weller of the 21st New York district, Oscar DePriest, the fighting Illinoisian, for almost a score of years a leader in the politics of the City of Chicago, saved the day for the black man in America and in a whirlwind finish rode to a well earned victory over his Democratic opponent, Harry A. Baker, for congressman from the 1st district of Illinois.

Overcomes Early Lead

Overcoming an early lead piled up by the Democrat in the predominately Caucasian precincts of the district, DePriest amassed a total of about 24,000 votes to 20,000 for his opponent when the final count, taking in the heavily populated colored precincts on the south side, was announced. First reports showed the colored candidate trailing by several thousand votes, and the daily papers announced that the last hope of the black race to be represented in congress was gone, and Baker, the Caucasian, would be the next congressman from the First district. By early Wednesday afternoon, however, DePriest had registered such overwhelming gains in the colored wards that his election was conceded.

Little is known of the Democratic candidate Baker. He was hardly heard of until a few weeks before the election. Reports are that he is a teamster and an obscure politician. His unexpected showing was a surprise to almost everybody, for advance notices indicated that DePriest would win by a 2 to 1 majorit.y

Chicago

Taking a perspective of the entire contest, however, there are visible evidences of a carefully laid plot on the part of the enemies of the black race to keep a colored man out of the United States congress. Baker was kept in the background, it will be remembered, while efforts were made to split the colored vote by pushing the candidacy of William H. Harrison against DePriest. Fearing that if Baker were injected too much in the fray, colored people would become alarmed over the danger of losing their chance to put any representative of their race at all in congress, and would thereupon concentrate their whole power upon one candidate, it was made to appear throughout the campaign that the contest was between DePriest and Harrison, while the Caucasians both Democratic and Republican, worked silently and feverishly to concentrate their strength on Baker.

Rumor Slush Fund

The thoroughness with which those opposed to a black man in congress worked is best evidenced by the large vote which Baker received. It is rumored that three weeks before the election a fund of $10,000 was sent to Baker from the south to aid him in "keeping the nigger out of congress." A most remarkable feature about the fight carried on in his behalf was the utter secrecy of it, which was preserved up to the very day of the election.

And the well laid plans of the opposition almost worked out exactly as intended. If Harrison had received 10,000 votes instead of 5,000, Baker would have won. If Harrison had not been running, on the other hand, and DePriest had received the votes he lost through the ignorance of some of his supporters on the proper way to split a ticket, he would have approached the 2 to 1 majority he was expected to gain. That shows just how significent the Harrison candidacy was and might have been. The danger of the independent candidacy in splitting the colored vote pointed out by Major John R. Lynch and other political wiseacres almost materialized.

Will Continue Fight

But Oscar DePriest, always a fighter, and known as such ever since he first became prominent in politics, came out victorious over the combined opposition, that from the whites and that from his own people. The same spirit which made him the first colored alderman in Chicago has made him the first colored congressman in history from a northern state. Unquestionably the greatest and most important black man in the world today, he stands ready to continue fighting, and promises to give to the First Illinois district the best representation that he is capable of giving. He goes to the halls of the national capitol as a representative of the whole people, and not as a colored man, and though he will not hesitate to safeguard the interests of his own race when they are opposed by those who do not understand them, or are openly hostide to them, he will not forget that America is the great melting pot, and that he is primarily a representative of American citizenry in general.

Republican.

DISPATCH

Norfolk, Va.

OCT 25 1928

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Speaking in Missouri, a state with Democratic leanings, and urging the election of Secretary Hoover, Representative Dyer made this notable comment:

> After the solid South has been blown to pieces by Engineer Hoover, our next President, that will be the finish of the nullificationists of the South, who have for sixty years violated and prevented the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.
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> Then Congress will enact enforcement laws that will give millions of Negroes their constitutional rights as citizens and place them on an equality with all other races.

Here is another example of the duplicity of the Republican national campaign. In the wet states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts Mr. Hoover is declared by Republican newspapers like the New York Herald-Tribune to be the only hope of modifying or changing the present prohibition law; in the South, the allies of the Republican party close their eyes to the record of the Harding and Coolidge administrations of failure to enforce the Volstead act and are calling for support of Mr. Hoover as the only hope of maintaining the eighteenth amendment.

Representative Dyer, whose bill sought to give the Federal government the power to invade the sovereign rights of the states, explodes any possible theory that the Republican party is the friend of the South, and represents that Mr. Hoover is simply awaiting his inauguration on March 4 to place the Federal government in control of the election laws of Virginia and other Southern states, at the point of the bayonet, as was done in Reconstruction days.

It is not necessary to raise the Negro question in commenting on Mr. Dyer's prediction. The issue is far deeper, and again brings to the fore the danger of the general policy of the present movement to wean the white voters from their traditional allegiance by the raising of the religious and prohibition questions.

If Representative Dyer was not speaking by the book, it is clearly for the Republican national leadership to disavow his assertions. But how can that be done? Dyer was able to force his anti-lynching bill through a Republican House of Representatives, but a Democratic filibuster ended its chances of passage in the Senate. His measure was to pave the way for another force bill, seeking to compel the states to surrender control of the elective franchise to the administration and party in power at Washington, and thus perpetuate for all time the rule of the Republican party.

If Republicans could be whipped into line for the anti-lynching bill without support of the White House, what will happen if Mr. Hoover, pledged as Dyer has proclaimed him to be, should be elected and is called upon to make good the promises of his supporters.

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If we were given a free choice, we would always make a candidate's attitude toward the 14th and 15th amendments the basis of our decision. Both parties are talking a lot about the prohibition amendment but not a word from either about the two amendments which protect Negroes' rights. As it is we live, and to live we must work. So we treat the campaign from the dollar and cent angle, because we are denied the chance to view it as a high-minded American. Hoover's industrial leadership will extend prosperity to all parts of the country, and some of it will trickle down to the low level on which prejudice makes the Negro worker live.

We are for Hoover for president because he alone is sound on the question of immigration. This country cannot have good business and all its labor at work, if the labor supply is to be disturbed by foreign workers pouring across the borders.

We are for Hoover for president because he would keep the immigration laws as they are. He is clear cut in his utterances about them. He will not do any experimenting. America for American labor, says Hoover. That suits us. We know too well that the Negro is the first one displaced when changes come, and the last one hired when work picks up. We more than other workers need stable business conditions. We dare not risk business hazards in addition to the labor handicaps we already suffer.

We are for Herbert Hoover in spite of his fool friends,—Moses of New Hampshire, Evans of Georgia and Heflin of Alabama. There is no way for us to like what they have done. Neither do we like to see Negroes used by the Southern regular democrats to frighten their recalcitrants back into the party.

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REASONS FOR POLITICAL FAITH

—o—

To the Editor of The Call:

I with thousands of others of our group have been challenged for an explanation why we are supporting the democratic ticket.

I am an American citizen unbound by tradition, it is my privilege to cast my lot as I personally see fit. I read not only the daily papers but a mconstantly perusing the papers of the great Negro newspapers. I am well posted on what is really taking place in this country.

I have brains enough to know when I am insulted and have grit enough to resent it. Fat promises that are never fulfilled are not worth anything to me. I know my friends by their deeds, not promises. I have swore allegiance to God and this government and to no party. As for the freedom I enjoy, it was given me by God's help and my father fighting under the rain of shot and shell in the Civil War.

If I really owe anything to the G. O. P. I have doubly paid it. There are many million Negroes in the south and hundreds of thousands of them are highly educated and prosperous. Have you ever stopped to think where all of this came from and is yet coming? If an inventory could be taken in Kansas City of those giving employment to our group that three-fourths of them are democrats and in the want ad column of those with ads reading for white only, three-fourths of them are republicans.

Please don't preach starvation to me. I remember well the soup houses, but truthfully how many Negroes do you know who really had to go to them?

Dear brother, do not call us liars or traitors because YOU have played the part of Rip Van Winkle. Now don't you know what it is all about about? It is indeed a pity in this enlightened age there are so many of our group who really don't know U. S. history. Do you know the republican party was in power at emancipation and have been practically every since and that nothing has been done by them worthy of note for the education and maintainence of those they set free. It was left to the errand of mercy and that was the democrat southern white man and is yet there.

If I were sent from heaven to earth to find the white man or woman whose souls are as pure as the dew of heaven, I would go directly to the south in the democratic party to get them. If to go the opposite I would go to Washington and get a lily-white republican.

If Senator Heflin were leading the fight for Al. Smith's election I would not support him. When a candidate whispers promises to a colored congregation and does not live up to it, it is only that congregation who know it. But when he has grit enough to stand out and let his voice be heard to the four corners of this nation, I have nerve enough to follow that man.

Now then, read your own Negro papers as well as you do others, thereby enlightening yourself and then you will be in a position to advise and criticize.

Yours,
S. M. Nelson, 2203 Park Ave.
Kansas City, Mo.

REV. NOAH W. WILLIAMS GIVES POLITICAL VIEWS

Pastor of St. Paul A. M. E. Church Says He Will Never Support the Ku Klux Klan

To begin with, I wish to state that I am not a Democrat nor have I ever, up to this time, voted the Democratic ticket. I was under the shadow of the monument of Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois; the mortal remains of my father and mother sleep in Oak Ridge Cemetery where Lincoln's Monument is located; I was in the Spanish-American War and saw service in Cuba and was a first lieutenant and chaplain in the World War and saw service in France; I am pastor of the mother church of the African Methodist Episcopal churches west of the Mississippi River with a membership of nearly three thousand. So I feel that I should say a word in this political crisis and especially so since a body of my officers waited on me and asked for a statement.

This is a political campaign that revolves around personalities rather than around political parties. It is Herbert Hoover and Alfred E. Smith rather than the Republican or Democratic parties. Many Republicans of all races and of national standing are supporting Alfred E. Smith for president. Many democrats especially in the South are supporting Hoover.

The determining factors in this campaign are Prohibition, Religion and Race. The Ku Klux Klan, the Anti-Saloon League and the religious fanatics are supporting Hoover and fighting Smith because he is a Catholic and because he believes the prohibition laws have failed in their purpose and because he is reputed to have said that he believes in the equality of all races. Now any one of the most elementary intelligence who reads the daily and weekly papers knows this to be true.

In short, my word of advice is this: If you believe the 18th Amendment to the Constitution and the Volstead Act have failed and should be amended to give each state the right to determine as to the manufacture and sale of drinks without the saloon; if you believe that this would do away with the bootlegger and whisky that makes one blind and crazy and sends many to premature graves then you should vote for Smith. But if you believe our prohibition laws are succeeding and should remain as they are then you should vote for Hoover.

If you believe that you should stand with the Ku Klux Klan and fight Gov. Smith because he is a Catholic and believes in changing the prohibition laws and because the Klan says he believes in the equality of Races and treats the Negroes in New York as he does other American Citizens, then you should vote for Hoover with the Klan.

If you are living back in the sixties and think Lincoln, Grant and others are still alive and running on the Republican ticket then you should vote that ticket and support those worthies. But if you believe that the crowd now running and clamoring so loudly about what was done for us back in the sixties were not even born in Lincoln's day, but merely using a party name to deceive, as if the Negro is still ignorant, then you like any other citizen should vote for whom you please.

If you thing the colored people are better off politically if they split their vote and make friends with both political parties, then do that. If you would like to see a member of our race in Congress, then vote for Joseph L. McLemore, who is clean, honest and educated. If you want to vote for Smith for president but not the whole democratic ticket or Hoover but not the whole Republican ticket, then do that. Be your own political boss regardless to the howling of the paid politicians. The ballot is secret so do as you please but be sure to go to the polls and vote and do not fall out with members of your Race because they may differ with you politically for all the white candidates will be good friends the day after the election.

Vote for whom you believe in your own heart is really the straightest, bravest, fairest and ablest man for president of the United States and for the other national, state and city offices. For myself, I shall never be found fighting on the side with the Ku Klux Klan and I would support any Negro for Congress, I care not on what ticket he may be, if he is clean in his living, educated and honest.

—NOAH W. WILLIAMS

OKLAHOMAN
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

OCT 21 1928

Smith, Hoover and The Negro

TO THE EDITOR:

It would seem that even a democratic newspaper built up by the patronage of southern white people would wish its patrons to know the truth about this matter. I have been to a good deal of pains to get the truth, and am here offering it to your readers, leaving them to vote as they please.

There can be no doubt that the Smith-Tammany organization controls New York City. Here are the facts there relative to the negro:

They have 200 negroes and many police sergeants of the police force of New York. They have fifty negro school teachers in New York, the greater part of whom are teaching schools that have not a negro pupil. One of their negro principals, at First and second avenue, until he recently voluntarily resigned and went on a pension, reigned for some time over a school with all white teachers and white pupils. New York municipal law does not compel any of this: it is done because the Smith-Tammany control wants it done.

The Smith-Tammany civil service commissioner for New York, Ferdinan Q. Morton is a negro, with a $10,000 job, passing upon applications of white men.

In one of his races for governor, the New York papers reported one of Smith's speeches to the negroes that would have satisfied the blackest radical in the south. Never once has he raised his voice on the other side.

The New York state legislature of 1913 was democratic by two-thirds in both houses. Smith was speaker, Wagner was president of the senate, floor leader in each house a Smith-Tammany man — Tammany and Smith decidely in the saddle. Senator Carswell, now one of the supreme judges of New York state, introduced a bill to abolish the marriage of negroes and whites. This bill never got out of the committee—Smith's committee.

But this same legislature did pass a bill and Smith signed it, making it unlawful for anybody to intimate by any written or printed notice that a negro would not me welcome in a public place, such as hotels, theaters, rail cars.

Smith comes out of Tammany with its thousands of negro members, its scores of negroes with white wives, its "exclusive" negro clubs, its negro political busses.

Even now the Smith democrats are operating Smith negro clubs, and they have three negro nominees for congress, runing on the democratic ticket. I have this to say, that the negroes have been voting sixty-four years, voting republican tickets; during forty-eight of those years we have had republican presidents; we are further from negro supremacy than we ever were, and there is not a particle of danger that we shall ever have it, no matter who is president, but the Smith-democrats are taking one road that of all roads will make us trouble with the negroes. In this election the "nigger" ticket is the Smith ticket, for—

On the other hand, all this talk that has been handed you about Hoover and the negro is pure political bunk. Hoover's department of commerce is being operated so far as negro employes are concerned, under precisely the rule Woodrow Wilson laid down for all departments during the war and the ring politicians who have tried to make a howl about it know this. Moreover, when Hoover was nominated there were three negro national committeemen. While the Smith men were nominating their three negroes to run for congress, Hoover and his men removed every one of the committeemen. Hoover is a white man. He will be just to the negro, but there is not one scintilla of evidence in his whole record that he wants to set negroes over whites and the truth is nobody really believes he does.

JAMES A. ANDERSON,
Forest City, Ark.

NEWS-LEADER
RICHMOND, VA.

NOV 6 1928

TWO NEGRO G. O. P. ELECTION JUDGES

Brunswick Clerk Says Law Requires One Republican, So Gains Named.

LAWRENCEVILLE, Va., Nov. 6.—(Special to The News Leader.)—Two Negro Republicans are serving as election judges in Brunswick county.

Bob Gains, Negro, Republican, is serving today as an election judge in Phipps precinct, Powelton township, along with J. H. Phillips and F. W. Carpenter, whites, who represent the Democratic party as judges.

W. E. Elmore, clerk of the court of Brunswick county, today stated that Gains was appointed by A. F. Rollins, a Democrat, chairman of the election board of Brunswick county, for the reason that there are no white Republicans available for the appointment in Phipps precinct. The law requires two Democrats and one Republican precinct judge. Gains has been serving as an election judge for several years, and another Negro Republican is an election judge in Tillman precinct.

At 11 A. M. today, there had been about 200 votes cast at Lawrenceville, the county seat of Brunswick county, and of this number Governor Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic standard-bearer, is reported to have polled 190 votes. There are between 500 and 600 registered voters at Lawrenceville, and Mr. Elmore estimates that Herbert Hoover, the Republican nominee, will poll about 25 votes.

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OCT 13

Colored G. O. P. Women Meet.

Mrs. Carrie M. S. Pipes, who has been active in the interest of the Republican ticket and who has been an organizer of Hoover-Curtis clubs in this city, kept open house for colored women at 926 French street, and met many women voters of the section. Mrs. Pipes was aided by the women of the Sixth Ward at a Hoover luncheon served during the evening. Souvenirs and campaign literature were distributed.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 30 1928

NEGRO CHIEFS TELL OF HOOVER FUNDS

Georgian and Mississippian Leave Doubt on How Delegates Will Vote.

EDITOR'S MEMORY HAZY

Atlanta Man Kept No Records of Donations — Mississippi Outlay $11,800.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 29.—It costs money to run the negro Republican machines south of the Potomac, and after the money is spent it is not always safe to count on the delegates, even in States where there is no opposition to a candidate and in which friends of that candidate supplied most of the cash, according to testimony today before the Senate campaign fund investigating committee. Ben Davis, negro Republican National Committeeman from Georgia, and Perry W. Howard, negro Committeeman from Mississippi, told of their activities during the pre-convention campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination at Kansas City.

Davis, who still looks and talks like an old-time Southern "darky," was a puzzle to the committee. He was not able to say just how he had expended the money turned over to him by Rush Holland, who had charge of Georgia for the Hoover organization. He keeps no books, has no records and was able to produce just one receipt that had nothing to do with the candidacy of Mr. Hoover. He is now for the renomination of Mr. Coolidge, although he said Mr. Hoover was his second choice.

On the other hand, Howard, highly intelligent, polite and frank, made a favorable impression. He said that obligations incurred by his organization, mainly in the furtherance of the Hoover campaign, amounted to about $11,800. Of this amount, $4,000 was supplied by Holland and another $1,000 is still to be paid, he said. As for this final $1,000, he was, he added, feeling "a little threadbare" as to his chances of getting it.

Both Uncertain About Hoover.

Howard, like Davis, did not impress the committee as being unduly enthusiastic for the nomination of Mr. Hoover. Howard explained that a brand new Republican Party has come into existence in Mississippi since the great flood of 1927 and that the directing head of the new organization, which is white, is L. O. Crosby, one of the leading lumbermen of the South, who was Mr. Hoover's chief of operations in Mississippi at the time of the flood.

Howard declared that he was waiting to see if he is "being played with" or has been "double-crossed" before he takes a definite stand on the Republican nomination. The delegation he is heading, which was largely financed by Holland, he insisted, is not instructed for Mr. Hoover but uninstructed.

Davis was the first witness. He said all the delegates from his State have been elected and that he heads the delegation. From the start he had difficulty recalling the financial features of the pre-convention campaign in Georgia, where, he said, there has been "no contest whatever."

He said he got, "all in all, $2,200" from Mr. Holland, of which $200 was expense money. Both payments, Davis said, were in cash and both were made before the Georgia Republican State Convention, which was held March 3 last.

"Have you any momoranda dealing with those transactions?" asked Senator Steiwer.

"No," Davis answered.

The witness declared that he got "a little" money in the State, much of which was used to "reimburse myself."

He explained that he had made many trips to Washington and had visited various districts in Georgia and that the "reimbursement" was mainly to cover his expenses on those trips.

Recalls Other Contributions.

Pressed by Senator Bratton to recall other contributions to the Georgia campaign, Davis said that he had received $725 from J. H. Watson, another Georgia negro politician, and $200 from a loyal party man named Flanders.

Asked if there was any chance of Georgia going Republican, Davis made the audience laugh when he answered that though he lived twenty-five or even forty years longer he never expected to see a district in Georgia go Republican.

Davis was asked if the money given him by Holland had not been mainly used to pay the expenses of the delegates to the State convention. He replied that that was probably how it was used.

Howard, an Assistant Attorney General, followed Davis. He said that he had been connected with the Department of Justice since May, 1921.

At the start he told the committee of activities of Mr. Crosby, the Picayune (Miss.) lumberman, to organize a white Republican Party in the State. He referred to Mr. Crosby as Hoover's closest friend in the State. He was worried to such an extent by the entrance of Mr. Crosby into the political arena that he sought a conference with Walter F. Brown, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, who told him, he said, Holland was in charge of Mississippi and, at Brown's suggestion, Howard and Crosby were brought together.

"Mr. Brown said to me," continued Howard, "that he had turned Mississippi and other Southern States over to Mr. Holland and that Mr. Holland and myself were to talk over the situation. He said he guessed Mr. Holland and I could get along together."

Mr. Brown told him, he added, that his faction was in for "quite a fight with these Crosby people." He admitted that was so. Subsequently, he testified, Holland turned over to him $2,000 and thereafter in Washington for expenses, $200 weekly. Of the latter, $2,000 is paid and $1,000 is still due, he said.

Gave Note for Bank Loan.

The expenses in Mississippi had been quite heavy, said Howard, and at one time he and a man named McLellan had borrowed $2,500 and given the bank a joint note.

There were other bank loans amounting to about $800. The present deficit of the committee he estimated at about $5,300, which with the money expended brings the total cost of the campaign to about $11,800.

"Are you still collecting $200 a week from Holland?" asked Senator Steiwer.

"No, sir, we closed up last week. They told me the Hoover headquarters were closing and that my support ended with that. I will close so far as the Hoover office is concerned, but, so far as Kansas City is concerned, I am going to make a fight against the Crosby delegation."

"Are your delegates instructed?" Senator Bratton asked.

"No, sir, they are uninstructed."

"Are they free to vote according to their consciences?"

"Yes, sir."

"How about yourself?"

"Unless it be shown that there has been no straddling with the other crowd, that I have not been double-crossed or played with, I will vote with him (Mr. Hoover)."

The committee will hold an executive session tomorrow. The next public hearing may be in Ohio Thursday or Friday. That will be decided tomorrow.

New G. O. P. Committee.

Republican.

KANSAS CITY, June 15.—(AP)—The membership of the Republican national committee, with the Georgia and Wisconsin selections still in doubt, follows:

Alabama—Oliver D. Street and Mrs. Birdie H. Kennamer.

Arizona—Hiram S. Corbett and Mrs. Barrett E. Marks.

Arkansas — Wallace Townsend, Mrs. A. C. Remmel.

California—W. H. Crocker, Mrs. O. P. Clark.

Colorado—Clarence C. Hamlin, Mrs. John E. Millman.

Connecticut—J. Henry Roraback, Miss Katherine Byrne.

Delaware—T. Coleman Dupont, Ethel B. Warner.

Florida—Glen B. Skipper, Mrs. Clara C. Grace.

Georgia—Committeeman referred to committee; Mrs. George S. Williams.

Idaho — John Thomas, Miss Gladys Terhune.

Illinois—Roy O. West, Mrs. Bertha Bauer.

Indiana—M. Bert Thurman, Miss Dorothy Cunningham.

Iowa—Charles A. Rawson, Martha McClure.

Kansas—D. W. Mulvane, Mrs. R. R. Bittman.

Kentucky—J. Matt Chilton, Mrs. Alvin T. Hert.

Louisiana—Emile Kuntz, Mrs. Roberta Grimmet.

Maine—Joseph W. Simpson, Mrs. Guy P. Gannett.

Maryland—William P. Jackson, Mrs. W. Gladden Lowndes.

Massachusetts—Louis K. Liggett, Pauline Revere Thayer.

Michigan—James M. Davidson, Miss Bina West.

Minnesota—C. H. Macsnzie, Mrs. Manley D. Fosseen.

Mississippi—Perry M. Howard, ary C. Booze.

Missouri—E. B. Clements, Mrs. Grace S. Burlingham.

Montana—O. M. Lanstrum, Mrs. George E. Berry.

Nebraska—C. A. McCloud, Miss Viola T. Cameron.

Nevada—George Wingfield, Mrs. Mary Franzman.

New Hampshire—Albert H. Hislops, Mrs. Nellie D. Parker.

New Jersey—Daniel E. Pomery, Mrs. W. Reginald Baker.

New Mexico—Ed Sargent, Mrs. W. C. Reid.

New York—Charles D. Hilles, Pauline M. Sabine.

North Carolina — Charles A. Jones, Mrs. Queen Bess Kennen.

North Dakota—F. J. Graham, Mrs. Minnie D. Craig.

Ohio—Maurice Maschke, Mrs. Hugh Clark.

Oklahoma—W. S. Skelly, Mrs. R. D. Rood.

Oregon—Ralph E. Williams, Mrs. E. C. Giltner.

Pennsylvania—W. W. Atterbury, Mrs. Worthington Scranton.

Rhode Island—Frederick S. Pack, Mrs. Charles A. Steedman.

South Carolina—Joseph W. Tolbert, Mrs. Blanche Redfern.

South Dakota—William E. Milligan, Mrs. Mabel Newman.

Tennessee—J. Will Taylor, Mrs. Beulah O. Hughes.

Texas—R. B. Creager, Mrs. J. C. Griswold.

Utah—Harold P. Fabrian, Mrs. Jannette A. Hyde.

Vermont—Earle Kinsley, Mrs. George Orvis.

Virginia—C. Bascom Slemp, Mrs. M. M. Caldwell.

Washington—R. W. Condon, Mrs. John Lewis Hughes.

West Virginia—Walter S. Hallanon, Mrs. Ellis A. Yost.

Wisconsin—Referred to committee.

Wyoming—Patrick Sullivan, Mrs. B. B. Brooks.

Alaska—J. D. Wickersham (acting), Mrs. Forest J. Hunt.

District of Columbia—Edward J. Colladay, Mrs. Virginia White Speel.

Hawaii—James P. Winnie, Princess David Kawananakoa.

Philippines—C. M. Cotterman, Mrs. E. Finley Johnson.

Porto Rico—Harry F. Besosa, Marta Robert De Romen.

THE NEGRO AND PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES

With the opening of the Republican National Convention next week in Kansas City, all thoughts naturally center on who the Republican presidential nominee will be. With the nomination of Governor Al Smith of New York by the Democrats three weeks hence, practically conceded by all but Tom Heflin, the Republicans offer for the moment the only political question for the Negro. When the G. O.P. nominee is trotted out, this question will practically be answered.

It is an admitted fact now that Al Smith has a popular appeal to a large number of Negro voters. This liking for Governor Smith is generally actuated by two things. First: the Negro is naturally sympathetic for any person who is apparently being persecuted. The attack on Governor Smith because of his religion, has won for him many friends among Negroes because they could sympathize with him in his hours of unjust persecution.

Second: The last eight years of Republican rule in the White House has not been exactly to the liking of thousands of Negroes throughout the land. To many of these, their political condition cannot be much worse under any circumstances, and therefore, as a protest against the indifference of the Republicans to these conditions, they are willing to support a progressive Democrat rather than support any more Republicans of the Harding-Coolidge type. To this group, a vote for Al Smith is a kick in the slats of the "Elephant."

The so-called wetness of Al Smith does not particularly appeal to the Negro voters. Whatever the Negro's views are on the liquor question, they have not as yet begun to affect his selection of presidential candidates. Those who like liquor, know that, no matter who wins, they will be able to at least get the "run of the still," so why worry over a little thing like that when there are so many economic question to be settled?

While there may be little out-

ward manifestation in the way of loud protests there is an inward revolt brewing in the breasts of the Negroes of this country against the intolerable segregation that prevails everywhere, and all that is needed now to flame this intense feeling into an open insurrection against the Republicans, is a militant leader. Senator Cole Blease and Senator Thomas J. Heflin's verbosity during the closing weeks of the senate on the Negro question has simply added fuel to the flames.

Whether this intense feeling will break through in the form of an open revolt during the coming campaign, all depends on the candidates selected and the campaign methods used. If circumstances operate to produce the necessary leadership, this revolt will become a reality this summer.

As the Negro now faces the Republican convention, there stands only one candidate who has done anything to merit the race's support and that man is Herbert Hoover. Two acts of Herbert Hoover set him out pre-eminently in the eyes of the Negro.

First: The absolutely fair and impartial handling of the thousands of Negro flood sufferers in the Mississippi valley last year. Every Negro who worked in the flood district had nothing but praise for Mr. Hoover. Hundreds of incidents have been told of how he (Hoover) personally stopped prejudiced Southerners from exploiting the poor unfortunate refugees in the camps and even during the reconstruction.

Second: When the matter of segregation in the Department of Commerce over which Mr. Hoover presides was brought to his attention, and he was told how objectionable this was to Negroes, despite the fact that he was then an active candidate for the presidential nomination, and apparently knowing how such a move would affect the Southerners, he made an investigation and within a week after the matter had been called to his attention, he issued an order abolishing all forms of racial segregation and this furnished plenty of amunition for Blease and Heflin and others to hurl against him. Nevertheless, despite these vile attacks made against him, Mr. Hoover has not flinched or retracted one bit. He evidently believes he has done what is right and is willing to stand by his decision.

Mr. Hoover is the only member of Mr. Coolidge's cabinet who has had the strength of character to abolish segregation. It is more than Mr. Coolidge himself was willing to do, for he has been importuned many times during his administration to issue the necessary executive order abolishing segregation, but he has refused. In fact, segregation has been extended a great deal under the Coolidge administration. Secretary Andrew Mellon of the Treasury refused to issue any order when the matter was brought to his attention. But Hoover? When he was shown that the practice was un-American, un-Christian and against the spirit of American justice, he did not hesitate to abolish this vicious practice.

The masses of Negroes have been quick to realize that in Mr. Hoover, the race has apparently a real friend. He did not give them empty promises, but actually produced the desired results.

There is no other active or receptive candidate for the Republican nomination who can measure up to the pre-convention achievements of Mr. Hoover in so far as the Negro is concerned. Because of these facts, no other nominee could be sure of the Negro's vote next November.

While Al Smith appeals to many Negroes, there is a fear that, whatever his views on the Negro question may be personally, he cannot override the views of the majority of his party leaders who hail from the South. It is recalled that the late Woodrow Wilson held out hopes to Negroes, but when he reached the White House, he found the weight of his advisers more than he could overcome.

On the other hand, Grover Cleveland—who was from New York, as is Al Smith—did not yield to the Vardamans and Tillmans of his time.

Whether Al Smith if elected would be a Cleveland or a Wilson is a question. However, if Hoover be the Republican nominee, there is every reason to believe that the great majority of Negro voters will be willing to give the old party another trial under his leadership.

Hence as between Smith and Hoover, the Negroes will vote overwhelmingly for Hoover. Owing to the large numbers of Negroes now registered in the Middle West and East, this vote is formidable, and must be reckoned with by the candidates. It is in these very sections, too, where Al Smith is supposed to be popular.

As the Negro faces the conventions Herbert Hoover looms as his preference.

THE CONSTITUTION, WHITE AND BLACK, WET AND DRY, AT KANSAS CITY.

Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt as chairman of the credentials committee presented the majority report on contested delegates to the Republican convention and after a roll call over the Hoover delegates from Texas the report was adopted. Mrs. Willebrandt is an assistant federal attorney general assigned to the enforcement of the Volstead act. The contested delegates were from the southern states of restricted suffrage. Many of them were Negroes.

These Negroes, while in Kansas City, are citizens. They are citizens for an hour. They vote to nominate a Republican candidate for President of the United States, although there are only 1,089 citizens of the United States with this momentous authority. When the Negroes go home they will cease to be citizens with political privileges. If any of them are allowed to vote in the election it will be by courtesy or indulgence. Some of them may feel that it is reasonably safe to do so.

They are in the Republican convention because they are supposed in the American political system to represent some millions of Republican votes, nearly all of them black. These millions of votes will not be cast. The United States constitution offers them a guaranty, but they will not seek to use it. It proclaims for them a right which they will not seek to exercise. The constitution does not assure them any political rights in the convention, but there they are recognized because their votes are important to political manipulation and in any close contest might decide a nomination. What is assured them under the constitution later in the election will be nullified by the dominant, recognized, and prevailing white sentiment in the states in which they live. The fact that they do not vote at home might decide a close election against the party in the convention of which they are represented.

While Mrs. Willebrandt, assistant attorney general in charge of prohibition, was presenting the report which seated these disfranchised Negroes in a Republican convention, Senator Borah, as a defender of the constitution, was drawing the Anti-Saloon league resolution for prohibition enforcement for adoption by the resolutions committee. Mr. Borah, in support of the constitution, has made the eighteenth amendment the chief issue in the convention. In his resolution he declared the constitution to be "sacredly obligated upon all." Mrs. Willebrandt's temporary citizens, invested for the period of a moth's life with the political privileges of American citizenship, would vote for this with more fervor than even Mr. Borah and his fellow supporters of the eighteenth amendment. And for that fervor they would have full cause, but in it no hope, because Mr. Borah's words do not mean anything to them, are not intended to mean anything to them, and will have not the slightest effect on their future lives under the American constitution in their own states.

Mr. Borah, proceeding further in support of such part of the constitution as may be found in the eighteenth amendment, wrote that the Republican party reaffirmed the attitude of the American people toward the constitution as declared by Abraham Lincoln, preserving it "as our forefathers made it, inviolate."

Mr. Borah, whose supporters in this respect control the convention, is invited to contemplate in honesty and candor the spectacle presented by Mrs. Willebrandt with the credentials committee report and by himself with the resolutions committee report and then reaffirm anything. What does he mean to these black men, permitted for an hour to vote to nominate a President but not permitted to elect him, by "sacredly obligated upon all"? Does he or can he mean anything?

Has the attorney general's office, of which Mrs. Willebrandt, enforcing prohibition, is a representative, ever lifted a finger to protect even the civil rights of these people in the south, or has the United States senate, of which Mr. Borah is a member, ever made a motion, in his connection with it, to enforce, respect, or hold sacred the articles of the constitution conferring the rights recognized by the convention in Kansas City and nowhere else?

Mr. Borah is invited to explain his own words, references and statements, and show cause why they should not be regarded as deceitful, fraudulent, and trifling. He is invited to indicate wherein they are not hypocritical and mendacious. He is invited to explain what he means by "the constitution of the United States as our forefathers made it." Did our forefathers put a village ordinance for the regulation of habit in this body of organic law, and if so, where is it? Did they indicate in any fashion that they would have tolerated such a use of fundamental law or have regarded it as at any time within the purposes of the document? They did as late as our fathers' time use it for the extension of freedom and of the principles of representative government. Have Mr. Borah and his associates in Volstead ever revealed any respect for these extensions or any regard for their enforcement? If so, these words of respect and regard might be repeated as a parting gift to the black delegates before they go home.

The whole situation is quite the reverse. Offense after offense against the principles of the forefathers are piled upon the constitution by the fanaticism of Volsteadism. It is riddled and shot through by the proponents of the eighteenth amendment who are as indifferent as Mr. Borah to what really destroys the republican form of representative government intended to preserve for American citizens a country in which political equality, personal freedom, and individual liberty may be enjoyed under a constitution and laws fit to protect them and enforced as such.

Mr. Borah is a man of eloquence when he rebukes the citizens opposed to the eighteenth amendment, to this departure from the constitution "as our forefathers made it." The reply to Volstead in this respect is that the opponents of the federal constitution have the spirit and the fundamental intent of the constitution with them and that Volstead has not.

These opponents refuse to take Mr. Borah at his valuation, to regard the riddled document he calls the constitution as the true constitution or to regard themselves as defaulters in the principles intended to govern this nation.

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While Mrs. Willebrandt, assistant attorney general in charge of prohibition, was presenting the report which seated these disfranchised Negroes in a Republican convention, Senator Borah, as a defender of the constitution, was drawing the Anti-Saloon league resolution for prohibition enforcement for adoption by the resolutions committee. Mr. Borah, in support of the constitution, has made the eighteenth amendment the chief issue in the convention. In his resolution he declared the constitution to be "sacredly obligated upon all." Mrs. Willebrandt's temporary citizens, invested for the period of a moth's life with the political privileges of American citizenship, would vote for this with more fervor than even Mr. Borah and his fellow supporters of the eighteenth amendment. And for that fervor they would have full cause, but in it no hope, because Mr. Borah's words do not mean anything to them, are not intended to mean anything to them, and will have not the slightest effect on their future lives under the American constitution in their own states.

Mr. Borah, proceeding further in support of such part of the constitution as may be found in the eighteenth amendment, wrote that the Republican party reaffirmed the attitude of the American people toward the constitution as declared by Abraham Lincoln, preserving it "as our forefathers made it, inviolate."

Mr. Borah, whose supporters in this respect control the convention, is invited to contemplate in honesty and candor the spectacle presented by Mrs. Willebrandt with the credentials committee report and by himself with the resolutions committee report and then reaffirm anything. What does he mean to these black men, permitted for an hour to vote to nominate a President but not permitted to elect him, by "sacredly obligated upon all"? Does he or can he mean anything?

Has the attorney general's office, of which Mrs. Willebrandt, enforcing prohibition, is a representative, ever lifted a finger to protect even the civil rights of these people in the south, or has the United States senate, of which Mr. Borah is a member, ever made a motion, in his connection with it, to enforce, respect, or hold sacred the articles of the constitution conferring the rights recognized by the convention in Kansas City and nowhere else?

Mr. Borah is invited to explain his own words, references and statements, and show cause why they should not be regarded as deceitful, fraudulent, and trifling. He is invited to indicate wherein they are not hypocritical and mendacious. He is invited to explain what he means by "the constitution of the United States as our forefathers made it." Did our forefathers put a village ordinance for the regulation of habit in this body of organic law, and if so, where is it? Did they indicate in any fashion that they would have tolerated such a use of fundamental law or have regarded it as at any time within the purposes of the document? They did as late as our fathers' time use it for the extension of freedom and of the principles of representative government. Have Mr. Borah and his associates in Volstead ever revealed any respect for these extensions or any regard for their enforcement? If so, these words of respect and regard might be repeated as a parting gift to the black delegates before they go home.

The whole situation is quite the reverse. Offense after offense against the principles of the forefathers are piled upon the constitution by the fanaticism of Volsteadism. It is riddled and shot through by the proponents of the eighteenth amendment who are as indifferent as Mr. Borah to what really destroys the republican form of representative government intended to preserve for American citizens a country in which political equality, personal freedom, and individual liberty may be enjoyed under a constitution and laws fit to protect them and enforced as such.

Mr. Borah is a man of eloquence when he rebukes the citizens opposed to the eighteenth amendment, to this departure from the constitution "as our forefathers made it." The reply to Volstead in this respect is that the opponents of the federal constitution have the spirit and the fundamental intent of the constitution with them and that Volstead has not.

These opponents refuse to take Mr. Borah at his valuation, to regard the riddled document he calls the constitution as the true constitution or to regard themselves as defaulters in the principles intended to govern this nation.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

COHEN'S BATTLE TAKES NEW TURN; SUITS ARE FILED

New Orleans, La.—(ANP)—The factional fight between Republicans in New Orleans for control of the Republican state central committee developed another angle when Walter Cohen and others filed suit in the civil district court against M. F. Dastugue, et al, asking the court to give control of the committee to the Cohen faction and to restrain perpetually the Dastugue faction from interfering with the Cohen committeemen.

....The suit alleges that the Cohen committeemen were legally elected members of the Republican state central committee and that the notification of their election was filed with the secretary of state. It is charged, however, that Dastugue and his committee claim to have been likewise elected and that the Dastugue committeemen obtained injunctions from the civil court preventing the Cohen committee from exercising the functions of office. The suit closes with a prayer that the Cohen candidates be declared the proper and only Republican committeemen, and that they be permitted to exercise office without interference.

WILL FIGHT LILY WHITES TO FINISH SAYS HOWARD; MAY DESERT HOOVER

A fight to the finish between "lily whites" and colored Republicans was indicated by Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, upon his return here from Jackson, Miss., last Monday.

Mr. Howard believes that a coalition of renegade Democrats and "lily-white" Republicans are making a concerted effort to eliminate the colored Republican from party councils.

This movement, as he views it, is not confined to the states of Georgia and Mississippi but comprises the whole South. It is being aided and abetted, he thinks, by a class of northern Republicans who believe that the Negro should remain a follower in the ranks of the Republican party.

The question of supporting candidates for the Republican nomination is inconsequential at this time, Mr. Howard has decided. He believes that stubborn resistance should be made to the efforts of the "lily-whites" to eliminate the Negro from the councils of the Republican party.

"The present, concerted 'lily-white' movement," Mr. Howard said, "is the most stupendous and inimicable movement of its kind ever attempted by those who feel that the Negro should not be permitted to exercise his political rights untrammelled and to participate in the councils of the Republican party.

The Whole South

"It is not confined to any two or three southern states, but embraces the whole South and seems to have the approval of a few northerners high in the councils of the Republican party. In fact, it is a coalition between renegade Democrats and 'lily-white' Republicans, who pretend that they want two militant political parties in the South as a camouflage to gain control of Federal patronage.

"Efforts have been made to brow-beat, intimidate and even buy me to lay down as the party leader in my state. I have stood steadfast and shall carry the fight of the regular Republican organization in my state to the Supreme Court of my state where I am confident we will win."

In Jackson, Miss., last Saturday the Republican state committee met and issued a call for a state convention to be held there on April 18 for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Republican national convention in Kansas City, Mo., June 12.

Second State Call

This is the second call issued for a state convention. The first call was for a convention to have been held on March 14. George W. Sheldon, former governor of Nebraska, and ten other "lily-whites" obtained an injunction from Chancellor T. Price Dale at Hattiesburg, Miss., on the ground that the call did not conform strictly with the Mississippi primary laws.

The Howard organization took an appeal to the State Supreme Court. Last Saturday the question of advancing the appeal for an immediate hearing was argued in the Supreme Court. Monday the court decided to hear arguments in the case on April 23.

Incidentally, the leading counsel for the Howard organization is J. Morgan Stevens, former member of the Supreme Court and now law partner of W. Calvin Wells, chairman of the Democratic State Commitee.

Judge Stevens contends that Chancellor Dale erred in granting the injunction. He declares that the court had no jurisdiction under the law, the things complained of being party affairs.

Dangerous Precedent

"If eleven white men can enjoin the Republican party," says Judge Stevens, "then eleven Negroes can enjoin the whole Democratic party, under the law." The injunction, he states, sets up a very dangerous precedent for the South.

The Howard organization is recognized by Chairman William M. Butler of the Republican national committee as the only regular Republican party in Mississippi. Mr. Howard has a letter from Chairman Butler to that effect.

Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, who is a leading candidate for the Republican nomination, seems to be playing politics with both the Howard organization and the "lily-white" group.

The "lily-whites" are said to be spending money in Mississippi freely. L. O. Crosby, a lumberman of Picayune, Miss., is said to be putting up this money for the "lily-whites." Crosby is a Democrat and an ardent supporter of Secretary Hoover. He met Hoover when the Secretary was in Mississippi on flood relief.

Crosby Makes Offer

In his zeal to contribute to the nomination of Secretary Hoover, Mr. Crosby is said to have intimated that he would even patch up the differences between Mr. Howard and the "lily-whites." Mr. Howard was advised of the olive branch offer extended by Mr. Crosby. A conference took place in New Orleans, La., between the two. Crosby, it developed, wanted Howard to give him his place on the Republican national committee.

That is the version that Mr. Howard's associates are telling in Mississippi, and the feud between Howard and Crosby is more pronounced than ever. The effect is that the regular Republicans are declaring that if the "liy-whites" are for Hoover, they will be for Lowden or some other candidate.

ALL DELEGATES GIVEN THE SAME TREATMENT

—o—

Threat to Move Convention Secured Change of Local Custom

—o—

In 1896 the Republican national convention was held in St. Louis, Mo. St. Louis, being a Missouri city, would have about the same customs in treating and housing Negroes as Kansas City. It is interesting, therefore, to know what happened in St. Louis in regard to Negroes at the time of the convention in 1896. At that time there were two Negro national committeemen, Wright Cuney and Madison Vance.

Equality For All

The committee representing St Louis invited the national convention, appearing before the national committee, of which Mark Hanna was the head. Hanna stated to the committee that he would not even consider going to St. Louis unless conditions for all delegates would be the same as would be received in any northern city. Their local committee accepted the conditions and the national convention decided to go to St. Louis. There was no debate nor prolonged discussion.

According to the agreement Mr Vance and Mr. Cuney wired to the Southern hotel of St. Louis for accommodations, sent their money, had their requests acknowledged by wire and were sent receipts for their rooms. A few days before the national convention, in accordance with its customs, the national committeemen, Messrs. Vance and Cuney, went to the Southern hotel, and showed the receipts for their rooms.

Guests Complain

The clerk on duty called the bell boy and had them ushered to their rooms. After going to them the two gentlemen happened to pass out into the hall where they were seen by other guests of the hotel, who called the manager. The manager went to Messrs. Vance and Cuney went to the hotel had no rooms—no accommodations whatever for Negroes. "We will help you find a place among your own people," he said. Mr Vance went to Hanna.

Hanna assembled the national committee at once and had his secretary call in the local committee who had invited them to come to St. Louis. Upon the meeting of the national committee and the local committee Mr. Hanna invited Mr. Cuney to take the floor and state the first business. Mr. Cuney related the treatment he had received in other cities. Mr. Hanna asked Mr. Vance if his experience was the same and was told it was.

Local Customs for Negroes

Then the spokesman of the local committee said there were certain local customs which were usually observed in St. Louis, that they had no bad intentions toward the Republicans and the convention, but they had local customs in their treatment of Negroes. Mr. Hanna turned to the national committee and said:

"But I have certain definite memories of the promises made by St. Louis at the time they invited the national convention and I ask these two national committeemen and the rest of you national committeemen if your memory is not the same. You said that St. Louis would entertain this national convention in exactly the same manner they would be entertained in any northern city, and that there was a definite assurance that there would be no discrimination."

"Will Move Convention"

Mr. Hanna thereupon said to the local committee "You can control this local situation. You must control this local situation or I will move the convention. I will give you until six o'clock tonight to have these local hotels change their ruling and accept Negro delegates to the convention as they accept others or we will adjourn on Wednesday morning. The national convention will meet in Chicago I have $500,000 with which to pay the cost of moving the convention. You have until six o'clock to make your conditions here conform to your promises."

The convention met in St. Louis Wright Cuney and Madison Vance were housed in the Southern hotel and other Negro delegates were housed wherever accommodations for their states had been secured without discrimination, without antagonism, and without friction.

COHEN AND HIGGINS QUIT POSTS ON COMMITTEE

J. Stuart Thompson of Lake Charles Elected Chairman.

B. V. Baranco, Baton Rouge Elected Secretary.

Call issued for State Convention in New Orleans, April 19.

Last Wednesday under a call signed by Mrs. Jane Perrin, Vice Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee held a meeting issuing a call for a Republican State Convention to be held on April 19 1928 at L'Union Hall, 928 N. Rampart Street 12 o'clock Noon for the purpose of electing four (4) Delegates at-large and four (4) alternate Delegates at-large to the Republican National Convention to be held in Kansas City on June 12, 1928.

Th Committee at its meeting elected J. Stuart Thomson, Lake Charles, Louisiana, as its Chairman, and Mr. B. V. Baranco of Baton Rouge, La. as its Secretary. Mr. Jane Perrin was elected Vice Chairman.

President Coolidge's administration was endorsed, and an Executive Committee was authorized to be appointed by the Chairman, empowered to fill all vacancies on the Committee.

The most notable incident of the meeting was the absence of "Cap" Cohen. "Caps" resignation as chairman and secretary respectively were sent in by Jas. L. Higgins and W. L. Cohen. Injunctions had previously been secured them by the Lily White faction of the Republican Party.

The following is the call issued by the new Chairman for the State Convention.

New Orleans Louisiana.
March 28, 1928.

TO The Republican Electors Of The State Of Louisiana:—

In pursuance with the call of the Republican National Committee issued under date of December 7, 1927, a convention of the Republicans of the State of Louisiana is called to meet in the City of New Orleans, Louisiana, on Thursday April 19, 1928 at the L'Union Francaise Hall, 928 N. Rampart Street at 12 o'clock noon for the purpose of electing four (4) Delegates At-Large and four Alternate Delegates At-Large to the Republican National Convention which will convene in Kansas City Mo. on June 12, 19298.

Delegates for said State Convention shall be elected under the auspices of three (3) supervisors of election for each Parish in the State and three (3) for each ward in the Parish of Orleans. The said supervisors to be appointed by the Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. The said Delegates shall be elected by mass meetings, provided, that on petition of Fifteen (15) duly qualified Republicans of a Parish or a ward of the Parish of Oreanls, a Primary Election will be called, same to be under the supervision of said supervisors.

The appointment of Delegates to said Convention shall be one (1) Delegate for every one hundred (100) votes, and one Delegate for every fraction of fifty (50) votes or more than was cast for Calvin Coolidge in 1924. Where less than one hundred (100) votes was polled as provided in this call, such Parish shall be entitled to one (1) vote in the Convention.

The said Delegates shall be elected on or before April 15, 1928, and the Credentials shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the State Central Committee on or before April 17 1928. The Credentials of the Delegates so elected shall be signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Mass Meeting, or if by a Primary election, by a majority of Commissioners conducting said election.

The Chairman of the State Central Committee shall appoint a Committee of five (5) on arangement to make all necessary preparations for the holding of the State Convention, and the selection of the Temporary officers therof. In the event for any reason that any member of said Committee of arrangement, cannot serve, the Chairman of the State Central Committee shall appoint some other member of the State Central Committee to the vacancy caused thereby.

Any information desired will be furnished by communicating with the Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, J. S. Stuart Thomsan, P. O. Box 536, Lake Charles, La. or to B. V. Baranco Secretary, P. O. Box 585 Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

(Signed) J. Stuart Thomson, Ch'mn.
(Signed) B. V. Baranco, Secretary.

NEWS
CHICAGO, ILL.

MAR 13 1928

NEGROES ORGANIZE POLITICAL LEAGUE

"Bunked Long Enough," Says Leader of Move to Better Conditions.

Believing that "the Negro has been bunked long enough," a group of young business and professional men of Chicago has launched the Young Colored Men's Political league, whose officers today announce its program.

"Decent colored people," said T. W. Champion, twenty years ago a Pullman porter, now a real estate man living at 5326 South Park way, "feel that conditions have become deplorable. They deeply resent the statement ascribed to a police commissioner that the Negroes voted for open gambling. For my part, I voted for Thompson because the race issue was injected into the campaign.

"The Negro has been bunked long [illegible] said Mr. Champion. "I fail [illegible] that Thompson has fulfilled to [illegible] appreciable degree his legitimate promises to the Negro, in the way of improving conditions, employing Negroes, for instance. I don't see that there has been any change for the better. On the contrary, I am reliably informed that thousands of dollars are being taken out of the Negro colony in rake-offs for protection of policy and kindred rackets.

Outsider Has No Chance.

"The spread of policy among women and children as well as fathers of family is taking money needed for the necessities of life, in a game which according to experts gives the outsider only one chance against 17,000 to win.

"Meanwhile in the face of widespread unemployment I am unaware that the administration has taken even the steps toward amelioration that were resorted to during the previous administration, when the unemployment was much less severe.

"The time has come when the Negro must declare his political independence of four-flushing politicians who either promise without performing, or give recognition only to the Negroes who do no credit to their people.

"We shall make recommendations to the Negro voter based on the qualifications of candidates, and irrespective of alliances, factions or even parties. We decided not to call ourselves 'republicans' because that stuff is passe, and because we may decide to indorse a democrat.

Resent Popular Idea.

"The Negro resents the idea that any politician can deliver his vote."

The officers of the new organization, besides Champion, are A. L. Jackson, vice-president; Dr. J. A. Feaman, second vice-president; Herman K. Barnett, executive secretary; Macon H. Huggins, recording secretary; Joyce Jacobs, assistant secretary; F. W. Harsh Jr., treasurer; Dr. Carl Roberts, chairman of the executive board. A. L. Jackson and Barnett said that Mr. Champion's statement represented a rising sentiment among the Chicago negroes.

The association announced the following endorsements:

William L. Dawson for congress from the first district.

William H. Haynes for legislature from the fifth senatorial district.

James B. Cashin and Harry M. Porter, for municipal judges.

Endorsement of Dr. Richard A. Williams for ward committeeman against Oscar De Priest will be recommended to the executive board, Mr. Champion added. He said that the indorsements [illegible] the basis of affilia[illegible] [illegible]on with any polit[illegible] [illegible] the basis of indi[illegible] office as weighed [illegible] the [illegible] body.

SECONDED HOOVER'S NOMINATION

Dr. John R. Hawkins, delegate-at-large from the District of Columbia to the Republican National Convention, who served on the imporant committee on rules and order of business, and was selected to make a speech seconding the nomination of Herbert Hoover.

Dr. John R. Hawkins, Whitefield McKinlay and the Rev. H. Jernagin were in the delegation that left here last Saturday afternoon for Kansas City to attend the Republican national convention. Dr. Hawkins is one of the two delegates from the District of Columbia. The Rev. Jernagin is his alternate. Mr. McKinlay is a former collector of customs of the port of Georgetown, District of Columbia. He was very active in politics during the Roosevelt and Taft administrations.

CONVENTION OKEYS RULING OF COMMITTEE

Appeal Is Buried by Heavy Vote Favoring the Lily Whites

The so-called regular Republican delegates from the Southern states which lost their fight for seats last week before the national committee, were crushed under the Hoover machine Wednesday when they took their cases on appeal to the credentials committee.

The credentials committee reported in favor of the "regular" delegates in Florida, Louisiana and Texas, the states where the contest was most bitter.

A minority report submitted to the convention, recommending the seating of the "regular" delegates from Louisiana and the faction containing William McDonald of Texas, was voted down by the convention, 659½ to 399½.

This indicates the strength of the Hoover vote on the floor and makes certain the secretary of commerce will be nominated on the first ballot late Thursday.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Bitter Factional Controversy Tears State Party Asunder

'Lily-Whites" Instruct Delegation For Herbert Hoover—Boost Creager For Vice-President—"Black and Tans" Send Uninstructed Delegates—Endorse Congressman Wurzbach and Condemn National Committeeman Creager—Few Blacks In "Regular" Convention—None Selected As Delegates or Alternates—"Insurgents" Honor Negro Republicans—Contest Goes To Kansas City Parley

(By Staff Correspondent)

Convention Hall, Dallas, Texas, May 22, 1928.—One of the most riotous and tumultous gatherings ever held in this city, or perhaps this state during recent years by the Texas Republicans, was staged here today at the City Hall auditorium, when bedlam broke loose during the viva voce vote on the submission of the majority and minority reports on the temporary roll of the convention; the former being submitted by the Creager-Nolte bloc, and the latter being introduced by the Wurzbach-Littleton-McDonald faction, with Captain John E. Elgin of San Antonio, former Texas ranger and picturesque, pioneer Texas Republican, offering the minority report which offered the name of C. C. Littleton of Fort Worth as temporary chairman of the convention. The majority report recommended Orville Bullington of Wichita Falls as temporary chairman.

5-26-28

When Captain Elgin insisted that his motion, adopting the minority report, had carried by acclamation, he immediately recognized C. C. Littleton as chairman, at which point R. B. Creager of Brownsville, national committeeman from Texas, and Eugene Nolte of Seguin, state chairman, called police officers, who were patrolling both the interior and exterior of the convention hall, to the rostrum to eject Captain Elgin, Littleton and Harry Beck of Dallas from the convention hall. Their ejections were followed by the withdrawal of the Wurzbach forces, who mobilized their forces in the corridors of the convention hall and perfected their temporary organization.

The situation grew both dramatic and tense when the rift, which had been expected, came; for the manner in which the Creager-Nolte combine had decided the contests on the previous day, and the hopeless fight waged by Littleton and Elgin, members of the Creager-Nolte executive committee (the captain employing a proxy), against what they termed as the "high-handed manner in seating the Creager hand picked delegates," presaged the renewal of hostilities Tuesday and a split in the convention.

After the Wurzbach forces had withdrawn from the convention hall, their leaders having been ejected by police officers, Creager attacked Wurzbach's political history and stated that the congressman was guilty of duplicity and double dealing in purporting to support Herbert Hoover for the presidential nomination by the Republicans on one hand and then trying to array certain racial groups against Hoover on the other hand.

In his scathing denunciation of Wurzbach, Creager stated that the Seguin Republican was not fit to represent Texas in the congress of the United States, and the Creager adherents rent the convention hall with vociferous applause. The national committeeman also charged that C. C. Litleton and F. E. Scobey, two of the moving spirits in the Wurzbach camp, were two of the most bitter foes of the Negro race in Texas, and that no man in the Texas Republican party has ever been as vehement and vitriolic against the colored race as Littleton, an erstwhile Democrat. Creager added that he was not opposed to Negroes participating in Republican affairs, but that he stood "unquestionably for white leadership."

Two Delegations Chosen

The racial attitude of the two conventions was reflected in the election of delegates and alternates, both from the state-at-large and congressional districts, by the opposing and contending factions. The Creager regime elected 26 white delegates and 26 white alternates, despite the fact that some of the leading colored Hoover supporters of the state were seated as regular delegates in the Creager parley.

Contending that their convention was a genuine old-fashioned Republican powwow, the Wurzbach-Littleton group elected 3 white delegates-at-large and 1 colored; 3 alternates and one colored; between twelve and fifteen colored delegates and alternates (elected by their respective congressional conventions on May 10, 1928, according to the leaders of the anti-Hoover movement) to represent their faction at the National Republican Convention, which meets at Kansas City, Mo., June 12, 1928.

Since Texas will have a contest before the contests committee of the national organization, it will be necessary for the case to be presented and argued before said committee during the week of June 4, 1928.

Few Blacks At Creager Meet

There were very few colored delegates and alternates in the Creager convention, the following counties having Negroes on their delegations: Bowie, Bexar, Galveston and Harris; Bexar withdrawing when the rift occurred.

Because of the fact that Texas Negroes, in a large measure, are favorable to the Hoover candidacy, and due to the fact that some of the leading Negroes in Texas had been very active in behalf of the commerce secretary's nomination, it was quite a blow to the "faithful brethren" when not a solitary member of their race was listed even as an alternate; and when no white Republican in the convention would object to the election of a delegation on which there were no colored Republicans.

The Wurzbach forces were jubilant with this action on the part of the Creager regime, claiming that it will strengthen their case before the contests and credentials committees at Kansaa City, next month, in proving that the Creager party organization is "lily-white" and hostile to colored Republicans.

Two Dominant Figures

While R. B. Creager was the dominant figure at the "regular" convention, William Madison ("Gooseneck Bill") McDonald, Ft. Worth banker, fraternalist and politician, wielded the sceptre at the "insurgent" parley.

The "big four" chosen by the Creager convention were R. B. Creager of Brownsville, Eugene Nolte of Seguin, Orville Bullington of Wichita Falls and T. P. Lee of Houston. The Wurzbach forces chose Harry M. Wurzbach of Seguin, C. C. Littleton of Ft Worth, W. P. Gage of Dallas, and William M. McDonald of Ft. Worth. Dr. J. T. Walton, San Antonio physician, was elected as one of the four alternates from the Wurzmach convention.

Political observers will watch with interest the outcome of the Texas contest at Kansas City, which will determine, in no small measure, the future growth and expansion of the party in Texas. A white Democrat who, apparently, had been keeping up with the fight between these two factions, remarked that "Creager and Nolte have the party machinery, but Harry Wurzbach and 'Bill' McDonald control the votes of the real Republicans of Texas; and I can't see how the national organization can afford to ignore a delegation headed by the lone Republican from the banner Democratic state in the United States."

Oldest Delegate At 10 G. O. P. Meets

KANSAS CITY—E. S. Richardson of Marshallville, Ga., delegate from the third congressional district, makes a claim [illegible] consistent convention-goer.

Richardson, now 66 years old, has been attending Republican national conventions since 1884. He has missed only [illegible] 1904—when he was elected delegate but found it necessary to remain at home..

Negro Political Boss Is Admitted To Meet

KANSAS CITY, June 12.—(AP)—R. R. (Bob) Church, Memphis negro politician, credited with being boss of the negro vote in Tennessee, tonight retained his place as the only negro on the Volunteer state delegation, but only after a brisk fight before the credentials committee of the Republican national convention.

The committee voted unanimously to seat him after an effort had been made to declare the seat vacant and to seat no delegate.

Politics Unlikely To Succeed Where Methodists Fail

KANSAS CITY, (By Carl Murphy) —It is fairly certain that delegates to the Republican National Convention meeting here next month will fall before this city's jim-crow policy in hotels.

This means that colored members of northern delegations will be separated from their white brethren who will have reservations in hotels. Colored folk will be shunted to private residences.

The Honorable Perry Howard, recently discovered to be on the Hoover pavroll, was here recently and "fixed everything up." How well he performed, delegates will find out when they reach this city. My guess is that politics will not be able to succeed where religion has failed. Religion certainly failed during the M. E. General Conference.

Our two bishops were promised quarters with other prelates in the large hotels. These tavern keepers refused to accommodate them. One of them was sent subsequently to an apartment hotel which turned out to be a "sporting house". Naturally, he left and sought residence with a private family.

Delegates with whom I have talked not only resent the outrage, but declare that another convention will come to Kansas City over their dead bodies, so to speak.

Kansas is a border state like Maryland. The General Conference gave the city a shock when delegates of all races sat together in meetings and ate together in the Convention Hall without the world's coming to an end.

One white member of the local committee is quoted as saying, "We must not treat visiting colored folk better than we do our own local people, lest the latter become insulted".

Therefore housing of delegates was placed in the hands of whites who knew nothing about colored people. The result was that a mother with five children living in a two-room house was assigned two delegates, and scores of local people with fine residences were not asked to assist.

That comfortable homes were found for delegates was not to the credit of the white committee in charge, but it was due to the energy of thoughtful Kansas City colored folk, who insisted that the rooming list for delegates be revised and supervised.

These same people will likely come to the aid of the G. O. P. when it is evident that the copperhead hotels are going to do to the politicians what they have already done to the pastors and prelates.

Birmingham, Ala., Post
Wednesday, May 16, 1928

State G. O. P. Upholds Rule To Bar Negro Invasion

25-Delegate Issue Fought Out In Committee Meeting; Delegates Announced And Five Counties Admitted

UPHOLDING its ruling that counties with less than 25 Republican votes can not be represented at state conventions, the Alabama Republican executive committee at its meeting yesterday at the Tutwiler hotel today maintained a bar against invasion of the party in Alabama by the negro race.

Several committeemen, including Charles Robinson, assistant United States district attorney, declared that if the committee broke its 25-delegate ruling, "it would open the gates wide to numbers of negroes in the various counties that have less than the required number of votes."

The negro issue was introduced when five counties presented requests for representation in the state Republican conventions. The counties, Hale, Greene, Choctaw, Monroe and Clark were represented by delegations armed with admittance requests on the grounds that "if Al Smith is nominated by the Democratic party, the Democrats in counties that have less than 25 Republican votes will vote from 200 to 500 strong for the Republican nominee."

With only one of Alabama's 15 Republican delegates uninstructed to vote for the nomination of Herbert Hoover, Alabama's support of Hoover was made certain today as the Republican convention opened at the Jefferson theater.

The announcement of election of the following delegates was made: Douglas Smith, Wedowee; J. A. Bingham, Talladega; John Morton, Tuscaloosa; Vester Walker, Tuscumbia; Frank Bachard, Foley; C. M. Sartain, Jasper; C. B. Kennamer, Guntersville; B. L. Noojin, Gadsden; J. R. Dawsey, Ashford, and T. J. Kennamer, Birmingham.

Of these delegates all were instructed to vote for Hoover at the Republican national convention, to be held in Kansas City, June 12, except Sartain, whom it was understood would carry the Jasper vote to Lowden.

Hoover Winner As Delegation Is Seated By Meet

Slate Of Delegates From Florida Favoring Secretary Victorious

Bean Forces Lose

Skipper Group Makes Victory Complete

KANSAS CITY, MO., June 4.—(AP)—Bowling over opposition without a setback, Herbert Hoover picked up 11 votes in the Republican convention today as the national committee, sitting as a jury, got down to the hearing of contests involving nearly 70 delegates from Southern states.

Not only did the committee place on the temporary convention roll all of the nine Hoover pledged delegates from Florida and two from Florida whose credentials had been challenged, but it paved the way for dethroning George W. Bean, national committeeman for 16 years and the federal patronage "boss" in Florida.

Bean who led a losing fight for an instructed slate of delegates intends to appeal to the convention credentials committee. In the past it rarely has overruled the decisions of the national committee and for this reason there is confidence in the Hoover camp that today's rulings would stand.

Skipper Likely Winner

As the Florida delegation will select their new national committeeman, it appeared certain tonight that, barring a reversal, Bean would lose his post and that Glen H. Skipper of Miami, who led the fight against him and who himself landed a place as a district delegate pledged to Hoover, would take over the party reins in the state.

Setting out to referee before the end of the week all of the factional disputes, which as usual have cropped up in the South, the national committee first took up those from Florida, postponing for a day or two judgment in the important controversies centering around the entire delegations from Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas. In each of these three states, one set of contestees has been lined up for Hoover, with the opposition slates classed generally as pro-Lowden or pro-Dawes.

The Florida disputes aired and decided today involved all of the delegation from that state except the lone convention representative from the Third District. The other contest disposed of during the day which had attracted less attention, affected the two convention seats from the first Kentucky district.

Here again Hoover scored a victory. The delegates instructed for him recognized, giving him a solid delegation of 29 from the Blue Grass state. No one appeared to press the claims of two rival slates and the Hoover pair obtained a quick decision, without a committee roll call.

Butler Votes With Bean

In the votes on the Florida contests, taken behind closed doors, Chairman Butler, the former Massachusetts senator and close friend of President Coolidge, voted with Bean, who never has been looked on as friendly to Hoover's candidacy. So did Charles D. Hilles, national committeeman from New York, who favors Coolidge's renomination and has not given up hope that it can be accomplished.

While Butler is expected to take a hand in any movement to keep Mr. Coolidge in the White House, he has indicated that on the first convention ballot at least he would go along with other Bay State delegates who think they should rally to the commerce secretary's support because he carried in state in the April preferential primary. Some members of the national committee were inclined to attach importance to Butler's stand today as an indication of which way the political wind was blowing, but others, including Hoover's supporters, minimized it.

As it got under way with the contests, after attending to a few preliminaries, the committee alloted time to opposing counsel in each contest for arguments in the open. Decisions were reached in executive sessions after each series of arguments had been concluded, but after two showings of strength by the Hoover forces roll calls were dispensed with and the question was decided by oral voting.

New Tales of Disorder

Some new tales of disorder "stacked" state conventions and strong arm methods were unfolded to the committee members as the opposing Republican factions from Florida clashed. The Hooverites insisted that the state was tired of Bean and wanted a new political deal; Bean's band came back with the charge that Skipper, who for years had been challenging him, had gained control of party conventions by high handed methods and had no legitimate standing in party councils.

Bean throughout the hearings sat behind the attorneys espousing his cause, while across the hearing room was former Senator Lenroot, of Wisconsin, and others carrying on the fight on behalf of Hoover's followers.

In the room, which was cleared of spectators, every time the committee was to decide who's who on the contested delegate list, sat James W. Good, the Hoover campaign manager. When the day's work was done he smiled broadly and remarked:

"It couldn't have been otherwise. It couldn't have been better. It's just what will happen in all the contests."

At the helm for the Hoover faction when votes was to be taken, was Ralph Williams of Oregon, who like Hilles is a vice-chairman of the committee.

More than 20 of the 106 committee members were not present or represented by proxies, the vote on the seating of the Hoover pledged "big four" from Florida being 46 to 37, the count of recognizing the two Skipper delegates from the first Florida district was 51 to 33, while in the case of the others there was no record vote.

RACE LOST ON PLATFORM

SIXTY DELEGATES IN ATTENDANCE AT NATIONAL REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION — NORTHERN STATES SEND MORE THAN EVER — UNITED ON ENFORCEMENT OF AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION BUT WERE IGNORED

Kansas City, Mo., June 11, 1928.—Fifty delegates and ten alternates are the race representation in the Republican National Convention here.

Never before have so many states north of the Mason-Dixon line been represented.

The number by States is:

Arkansas, 3; Georgia, 11; Illinois, 2; Kentucky, 2; Louisiana, 5; Maryland, 3; Michigan, 1; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 3; New Jersey, 1; Ohio, 1; Oklahoma, 1; South Carolina, 6; Tennessee, 1; and West Virginia 2—total 50.

Alternates: Iowa, 1; Maryland, 3; Massachusetts, 1; Michigan, 1; New York, 2; and Pennsylvania, 2—total 10.

"If the Republican Party writes into its platform a declaration for enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, it must include the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments," is the slogan of leaders here.

S. D. Redmond, delegate selected for the Mississippi member of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, said he would insist on pledging the Republicans to a more vigorous enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

"Why should there be any discrimination?" said he. "It is well known to Senator Borah and other prominent party men that these are being ignored. Every colored delegate here should resent any plan to favor the Eighteenth over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments."

Thoroughly aroused over this matter, the delegates were busy today calling on their friends from other States, urging them to stand by them in their efforts to get justice.

Political – 1928

Party Affiliation.

Republican.

"BOB" CHURCH DOES LAUNCH BIG OFFENSIVE

Memphis Whites Making Frantic Effort To Head Off Leader's Control

DEFEATED CANDIDATES TRUMP UP CHARGES

G. Tom Taylor, White, Says Church Wanted $1,000 Of Salary

MEMPHIS, TENN.—Riled, it is charged, because of his ascendency in Republican leadership in Tennessee, Memphis white foes of Robert R. Church have launched the most intensive offensive against the Shelby County leader in the history of local politics.

For more than a week the Memphis Commercial Appeal and the Evening Appeal, opposition papers to the present City Adminstration, have been out to get his scalp and have used large headlines charging him with making demands upon candidates for money.

Make Charges

G. Tom Taylor, who was appointed acting postmaster on Church's endorsement, and who was recently rejected by the Senate, says he "lost his job because he refused to give Church $1,000 out of his salary."

George H. Poole, also candidate for acting postmaster says "he didn't get the job because he would not agree to give $2,800 that he claims Church said he spent in moving Seches, former postmaster, and would not agree to have colored special delivery carriers and colored clerks in the Memphis office."

'Malicious and False"

Church characterized the statements of Taylor and Poole, as "malicious and false" and stated further that there was not a person in Tennessee who did not know why Tom Taylor lost his job, and that George Poole was not considered because he had taken the examination and could not make the eligible grade, that the Postoffice Department would not appoint a man acting Postmaster who had taken the examination and failed".

Postmaster General Harry S. New, when informed of the charges stated to the press, "That he had known Bob Church for years and believed in his integrity, that while he did not like to prejudice such things, that he did not believe there was any truth in the charges. I have heard charges like these before and everytime they have been investigated were found untrue."

Church said that he "welcomed a thorough and searching investigation by the Department and had requested it".

Congressman J. Will Taylor, Republican National Committeeman from Tennessee, and patronage referee, branded as an "infamous canard" the allegations.

Bank Crash Looms

Efforts to link the name of Church with the recent failure of the Solvent and Fraternal Bank and Trust Company, have also been made, it is said.

Searching the records it was found that a note for $4.000 was made by Church in 1925. Although the records show that the note was paid at maturity, Church's friends say, large headlines in the daily papers said, "Link Church's Name In Negro Bank Crash".

In reply Church stated, "I have never had any questionable transaction with any bank, and everybody knows that I was not connected in any way with the defunct Fraternal Solvent Bank. If I had a note there in 1925, it was certainly paid when due as records of the bank will show."

NEGROES ASLEEP ON OPP'TUNITIES IN POLITICS

By William O. Walker

"A politician thinks of the next election; a statesman, of the next generation."—James Freeman Clarke.

Unfortunately few Negroes in Washington can be classed in the first category, and none at all in the last. The sleeping giant was never more strikingly illustrated than among the Negroes in this city—the capital of the nation when it comes to politics.

At present, in every state where Negroes reside, they are planning for the election of delegates to the coming national convention of the Republican party, which, as all know, is yet the party of the bulk of Negro voters. In some places, delegates have already been selected and slates made up. However, in Washington, the Negro is sleeping, unmindful of the privilege and right that is his as well as other citizens' to elect two delegates and alternates from the District of Columbia to this coming convention.

The Republican National Committee has already issued the call under which delegates are to be elected. This call specifically specifies how these various elections are to be held. As to the qualifications of those eligible to participate in the election of these delegates, the call states:

"The voters of the several states and of Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the District of Columbia who are in accord with the principles of the Republican Party, believe in its declaration of policies, and are in sympathy with its aims and purposes, are invited to unite under this call in the selection of delegates to said convention."

As to the delegates, the call states:

"Delegates and alternates to the National Convention shall be duly qualified voters of their respective states and territories and in the case of the District of Columbia, residents therein."

Under these rules, every Negro, male and female, over 21 years of age, and who professes himself or herself to be "in accord with the principles of the Republican Party" are eligible.

There are over 20,000 Negroes in the city of Washington eligible to participate in the election of the delegates from the District.

Since 1912, there has been a gradual but determined effort to ease the Negro out of the party councils in this city. In 1912, the delegates were elected by a city-wide referendum. Polling places were distributed all over the city and the citizens went to them during the hours of voting and cast their ballots for their respective candidates.

In 1916, the so-called bosses attempted to put into effect a system whereby their control and power would not be jeopardized. A convention was held in the old Ebbitt House on F Street, and admittance was by card only. Of course the bosses saw to it that only their henchmen were given cards. The result was, the whole affair was cut and dried. However, so repugnant was this procedure to a great number who believed in fair play, that a rump convention and a contesting set of delegates were sent to the convention which convened in St. Louis, Mo. When the contest came up before the credentials committee at the convention, both sides being irregular, all the delegates from the District of Columbia were thrown out.

In 1920, the so-called convention was completely boss controlled. In 1924, the selection was also cut and dried long before the faithful few assembled in a room on New York Avenue for the arduous task.

According to the call issued by the Republican National Committee, due notice of the primary election as well as of the general election is to be made in newspapers of general circulation, at least fifteen days before the voting. All meetings are also to be held in public places.

So far no mention of the primary elections or general elections have been made by Mr. Edward F. Colladay who is National Committeeman for the District. The practice in the past has been to hold unadvertised, private meetings in private homes or unannounced meetings in public halls or schools. To these meetings only a few of the faithful are invited.

A determined effort is being made this year to have the election of delegates from the District made in strict accordance to the call. A petition was presented last December to the National Republican Committee signed by Aaron Bradshaw, J. Finley Wilson, Robert F. Miller and Benjamin L. Gaskins.

This petition asked the National Committee to appoint a sub-committee of three to carry out the fair election of gelegates in the District. The election of these National convention delegates is the only form of franchise exercised by the citizens of Washington.

If the 20,000 Negroes eligible to participate in this election would turn out and cast their votes, the status of the Negro in this city would be greatly bettered.

Under the present practice, all appointments in the District Government are made on recommendation of division chiefs. These chiefs get their orders from those who control the Republiian Party in the District. No civil service examinatons are required. Notwithstanding this, fewer than twenty-five Negro clerks hold positions in the District building. On the other hand hundreds of whites from Maryland and Virginia hold these positions and are paid out of the pockets of the tax payers of the District.

While these whites occupy these lucreative positions, hundreds of graduates of Dunbar, Armstrong, Niner Normal and Howard University whose parents are tax payers here, are denied positions. The only remedy to this is for the Negroes of the District to take a more active part in the Republican politics of this city. If they cast their votes for the election of their own delegates to the general convention, they can then elect men who will give recognition in the dispensing of the patronage here.

Despite the fact that about half of the membership of the Republican party here is made up of Negroes, they do not get sufficient recognition in patronage to call it anything at all. The only Negro holding a job of any prestige under the District Government, is Attorney Thos. L. Jones, who is an Assistant District Attorney with a salary less than $3,000 a year.

The plan in the past has been to name one Negro a delegate and one an alternate to the National Convention. Other than this, no further recognition is given. A determined effort is being made to revive the interest of the 20,000 Negro voters here in politics and get them to go out and better their condition by the proper use of the ballot.

OUR PARTISAN POSITION EXPLAINED

Some of the colored citizens are engaging in surmises and reaching conclusions regarding our political or partisan stand in the Republican situation in Harris County and Texas, particularly as it relates to the regular organization headed in this county by R. B. Morris, county chairman.

Informer

It will be recalled that this editor was a candidate against Mr. Morris in 1926 for the office of county chairman or chairman of the Republican executive committee of Harris County; and that a district judge refused to issue a mandatory writ compelling the Republican executive committee of Harris County to place this editor's name on the official ballot as a candidate for said elective office. The result of that fight is well known to most residents of this city and section.

4-29-28

It will also be borne in mind that, starting back in 1920, this editor has always been aligned with the Republican faction fighting the regular Republican organization, both in this county and state; not that we had anything personal against the leaders of the recognized organization, but because we differed as to partisan policy, program and procedure.

Houston, Texas

After looking over the field of presidential prospects, this editor and paper chose to support Herbert C. Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination, and it so happened that several of the leaders in the regular Republican organization in this city and county were and are also favorable to Mr. Hoover's candidacy.

When The Informer came out for Mr. Hoover, certain local Hoover supporters of the white race sought a conference with this editor, and discussed at length the political situation, particularly interracially, in this city and county.

At this and subsequent conferences, we had our white conferees to understand that we wanted no financial remuneration, as such, for our support of Mr. Hoover's candidacy; that we favored the present secretary of commerce for the presidential nomination in 1919, and would continue to support and back Mr. Hoover even if our warring factions could not get together on terms of peace and declare a partisan and political armistice.

At these parleys we contended that the Negroes of Houston and Harris County, as well as Texas, did not want to dominate the Republican party or any other partisan organization; but that the black man insists upon free political activity and full partisan participation and representation; and that upon this basis—partisan participation and representation—we would bury the hatchet and line up with the regular organization in this county and district, particularly; but we also made it quite plain to local Republican leaders that, while we were willing to support Mr. Hoover and attempt to work out a harmony program for the best interests of the party in this section and state, we could not swallow, without protest, the kind of political concoction and partisan dope which R. B. Creager, Republican national committeeman for Texas and titular head of the party in this state, has been dispensing to the colored Republicans of Texas during his administration.

In our editorial endorsement of Mr. Hoover several weeks ago, we sought to make our position in this matter quite clear and plain; and later this writer was one of the moving spirits in a statewide conference, held at Dallas under auspices of the Independent Colored Voters' League of Texas, where a program was outlined seeking to unify and solidify the belligerent Republican factions in Texas on the same basis as effected in Harris County.

WE HAVE NOT "SOLD OUT" THE RACE NOR OUR CAUSE TO ANY PERSON, GROUP OR CLIQUE, AND NO ONE HAS SOUGHT TO "BUY" US!

It is simply a case of politics making strange bedfellows, so to speak, for, as stated before, both this editor and the regular Republican organization found themselves supporting and working for the presidential nomination of the same distinguished American—Herbert C. Hoover—and all of us felt that Mr. Hoover's cause could be considerably advanced and enhanced in this section, and even the state, if all of his supporters worked in harmony and as a unit, rather than as separate and distinct units.

We believe that the majority of colored citizens of Texas, whether they agree with and are willing to line up with the Creager-Nolte regime or not, are not unfavorable to Mr. Hoover's candidacy; for candor and frankness, rather than political expediency, compel unbiased and unprejudiced Texans of color to admit that Mr. Hoover is eminently fitted for the highest position within the gift of the American electorate, and that there is not another man being mentioned for the presidential nomination, by either of the major parties, who has the qualifications to the marked degree as possessed by Mr. Hoover.

We have stated before, and wish to repeat it here, that all citizens wishing to participate in the Republican precinct conventions on Saturday, May 5, 1928, must respond to the official call issued by the regular Republican organization, despite the propaganda and ill advice of some of the anti-Creager and anti-Hoover forces in this state.

Nothing can be gained by remaining outside the organization and fighting, but much can be gained by getting inside the organization and seeking to effect such reforms.

Another thing: No organization, political, religious, civic or whatnot, can thrive and grow and maintain its hold upon its constituents, if said organization is constantly and continually in an internal wrangle and factional controversy; and even the Republican party of Texas is no exception to this general rule.

Briefly stated, The Informer's position is epitomized in this slogan: HOOVER—HARMONY—HAPPINESS!

Leaders' Absence Causes Comment

Pittsburg Courier
Pittsburg, Pa.
6/16/28

(By Special Correspondent)

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 14.—Well, we're here!

This is the Republican national convention, all right. We know it because the papers say so, and we see here all the party bosses, little and big ones—all mixed up here trying to pick a candidate to ride the G. O. P. elephant to victory next fall.

The white hotels are filled with busy ones—some wise and some otherwise. All kinds of talk is going on, but few facts are being stated. There is a decided anti-Hoover atmosphere here. Everyone was waiting for Mr. Mellon from Pennsylvania. Well, Mr. Mellon came, but he was out of sight about as soon as he landed, and nobody knows what he is thinking or what he is going to do. If he does one thing, then something will happen, and if he does something else, something else will happen. That is about all we hear here, in spite of all the buzzing among the hungry ones.

Of course, Hoover is going to either be nominated or defeated. The same may be said of Lowden, or even Mr. Dawes. This is just a simple statement, but it means nothing. The "dark horse" talk is the same we heard at Cleveland and Chicago. But "dark horses" have to have oats to get started in a race like this is going to be.

All the "white folks" are here as usual. They ought to be here, but where are the "brethren"? The absence of certain Negro leaders is really significant. It is the comment everywhere. Where is this one, and where is that one? "Not here this year," is the answer. "That's funny," say the little fellows, who always like to swear in with the big ones before the candidate is selected. Then comes the chorus: "I was for him all the time." But there is something lacking. There is a blank space here. It means something, and we do not know what that something can be.

It is known that the Negroes who can do things politically are not here. Of course, the delegates are here. But the "vote getters" are not here. Delegates may nominate, but the leaders who get the voters interested are not here. Something is being "cooked up" somewhere as sure as life. All around town the talk will not down.

About Friday we expect to see the fur begin to fly; maybe before Friday. At any rate, the absence of certain Negroes is certainly funny this year at the Republican national convention.

Political-1928

Party Affiliation.

EVERY EVENING
WILMINGTON, DEL.

MAY 1 8 1928

NEW STATUS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

An Era of Independent Political Action Seems Impending.

The editorial entitled "The Negro Looms Again in G. O. P. Affairs," which appeared in Every Evening Monday, April 30, was praised at the meeting of the West Side Playground and Community Association, at the Gilbert Presbyterian Church, Seventh and du Pont streets, on Wednesday night.

Attorney John W. Bird of this city, who practices law in Chester; Rev. William R. Rutledge, pastor of Gilbert Church, and Patrick W. Turner spoke of the editorial. "The Negro's political status is being taken seriously," said Mr. Bird. "It is a well-known fact that there would be many different tales told in the Republican party should the masses of Negroes vote elsewhere in certain states and cities."

Rev. Mr. Rutledge stated that the new Negro is more independent in political thinking, as well as otherwise, and that he will no longer be a slave to any one party, but will vote weighing the merits of the individual candidates and considering the issues at stake more seriously than ever before.

The meeting was well attended. Final reports on the recent Better Homes Campaign, which the association sponsored among Negroes of this city, were made. Mrs. Marie L. Jones, president of the association, who presided, stated that Secretary of Commerce Hoover was so pleased with the results of the campaign that he had asked her to head the effort again in 1929.

A social hour followed the meeting.

THE TRUTH WILL STAND

Ashburn, Ga., May 21, 1928.

Hon. B. J. Davis,
National Committeeman for Georgia.

Dear Brother: I just want to say a few words concerning our party in the state. We have a fine party and some good men and women, and we have some who do not stand by their word, and don't care what becomes of the party in the state, just so they throw Ben Davis. It seems to me that any man or woman who knows of the great handicap the party was under and B. J. Davis worked it out and got it safe, all men should be safe in the party, and along comes some persons who do nothing, who say nothing for the party until B. J. Davis taught them and started them out, and now they think they know more about the work than any other man. Just enough to tear up the party. I was one of the committee who voted for and helped elect B. J. Davis and Mrs. King, and I will furnish affidavits proving that all members voted solidly with me. I will go to the convention and prove it. All I can say to you is just go ahead. God will fight your battles and bring you out safely

Mr. Davis, I am with you. If you go up or down, Mr. Davis, I always have been with you and will continue with you. Mr. Davis, you watch the man who comes to your home and stays with you; he will not always do to trust. With this I thank you so much. I am,

Yours respectfully,
R. L. MARTIN.

Atlanta Ga
5-24-28

TIMES
ST. LOUIS, MO
MAY 2 9 1928

REGISTRATION OF NEGROES PROBLEM FOR G. O. P. HERE

Additional Names on Poll Books Might Hurt Judge Caulifield.

By A. G. BENESCH.

The decline here in the last seven years in the registered vote is being studied by leaders of both parties with a view of determining the advantages as well as disadvantages of placing thousands of additional names on the registration books for the August primary. Publicly the party heads insist they are anxious for the heaviest possible vote, but privately some of them see the danger of a heavy registration.

This is particularly true in Republican ranks, although such a statement probably will meet with stout denial by the more influential leaders. It is true, because of the negro situation, which gives promise of causing much uneasiness, not only in the coming primary but also in the November election campaign.

At this time it is estimated that there are possibly 12,000 to 18,000 unregistered negro voters, who, with the 30,000 already on the books, constitute a force that will have to be reckoned with, not only by Republicans but also by the Democrats. Ordinarily the negro vote is at least 85 per cent Republican in St. Louis, and it is one one of the important reasons why St. Louis has always been able to pile up its overwhelming G. O. P. majority.

Seek Vote for Caulfield.

Naturally the Republican organization wants that vote, especially if it will "perform" as it has performed in other elections, but the question right now is whether the organization can afford to bring out a big registration in advance of the primary in view of what may happen at that time.

It is no secret that the leaders here are committed to Judge Henry S. Caulfield in his race for the Republican nomination for Governor and that they have turned "thumbs down" on the candidacy of Lieut. Gov. Phil A. Bennett, who, it appears, is his chief opponent. The backers of Caulfield are cognizant of the fact that they must carry St. Louis for their candidate if he is to win and they are anxious to give him the Republican vote here but the big question they face now is whether they shall lend themselves to a move to get the negroes on the books in the coming primary.

If the leaders were sure that the negro vote would be for Caulfield they would have the books loaded down with legitimate registrants but there is some reason to believe that the negro may not "stay hitched" in this campaign. The negroes are not opposed to Judge Caulfield personally. They believe he is a high type of citizen who would make a good Governor, but they are extremely hesitant about jumping on the judge's bandwagon due it appears principally to the fact that Caulfield has the backing of the State administration.

Back in 1924 Baker was popular with the negroes in St. Louis and in the election campaign received a rousing reception when he addressed a large gathering of negroes in the Sixth Ward, presided over by Robert Scott, committeeman. A delegation waited on Baker at that time and submitted a list of questions to him touching on the welfare of the members of their race.

Grievance of Negroes.

Baker's answers at the time were so satisfactory that the negroes gave him a tremendous vote in St. Louis, the lead in the Sixth Ward being in excess of 4000. Gov. Baker won the election by 5872 votes, and the St. Louis negroes naturally take their share of credit for the victory. Four years of the Baker administration has convinced the negro that the Governor has not kept his word, J. E. Mitchell, editor of the Argus says.

The removal of Dr. N. B. Young as head of the Lincoln Institute at Jefferson City by a board of regents named by Gov. Baker has caused much criticism among the negroes and is being advanced as one of the reasons why some of these cannot support any candidate having the backing of the present State administration. The alleged brutal treatment of negroes under arrest is also used as an argument why State candidates with the Baker support should be defeated. tional convention, is among those urging Bennett's nomination.

Another matter of concern to the Republican leaders is the report that many of the negroes, particularly out-State, feel friendly to Al Smith's presidential candidacy, because of the fact that Ferdinand Martin was named a member of the Civil Service Commission in New York, and also because Tammany Hall has seen fit to create a separate organization for the negroes in that city and has given them considerable recognition. Martin visited Missouri several months ago and had a number of conferences with negro leaders.

It is dificult to believe that the negro vote in St. Louis would go to a Democratic candidate, but the Republican registration plans may move slowly if there is a possibility of the negro voting the Democratic ticket in St. Louis next November.

Sylacauga, Ala., News
Thursday, April 5, 1928

Hoover's Negro Order Is Scored

WASHINGTON, April 3.—Vigorous criticism of Secretary Hoover for his order scattering negro clerks of the census bureau thru all brances of that office so as to work alongside white clerks was voiced Monday by Representative Lamar Jeffers of the fourth district of Alabama, in discussing the order, which has resulted in hundreds of telephone calls of protest to members of congress.

"Judging from published accounts of this order, Secretary Hoover made this change to enhance the chances for the election of a negro in Ohio as a delegate for him at the Kansas City republican convention," said Mr. Jeffers. "This is the kind of politics that is of the worst possible character.

"Conditions at the census bureau were peaceful. The negroes were working in one section to themselves. Now, just so Hoover may have a chance to get a single delegate from Ohio these conditions are upset and the negroes are scattered throughout the entire census bureau to work side by side with white clerks. The salaries of the negro clerks are not increased, they give no more service to the government than they did before, but the desire of a negro candidate for a delegate up in Ohio to enhance his chances to go to the convention and vote for Hoover has resulted in this political order by Secretary Hoover which embarasses hundreds of white clerks in the census bureau. It is a disgraceful exhibition of what a man will do to attempt to realize a political ambition."

REPORTER
LaGrange Ga
MAY 17 1928

Hoover's Gift to Davis

Unless we misjudge southern sentiment, the testimony given before the senate campaign funds committee by Rush Holland, Hoover agent, that he gave $2,200 to Ben Davis, negro republican committeeman of Georgia, in addition to giving sums to other negro politicians in other states in the south, will effectively block whatever hope there may have been of a southern bolt to Hoover in case he is nominated.

There has been a good deal of talk of southerners bolting the democratic ticket in the event of Al Smith's nomination and voting for Hoover, who in more than one instance has shown himself to be a friend of the people of the south as well as of the people of every other section of the country. But the revelation of gifts by Hoover to the negro organizations in the south indicates that Hoover doesn't want any support from the negro republican factions. We do not make these remarks in a disapproving way. The chances are about perfect that Hoover would not have gained enough support from southern democrats, anyway, to have made any showing; and the natural thing for him to do, if he him for this action, but never were going to spend any money in the south, would be to spend it with any support for him from the republican factions, which hap- crats of the south.

pened to be negro factions, where he was assured of support.

It would be difficult to censure

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Hon. B. J. Davis,
National Committeeman for Georgia.

Dear Brother: I just want to say a few words concerning our party in the state. We have a fine party and some good men and women, and we have some who do not stand by their word, and don't care what becomes of the party in the state, just so they throw Ben Davis. It seems to me that any man or woman who knows the great handicap the party was under and B. J. Davis worked it out and got it safe, all men can see safe in the party, and along comes some persons who do nothing, who say nothing for the party until B. J. Davis taught them and started them out, and now they think they know more about the work than any other man. Just enough to tear up the party. I was one of the committee who voted for and helped elect B. J. Davis and Mrs. King, and I will furnish affidavits proving that all members voted solidly with me. I will go to the convention and prove it. All I can say to you is just go ahead. God will fight your battles and bring you out safely

Mr. Davis, I am with you. If you go up or down, Mr. Davis, I always have been with you and will continue with you. Mr. Davis, you watch the man who comes to your home and stays with you; he will not always do to trust. With this I thank you so much. I am,

Yours respectfully,
R. L. MARTIN.

Independent Atlanta Ga

5-27-28

TIMES
ST. LOUIS, MO.
MAY 2 9 1928

REGISTRATION OF NEGROES PROBLEM FOR G. O. P. HERE

Additional Names on Poll Books Might Hurt Judge Caulifield.

By A. G. BENESCH.

The decline here in the last seven years in the registered vote is being studied by leaders of both parties with a view of determining the advantages as well as disadvantages of placing thousands of additional names on the registration books for the August primary. Publicly the party heads insist they are anxious for the heaviest possible vote, but privately some of them see the danger of a heavy registration.

This is particularly true in Republican ranks, although such a statement probably will meet with stout denial by the more influential leaders. tI is true, because of the negro situation, which gives promise of causing much uneasiness, not only in the coming primary but also in the November election campaign.

At this time it is estimated that there are possibly 12,000 to 18,000 unregistered negro voters, who, with the 30,000 already on the books, constitute a force that will have to ge reckoned with, not only by Republicans but also by the Democrats. Ordinarily the negro vote is at least 85 per cent Republican in St. Iouis, and it is one one of the important reasons why St. Louis has always been able to pile up its overwhelming G. O. P. majority.

Seek Vote for Caulfield.

Naturally the Republican organization wants that vote, especially if it will "perform" as it has performed in other elections, but the question right now is whether the organization can afford to bring out a big registration in advance of the primary in view of what may happen at that time.

It is no secret that the leaders here are committed to Judge Henry S. Caulfield in his race for the Republican nomination for Governor and that they have turned "thumbs down" on the candidacy of Lieut. Gov. Phil A. Bennett, who, it appears, is his chief opponent. The backers of Caulfield are cognizant of the fact that they must carry St. Louis for their candidate if he i. to win and they are anxious o give him the Republican vote here but the big question they face now is whether they shall lend them selves to a move to get the negroe on the books in the coming primary.

If the leaders were sure that th negro vote would be for Caulfiel they would have the books loade down with legitimate registrants but there is some reason to believe that the negro may not "stay hitched" in this campaign. The negroe are not opposed to Judge Caulfiel personally. They believe he is a high type of citizen who woul make a good Governor, but the are extremely hesitant about jump ing on the judge's bandwagon du it appears principally to the fac that Caulfield has the backing o the State administration.

Back in 1924 Baker was popula with the negroes in St. Louis an in the election campaign receive a rousing reception when he ad dressed a large gathering of ne groes in the Sixth Ward, preside over by Robert Scott, committee man. A delegation waited o Baker at that time and submitted a list of questions to him touching on the welfare of the members of their race.

Grievance of Negroes.

Baker's answers at the time were so satisfactory that the negroes gave him a tremendous vote in St. Louis, the lead in the Sixth Ward being in excess of 4000. Gov. Baker won the election by 5872 votes. and the St. Louis negroes naturally take their share of credit for the victory. Four years of the Baker administration has convinced the negro that the Governor has not kept his word, J. E. Mitchell, editor of the Argus says.

The removal of Dr. N. B. Young as head of the Lincoln Institute at Jefferson City by a board of regents named by Gov. Baker has caused much criticism among the negroes and is being advanced as one of the reasons why some of these cannot support any candidate having the backing of the present State administration. The alleged brutal treatment of negroes under arrest is also used as an argument why State candidates with the Baker support should be defeated. tional convention, is among those urging Bennett's nomination.

Another matter of concern to the Republican leaders is the report that many of the negroes, particularly out-State, feel friendly to Al Smith's presidential candidacy, because of the fact that Ferdinand Martin was named a member of the Civil Service Commission in New York, and also because Tammany Hall has seen fit to create a separate organization for the negroes in that city and has given them considerable recognition. Martin visited Missouri several months ago and had a number of conferences with negro leaders.

It is dificult to believe that the negro vote in St. Louis would go to a Democratic candidate, but the Republican registration plans may move slowly if there is a possibility of the negro voting the Democratic ticket in St. Louis next November.

Sylacauga, Ala., News
Thursday, April 5, 1928

Hoover's Negro Order Is Scored

WASHINGTON, April 3.—Vigorous criticism of Secretary Hoover for his order scattering negro clerks of the census bureau thru all brances of that office so as to work alongside white clerks was voiced Monday by Representative Lamar Jeffers of the fourth district of Alabama, in discussing the order, which has resulted in hundreds of telephone calls of protest to members of congress.

"Judging from published accounts of this order, Secretary Hoover made this change to enhance the chances for the election of a negro in Ohio as a delegate for him at the Kansas City republican convention," said Mr. Jeffers. "This is the kind of politics that is of the worst possible character.

"Conditions at the census bureau were peaceful. The negroes were working in one section to themselves. Now, just so Hoover may have a chance to get a single delegate from Ohio these conditions are upset and the negroes are scattered throughout the entire census bureau to work side by side with white clerks. The salaries of the negro clerks are not increased, they give no more service to the government than they did before, but the desire of a negro candidate for a delegate up in Ohio to enhance his chances to go to the convention and vote for Hoover has resulted in this political order by Secretary Hoover which embarasses hundreds of white clerks in the census bureau. It is a disgraceful exhibition of what a man will do to attempt to r[illegible] political ambition."

REPORTER
La Grange Ga
MAY 1 1928

Hoover's Gift to Davis

Unless we misjudge southern sentiment, the testimony given before the senate campaign funds committee by Rush Holland, Hoover agent, that he gave $2,200 to Ben Davis, negro republican committeeman of Georgia, in addition to giving sums to other negro politicians in other states in the south, will effectively block whatever hope there may have been of a southern bolt to Hoover in case he is nominated.

There has been a good deal of talk of southerners bolting the democratic ticket in the event of Al Smith's nomination and voting for Hoover, who in more than one instance has shown himself to be a friend of the people of the south as well as of the people of every other section of the country. But the revelation of gifts by Hoover to the negro organizations in the south indicates that Hoover doesn't want any support except from the negro republican factions.

We do not make these remarks in a disapproving way. The chances are about perfect that Hoover would not have gained enough support from southern democrats, anyway, to have made any showing; and the natural thing for him to do, if he were going to spend any money in the south, would be to spend it with the republican factions, which happened to be negro factions, where he was assured of support.

It would be difficult to censure him for this action, but never less it will minimize the chances for any support for him from the democrats of the south.

Party Regularity the Issue

Party integrity is the issue and not the personality of Davis or Watson. Party regularity is greater than any man or set of men and must be preserved at any cost, or we will have no party.

Our government is a government by parties and our system of majority rule must be preserved or we will have no government. Our government in form is representative and the representatives chosen by the governed must reflect the views of the people, and not their own selfish ends. When representatives become greater than the people who created them they should be recalled.

The late state convention, assembled in Atlanta, chose a National Committeeman and Committeewoman and instructed their chosen representatives to nominate them and vote for them at Kansas City June 12, 1928, and these chosen representatives have no discretion except to carry out the expressed will of the convention. If they feel that they can not in good conscience carry out their instructions as honest men they should decline and let the constituted authority of the party select others who will carry out the views of the people who elected them. They have no right to set themselves up in place of the convention's choice, and undertake by cunning design or otherwise to defeat the will of the people.

The question of National Committeeman is no longer a question between Ben Davis and Joe Watson, but one of party honesty and authority. Will the people allow one man, for selfish and ulterior reasons, defeat the will of the convention?

This question was settled at Cleveland in 1924, when the irregular organization, headed by Mr. Phillips, was displaced by the regular organization headed by the lamented Henry Lincoln Johnson.

Under every rule of party regularity, Mr. Watson's fight is against the party organization. Mr. Davis is the incident and party authority is the target. The issue is: Is Joe Watson bigger than the Party? He, himself, nominated Davis for National Committeeman and voted to instruct himself to vote for him. A fight on the Party's nominee is a fight on the organization.

Let's forget Davis, and see what Mr. Watson is fighting for, and for whom he is fighting—he is fighting the party, and fighting for a place for himself. He is not fighting for party integrity, but fighting for a job for Uncle Joe. He confesses that if Mr. Davis had agreed to give him the secretaryship, at $250 per month, there would have been no fight. He is not fighting boss rule or incompetency, but fighting for a job. What he wants is a job for Joe and nothing less and he is so anxious to get a job for himself, he has ordered his daughter to get out of his way, so he will have a clear field to violate his instructions.

His fight is so much a fight on the party organization that he is driving over the state seeking to disrupt the party by advising the delegates not to attend a meeting called by the National Committeeman for the purpose of arranging for the trip to Kansas City. So determined is he to cause party strife that one of his allies has been to a white man and asked him to see if he could get the Central of Georgia Railroad to carry the Watson bolters, as they did not want to go the official route with the organization. It is the insurgents in the party that block party success at Washington. It was lilywhiteism that wrecked the party in 1921 in Georgia, and dear old Uncle Joe is working hand in glove with some of the same men who did so much to drive the Negro out of the party in 1912, 1922 and 1923, and who were put out themselves at Cleveland in 1924. It is the same old lily white crowd inside the organization using one or two Negroes to kill off the race in politics.

The $6,000 fund and other big money Uncle Joe is telling the delegates the National Committeeman handled is a malicious falsehood, manufactured by Brother Watson and he knows it. Why doesn't he tell how much money he got and what he did with it? It was reported that he was to be sent a large sum of money to handle the State Convention. If he got it, what did he do with it?

So this is a fight on the organization engineered by a few lily whites through two or three Negroes who are looking for something for themselves.

Let us save the Party. Let us maintain harmony and let those who can not abide by party instructions get out of the party, join the Democrats or be independent. It would have been far more manly for Mr. Watson to run against Mr. Davis for National Committeeman before the Convention than to embarrass his daughter by forcing her out of the race so he could bolt the party at the behest of the lily whites, who hate him in common with all other Negroes.

What has come over Uncle Joe and who is paying expenses or promising him money to pay the delegates' expenses to Kansas City, if they support him? God correct my old friend.

REPORTER

MAY 1928

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Unless we misjudge southern sentiment, the testimony given before the senate campaign funds committee by Rush Holland, Hoover agent, that he gave $2,200 to Ben Davis, negro republican committeeman of Georgia, in addition to giving sums to other negro politicians in other states in the south, will effectively block whatever hope there may have been of a southern bolt to Hoover in case he is nominated.

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It would be difficult to censure him for this action, but nevertheless it will minimize the chances for any support for him from the democrats of the south.

PERRY HOWARD WHIPS FACTION IN COURT FIGHT

Jackson, Miss.—(ANP)—Efforts to restrain Perry W. Howard and his associates from holding a primary, on the part of George L. Sheldon and his group of "lily-whites," went for naught here a few days ago, when the supreme court reversed and remanded the injunction case from Forrest County in which Chancellor Dale had enjoined Attorney Howard's faction.

Judge Smith, delivering the opinion of the court, declared that he concurred in the feeling that the courts had no jurisdiction to interfere in the procedure of political party machinery under the primary election laws, even where the rights of the members of the party may be infringed upon.

While there are rumors here that the Sheldon faction, which has also elected delegates, will contest the right of Attorney Howard's delegates for seats at the National G. O. P. Convention, it is the belief here that Howard will again emerge victorious.

THE POLITICAL AFTERMATH ON AUBURN AVENUE

By Jesse O. Thomas

Negroes of Atlanta did not participate in the recent "white primary," which was conducted for the purpose of nominating certain officials; the Supreme Court's decision relative to the status of a "white primary" to the contrary notwithstanding. Since they did not take part before or during the primary, some of the results thereof have made them most active vocally since.

At the dedicatory exercises of the Carrie Steele Orphanage, Captain A. T. Walden, master of ceremony, in presenting Mr. Hansell, chief of construction, stated that if Negroes had a chance to participate in the primary they would reelect him to his present office. His fairness and interest manifested in connection with the building of this orphanage earned the gratitude and confidence of Negroes. There was much regret expressed because of his failure to be renominated by the primary. Quite a different feeling was expressed with regard to the city electrician. Some years ago an attempt was made to make Auburn Avenue "A Great White Way." Property owners all along the street on either side signified their desire to have the "white lights" by agreeing to pay for them themselves. A committee headed by Heman Perry is alleged to have waited on the city electrician for the purpose of getting his o. k. It is said that he advised the committee that as long as he was city electrician "it would never happen." Several Negroes have applied for examination and license to operate a moving picture machine. Word reached Auburn Avenue that the city electrician's attitude toward licensed Negro electricians was the same as expressed toward "The Great White Way." When word came that the city electrician had been defeated there was no wailing nor gnashing of teeth on the avenue. They are not sure of what the attitude of his successor will be toward them, but they are reasonably sure that it can not be any more anti-social.

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation

Republican.

Our State Convention

Last week we predicted a harmonious State Convention. So far as lay in our ability, we guaranteed a peaceful, quiet gathering of Republicans, where the roll would be called every time it was demanded, or asked for; that every delegate, it mattered not how humble he was, would have a hearing and the opportunity to state his position on every question coming before the Convention. The harmony and good will prevailing throughout the session was far beyond our most sanguine expectations. There was not one instance of show of temper; no insulting remarks were uttered by any delegate; no delegate sought to hurt the feelings of the other; and, in fact, there was but little differences in opinion. As we remember, from looking upon the Convention, we do not recall more than two nays being cast against any question, or motion coming before the Convention. The Convention was practically unanimous on every question.

On the question of electing delegates, they were chosen unanimously. On the committee's report on the permanent organization for the next two years, there were only two dissenting votes. On the election of National Committeeman, the Convention was unanimous. There was no objection, whatever, to the report of the Committee on Credentials. Just as the committee reported, the Convention accepted the roll unanimously.

There was a little difference between two gentlemen on the Committee on Platform and Resolutions on the tariff plank, but this was a difference without distinction. It proved to be one of the most friendly bouts among those who differed, and was in the best of spirit.

The convention was largely attended, and but few absentees were among the 232 delegates entitled to seats in the Convention. There was a larger number of alternates than in any previous convention. The number of white voters was much larger than in any Republican Convention that we have attended in several years. Out of the 232 delegates there were 89 white delegates, and they did not come from the mountain counties, as usual, but a good sprinkling of them were from every section of the state, and they showed a degree of intelligence and progress that does not usually characterize the white men who attend our meetings.

The Republicans of Georgia can congratulate themselves for the character of men who attended the Convention, and for the peace and harmony which prevailed. No question of race or religion was raised; it was simply the spirit of republicanism controlling the deliberations of the Convention.

The result was happy and nobody left the Convention dissatisfied or displeased. Even those who were unseated, or denied seats, left in good humor, for the reason, they had had their day in court and the opportunity to express themselves. In fact, we never saw a better convention.

As a rule, on Presidential years there is great confusion, much excitement, and feeling runs high among the delegates, in supporting their preferences for President. But, in this Convention there were no evidences of selfishness, or of the tricks of gone by days. There was nobody from outside the state to push the interests of their preference. There wer no outside influences attempting to control the Convention, or elect delegates favorable to any particular candidate. The people were left free and unmolested to act as their consciences dictated, without ulterior influence, or the hope of selfish reward. They acted freely of their own volition, with the consciousness that they were doing their duty, and licensed their chosen representatives largely to vote as would best serve the interest of the party and good government at Kansas City.

Did Colored Chicagoans Boo "Bill" Thompson and Roscoe?

Associated Press Said They Did

Windy City Race Papers Silent--Why?

According to an Associated Press dispatch published below, taken from the Louisville Times. Colored voters ih Chicago, determined to run a Colored man for Congress, booed and hissed Mayor Thompson and Col. Roscoe Conkling Simmons when they tried to advocate a white man over the Colored canidate.

Mayor Thompson is called the "Negro's friend," because he has dared appoint Colored men of ability to jobs and positions thought to be for whites only. 3-17-28

Col. Simmons, formerly of Louisville, is an important wheel in Thompson's machine, and has a hi-fa-lu-tin job of $5000 a year himself. Both are popular with Colored Chicago, but, according to the following dispatch, not popular enough to stifle the race pride of a number of Colored people who prefer a Negro representative to a white one, however fine he might be. The News has tried to learn the facts about this matter, because it is somtehing new under the sun for Negroes to boo and hiss men who are advocating a white man over a Negro.

In Louisville, last fall, white speakers in Negro churches and meetings denounced Negro men who had proven all their lives to be race lovers and interested in the uplift of their race—but these white were not booed or hissed, applauded.

So Negroes hissing white men, Colored too, who merely advocate a white man over a Negro, is too good

But The News could learn nothing from Colored sources. The Associated Negro Press was silent, the Chicago Defender, which claims to be for the Negro above all else, doesn't say a word. Why. This is the Associated Press dispatch, read it and weep—or Laugh:

Chicago, March 12 (AP)—Indications that Congressman Martin B. Madden, Republican chairman of the House Finance Committee, faces a stiff fight for re-election were given last night at a Negro political rally when Mayor Thompson, speaking in his behalf, was booed and hissed into silence.

The Mayor addressed a meeting in the First Congregational District, four-fifths of the population of which is Negro, urging the support of the Governor Small-Thompson faction candidates in the State election. Maddden is opposed by William L. Dawson, Negro.

As Thompson urged Madden's re-election he was greeted by stamping of feet, hisses and booes from the 2,500 persons in the hall. The din increased until the Mayor was obliged to stop. It was several minutes before he could continue.

Roscoe Simmons, party worker, followed the Mayor and he, too, was howled down when he mentioned Madden's candidacy.

Thompson precipitated the hubbub when, after calling attention to Madden's record, he said: "A Negro might go to Congress and after serving there for twenty years might become chairman of the powerful Finance Committee—perhaps he might—perhaps."

Simmons said that Negroes had supported white men like Lincoln and that there was no reason to oppose Madden because he is white.

Mrs. Fayerweather Again G. O. P. Delegate

At a perfunctory meeting which lasted 15 minutes, Mrs. Louise M. Fayerweather, vice-president of the Kings County Colored Republican organization, was elected an alternate delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention in Kansas City, opening June 12. Seven delegates were chosen and seven alternates-at-large were chosen. The committee met in Manhattan.

Mrs. Fayerweather was honored with this position four years ago. She is a former treasurer of the Empire State Federation of Women's Clubs and has given much of her time and money to civic and charitable causes.

HUFSTETLER IS ELECTED DELEGATE IN THE SEVENTH

F. P. Rodgers, Jr., of Marietta, Is Elected as Alternate in Stormy District Meeting Held at Rome, Go., Saturday.

By C. E. WILLIAMS, Secy.

The biggest surprises to date in Georgia Republican circles, in the present campaign for delegates to Republican National Convention, which meets at Kansas City, Mo.,

June 12, next, came Saturday, March 10, at Rome, Ga., when a combination of seven white and ten colored Republican members of the Seventh Congressional District Convention overthrew the faction headed by United States Marshal L. H. Crawford—defeated him for delegate to the Kansas City Convention and elected Mr. A. T. Atwater chairman of the District Executive Committee.

The majority of the delegates expressed their disapproval of the method used by U. S. Marshal L. H. Crawford in his efforts to control party affairs in the Seventh District, especially his constant meddling with recommendations for appointments made by various county organizations. Sentiment is against office holders controlling party affairs in this district.

Mr. R. P. Hufstetler, of Murray County, was elected delegate to represent the Seventh Congressional District in next National Republican Convention at Kansas City Mr. Hufstetler is a member of the present Georgia Legislature; he is serving his second term and has made an excellent record. He is a lifelong Republican.

Mr. F. P. Rogers, Jr., of Cobb County, the well-known business man, was elected alternate.

Mr. A. T. Atwater, editor of the Rome Enterprise, was elected chairman of the Seventh Congressional District Executive Committee. Mr. C. E. Williams, of Marietta, Cobb County, was elected secretary of the Seventh Congressional District Executive Committee.

Resolutions: lauding the achievements of the Coolidge administration; instructed for Secretary Herbert Hoover; commending the leadership of Hon. B. J. Davis, National Committeeman, and approving the action of state convention in electing Mrs. Sarah King, of Albany, Ga., as National Committeewoman, were adopted by the convention.

The following is the line-up by counties of the contending forces:

Crawford

Bartow	3
Chatooga	1
Floyd	1
Haralson	4
Paulding	1
Walker	2
Whitfield	2
Dade (not represented.)	
Gordon (one absent.)	
Total	14

Hufstetler-Atwater

Catoosa	1
Chatooga	1
Cobb	2
Floyd	2
Gordon	1
Murray	3
Paulding	1
Polk	3
Walker	2
Whitfield	1
Total	17

Lemon Faction Wins Out At State Meeting

Scott-Daniels Crowd Ousted As the Regular Chatham County Organization

NEW COMMITTEEWOMEN

Proceedings Show B. J. Davis Comitteeman, in Complete Control of State

After a sharp fight before the credentials committee of the State Republican Convention, held at Atlanta in the Fulton County courthouse, Saturday, March 3rd, the delegates headed by J. G. Lemon were seated as the regular delegation from Chatham county. There was not a [illegible] vote in the committee.

The contest which had been carried up from Chatham county from the split in the county convention of February 4th, when the Fields-Lemon faction contended that had not been accorded a fair deal in the regular convention proceedings. The efforts to participate in the convention by the Lemon-Fields faction was ignored, followed by a person asault-upon Fields, floor leader, by Dr. B. W. S. Daniels, following which the Fields adherents proceeded to hold the convention, in their place, on the courthouse floor, electing J. G. Lemon, county chairman; J. M. Ferrechee, vice-chairman; Duncan Pringle, secretary; and Henry Sage, treasurer. A large county executive committee and delegates to the Atlanta convention were also elected.

The State convention was composed of abot 250 delegates from all over the state of Georgia, representing the most prominent business and professional men of the race, besides some reprsentative white men in the Republican organization. The proceedings were entriely orderly and showed Benjamin J. Davis, National Committeeman, to be fully in control of the party in Georgia. He was roundly applauded for his untiring energy and his marvelous skill, and the delegates to the National Convention were instructed to vote for him "first, last and always."

Things did not go so well with the National Committeewoman. Mrs. George S. Williams, for she was defeated by Mrs. Sara Watson King of Albany in a one-sided contest, in which Mrs. King received the full support of the committee on permanent organization and the state organization.

The new county organization plans to prosecute a campaign and registration and general progress for the party in Chatham.

NEWS
CHICAGO, ILL.

MAR 26 1928

CHARGE LASH IN NEGRO POLITICS

Dawson for Congress Leaders Say Whip Is Used by Crowe Faction.

Thompson-Crowe forces are using "the political slave driver's lash" to terrorize man and woman voters in the Negro districts on the south side, it is asserted in resolutions adopted by the Women's Dawson for Congress club at its meeting place, 3517 Indiana avenue.

The club is active espousing the cause of a Negro congressman against Congressman Martin B. Madden in the 1st district and is working for the nomination by the republicans of William L. Dawson. The women also are spreading their energies into an attack all along the line on the Thompson-Crowe machine in the Negro section.

Text of Resolutions.

The resolutions recite:

"Organized as we are to prevent the election of the vice lords who dominate our 'black belt,' we are indeed grateful for the help we are receiving from The Daily News in letting the world know that the decent, law-abiding citizens of our section are not in favor of a wide-open town; that we are united in our determination to end it by doing our bit to help drive the grafters in the state and county out of power on April 10 by voting the Deneen ticket from top to bottom. That we will also use our votes to put a black man in congress and a negro woman in the Kansas City republican national convention; that we are pledged to elect high class, Christian men as ward committeemen of the 2d and 3d wards.

"The political slave driver's lash is being used in our district to terrorize man and woman voters. This is being done by employes of the Thompson-Crowe forces. Money is being poured out like water to buy and bribe voters, lies, threats and intimidations of every kind are uttered every night to confuse and bewilder the new and timid voter. On top of all this, our race newspapers are silent, and refuse to help in this war for civic, righteous and political emancipation."

Yates Issues Statement.

Richard Yates, candidate for reelection as congressman at large, has issued a statement to the republicans of Illinois, in which he says:

"I am again a candidate for congressman-at-large. For ten years you have conferred that high honor upon me. You know that in it all I have kept the faith.

"My record is an open book. Every pledge, express or implied, I have ever given has been fully redeemed. I have never let the sun go down, upon any unanswered letter, or appeal from any soldier, any widow, any farmer, any wage earner, any business man or any other citizen, suffering from any injustice or delay. I have given my vote and voice to every bill for woman suffrage, for temperance, for farm relief, and for flood control—and always for economy and tax reduction.

"Through it all I have voted for 'America First.'

"In other words, while I am not for war, I am for suffcient army and navy to furnish adequate defense, and to protect Americans everywhere.

"I am anxious to be again one of those two nominees; if nominated I will devote all possible effort to the campaign; if not nominated I will work and speak for the two nominated, day and night."

Dinner for Rathbone.

A dinner in honor of Congressman at Large Henry R. Rathbone will be given tomorrow evening at the Hamilton club by members of the club and their friends. Robert M. McMurdy, former president of the Illinois State Bar association, is chairman of the committee in charge Alexander Fyfe, former chairman of the Cook county republican central committee and commissioner of Lincoln park, is in charge of table arrangements. Congressman Rathbone was president of the club in 1916-1917, during the Hughes-Wilson presidential campaign and at the time the country entered the world war.

Olson Indorses Juul.

The candidacy of Representative Roy Juul in the 31st district has been indorsed by Chief Justice Harry Olson of the Municipal court in the following letter:

"I have learned that you intend to stand for re-election, and I am glad to hear it. I want to congratulate you upon the record you have made in the legislature. I noticed the Legislative Voters' league said that you were:

"'An industrious and well equipped member who gave proof of possessing decided legislative ability and courage; he took an unusually active part in the work of the house for a first-termer, both in committee and on the floor; voted independently and made an excellent record.'

"I think this statement of the Legislative Voters' league is the opinion of all who know you personally, and know of your work in the legislature. I hope the citizens of the 31st district will learn of this excellent work and will return you to the legislature.'

Berry Wins Support.

Henry P. Berry has been indorsed by the 32d ward regular democratic organization for the democratic nomination for state representative in the 23d district, according to an announcement by Joseph F. Higgins, ward committeeman. Berry was born in the 32d ward and is a graduate of St. Viator's college near Kankakee. He has been secretary to Ald. Joseph H. Smith of the 32d ward for ten years.

Political - 1928

Republican.

Party Affiliation.

Alleged 'Bossism' Of Republican Leaders In 19th and 21st A. D.'s Stirring Negro Voters To Wrath

New York, N. Y.

Feb. 25, 1928.

Charge Grenthal With Attempt To Sacrifice Alderman Moore In Last Election and Are Resolved To Establish Negro Leaders

Announcements in the daily papers that Assemblyman Abraham Grenthal and Robert Conklin, Republican leaders in the 19th and 21st Assembly Districts, respectively, had agreed upon naming the Rev. Richard M. Bolden as delegate to the Republican National Convention, has aroused considerable speculation among Negro members of the County Committee from those districts, who declare that they have not been consulted in the matter of selecting the delegate.

The Rev. Mr. Bodlen, chief pastor of First Emmanuel Church, 105 West 130th street, one of the best known Negro ministers in Harlem and once a candidate for the Assembly, is not objected to person- [illegible] bers of the Com- [illegible] ng [illegible] refuse submit to [illegible] ination [illegible] atter of dis [illegible] ion of [illegible] ronage.

Grenthal the "Boss."

Members of the County Committee declare that the naming of Mr. Bolden is being done by Leader Grenthal alone, as Conklin thinks his district is quiet and satisfied and he has agreed to let Grenthal have the settling of the matter.

And this has stirred the colored voters of the 19th to indignation, as a tabulated survey of the vote cast in the last elecion shows plainly that the election of Fred R. Moore to the Board of Alder- las, Mrs. Harriet Cater, Miss Omelia McDermotte, Jack Carter Geo. Greenley, G. H. Hicks, Miss Evelyn Lancy, Miss Addie Taitt Miss Ethel Strickland, Jack Dabney, Dr. Girod Peckens, Richard Moore, Mrs. Blanche Conaway Miss Carmen Nunez

son, Democrat, for Aldermanic Board, were practically the same.

Knifed By Whites.

It is generally believed that this was a result of trading between the white captains in those districts, on the basis of a vote for Masterson winning a vote for Grenthal, and vice versa. Another report, well authenticated, is that in at least one instance a colored man was put on a weekly stipend by a Republican and sent into these districts to tell the Republican voters that Moore did not have a chance and it would be useless to vote for him.

To lend weight to this charge, the voting in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 17th and 19th election districts in which Masterson had a majority over Moore, showed that Grenthal had practically the same majority over Hall, his Negro Democratic opponent for the Assembly. And in the 18th and 24th election districts, where the Negro vote is of larger proportion, Masterson's was vote cut down more nearly to a parity with Moore's.

Comparing The Vote.

As a result, in the districts of the 19th Assembly District incorporated in the Aldermanic district, Grenthal's majority over Hall was 2,135, while the Moore plurality was only 470. This represented the vote in thirty districts, located in the 19th Assembly District. But, by comparison, from eight Aldermanic election districts, located in the 13th Assembly District, the plurality for Moore was 845, nearly twice as much, giving him a total majority of 1,315.

Another comparison shows that in the thirty-two election districts of the 19th Assembly District, and in the eight districts from the 13th, the vote for Municipal Court Judges was more evenly balanced. Judges Davies and Crane, Republicans, were given 4,739 and 4,730 respectively, in the 19th, and 1,442 and 1,344 in the 13th, as against 3,928 and 3,849 in the 19th, and 768 and 770 in the 13th, for their Democratic opponents, Lewis and Sullivan.

This indicates clearly that while the white Republicans split their ballots to defeat the Negro Republican, the same vote was cast intact for the white Republicans. And, on the other hand, that Negro Republicans in their election districts, were loyal and true to the party ticket, notwithstanding that the Democratic candidate for the Assembly was a Negro, Attorney George E. Hall.

Neglects Negro Alderman.

It is remarked that since the election, Leader Grenthal appears to have neglected consulting Alderman Moore put his foot down derman Moore. One reason given is that Alderman Moore put his foot down on the canvassing of his district by political workers for the selling of tickets and advertising space in consideration of special favors desired or to be gotten. The Alderman insisted that taking care of the interest of his clients did not involve requiring them to contribute to this or that proposition, under practical compulsion, but the leader, it is said, though there was no reason why it should not be done.

Under the previous party leader, party patronage was fairly evenly distributed, including the employing of a colored girl as secretary to the Asemblyman. Under the present leadership, the Assemblyman's secretary is a white girl.

Negro Republicans will make a determined fight for Negro leadership

Littleton Issues Open Challenge To Republican 'Boss'

Fort Worth, Texas.—A statewide mass meeting of Republican voters in San Antonio, to test the sentiment on whether the Texas delegation to the National Republican Convention should be instructed or uninstructed, was proposed today by C. C. Littleton, chairman of the Republican state committee, with headquarters here.

Littleton, Texas

The proposal of Littleton is an open challenge to the forces of R. B. Creager of Brownsville, who are attempting to send a delegation to Kansas City instructed for Herbert Hoover as Republican nominee for the presidency. While Littleton is not fighting the nomination of Hoover, he is contending that the Texas delegation should go to the convention unhampered by strings of instructions.

3-13-28

In his challenge Littleton declares he firmly believes that the majority of Texas Republicans favor an uninstructed delegation, and he asserts that if the proposed statewide mass meeting votes conclusively that it favors instruction for Hoover, he is willing to bow to its edict and work for the nomination of the secretary of commerce. On the other hand, Littleton asks that, should the meeting vote for an uninstructed delegation, Creager and his faction adhere to the wishes of the majority.

Such a plan, in the opinion of Littleton, would bring harmony to the party in this state, and would make for a greater and stronger Republican party.

ARKANSAS BLACKS HOLD STATE MEET; FORM G. O. P. BODY

Little Rock, Ark.—(ANP)—The Arkansas State Republican Club was organized here Tuesday by Scipio A. Jones when more than five hundred representatives from 45 counties gathered at the Mosaic temple.

The organization has been declared "one with which anyone who believes in the principles of the Republican party can affiliate. It grew out of the feeling that Negroes were being excluded from taking any active part in the workings of the party in the state. Lily-whiteism was assailed by every speaker and the organization went on record as opposing the candidacy of Attorney Wallace Townsend for the federal judgeship of the Eastern District of Arkansas.

Norfolk Journal and Guide 3-10-28

It was brought out at the meeting, that if the lily-whites refuse to give the colored Republicans recognition, the state club plans to send delegates to the national convention and there demand recognition.

The organization was addressed by Oscar DePriest, Chicago, Alderman T. J. Fleming, Cleveland, Grand Exalted Ruler J. Finley Wilson, Washington, D. C., and Dr. J. T. Hill. Hot Springs.

PERRY HOWARD TAKES CHARGE OF G. O. P. FIGHT

Goes To Mississippi To Lead In Battle Against "Lily Whites"

Special to Journal and Guide

Washington, D. C., March 6—Perry W. Howard, Republican national committee for Mississippi, left for Jackson, Mississippi, Monday night, to assume active charge of the fight against "lily whites" in Mississippi where court action is pending against the regular Republican organization, of which he is the head.

Norfolk Journal and Guide 3-10-28

Jackson, Miss, March 6—A motion to dissolve a temporary injunction restraining the Republican state executive committee from holding conventions on grounds of irregularity is scheduled for hearing before Chancellor T. Price Dale in Hattiesburg on March 8.

This temporary injunction was granted February 25, upon the motion of a group of 'lily whites' headed by former Governor George L. Sheldon of Nebraska, who is now a resi-

dent of this state. The defendants were given notice of the court action.

Chancellor Dale refused to modify the injunction to allow the holding of beat and county conventions on March 1 and 3 when Judge J. Morgan Stevens and District Attorney J. H. Howie, of Jackson, and United States Attorney John H. Cook, of Clarksdale, representing the defendants, appeared before him. Bond of the complainants was raised from $1,000 to $10,000 by agreement.

The defendants filed their answer to the bill last Friday, denying the charges of the "lily whites."

Defendants' Answer

In their answer the defendants made the counter charge "that the real conspirators in this case are the complainants themselves, who pretend at present to be in sympathy with the tenets and doctrines of the Republican party and who have conspired together to obtain, if possible, control of the party machinery and to dominate and control the committees, state and county, of the Republican party and to destroy the only legally constituted Republican party of Mississippi by planning to ask a state court of Mississippi for injunctive relief in this cause and by obtaining from the presiding chancellor of this court an injunction without notice to any of these defendants at at a time when they knew that these defendants could not possibly give five days' notice to dissolve said injunction before March 1, 1928, the time when, under perfectly lawful notice and call, beat conventions were to be held to elect delegates to county convention on March 3."

Gazette

LITTLE ROCK

ARKANSAS

FEB 26 1928

Negro Mass Meeting.—A mass meeting of negroes will be held at the Mosaic temple auditorium at noon tomorrow, it was announced by Scipio A. Jones, Little Rock, negro attorney and leader of the negro Republicans of the state. Leading negroes from various parts of the state will attend. Several nationally known politicians, who are now at Hot Springs, have been invited to address the meeting and to help in formulating a program for the organization of negro Republicans for the presidential election. Among them are Oscar DePriest, former alderman of Chicago; Louis Anderson, alderman of Chicago; John R. Hawkins, president of the Prudential bank, Washington, D. C.; Thomas J. Fleming, Cleveland attorney and member of the City Council; Charles Jackson, negro politician of Chicago.

Chancellor Rules Against Howard's Secret Caucuses

Hattiesburg, Miss.—(ANP)—Perry Howard, Republican leader in Mississippi, has been restrained for "alleged unlawful manipulation of the state Republican party in Mississippi" by Chancellor Dale. The chancellor ruled "that courts of equity have no right to intervene with actions of political parties when the question involved rests on party rule or custom, but in the present case, where an alleged violation of the statutes is involved, the court may lend its power to prevent such violations."

The case is without precedent in Mississippi, but it is said that Chancellor Dale's ruling is upheld in three of four other states. Perry Howard, assistant United States attorney-general, is chairman of the Republican state committee now in power in Mississippi, and the opposing faction alleges, in an affidavit on which the restraining order is based, that the "Howard group is violating the law by holding secret caucuses and naming delegates to the county and state conventions without properly advertising the dates for elections."

ADVERTISER

Forsyth Ga

MAR 1 1928

COLORED REPUBLICANS HOLD MEETING IN MACON

The negro republicans of the Sixth congressional district held a meeting in Macon Thursday, February 23. According to reports by local delegates the meeting was not without a few stormy features, but differences of opinion soon gave way to harmony. A feature which was stressed at the convention was that the party as represented there was advocating a principle irrespective of party lines. It was the consensus of opinion that the best men should be supported for office regardless of their affiliation and that right should come before that which was merely political.

Delegates to the national convention in Kansas City were elected as follows: Julius Wright, Sol Clements, with Prof. Geo. Drake of Thomaston as alternate. Dr. A. M. Wilkinson of Griffin was elected district chairman and Walter Reed of Macon secretary.

TAMPA FLA., TRIBUNE.

MAR 7 1928

Fraudulent Election of Georgia Delegate Charged

ATLANTA, March 6.—(A.P.)—Charges that proceedings which elected the fifth district Republican delegate and his alternate to the national Republican convention Saturday were fraudulent, will be heard in Fulton superior court here March 10, under a restraining order issued today.

Frank A. Doughman, well known Atlanta lawyer charged in a petition for injunction before Judge V. B. Moore, that his objection to allegedly illegal tactics by a fifth district faction was overruled from the chair of the fifth district convention.

He declared that the fifth district meeting, which followed the regular state convention session here was illegally called in that certain votes were arbitrarily excluded and that the usual proceedings of calling the meeting by courthouse notices was not complied with.

He named A. T. Walden and William Driskell, negro chairman and secretary respectively of the district convention as defendants.

Winston-Salem Sentinel and Herald
Friday, March 30, 1928

NORTHERN AGENTS TO PUSH MEMPHIS PROBE

Washington, March 27.—Unprejudiced agents of the Department of Justice from northern districts will conduct the investigation into charges that Bon Church, negro Republican leader in Tennessee, sought to obtain $2,400 from G. H. Poole for appointment as postmaster in Memphis.

Believing that agents from southern districts may be unable to conduct an unbiased inquiry because of racial prejudice or political affiliations, the Justice department is preparing to send outside agents into the field for a thorough investigation.

Additional data on the case was furnished the Department of Justice today by the Postoffice department, but offiicals of each department declined to disclose the nature of the new material.

The Justice department does not contemplate any move in the case until the bureau investigation is complete.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
Tuesday, March 27, 1928

In Tennessee, Too

The Commercial-Appeal of Saturday tells of charges made in connection with the postmastership at Memphis that read very much like the charges that were made two years ago in connection with postmasterships in Georgia. G. Tom Taylor, acting postmaster at the Memphis office until March 8, when the new postmaster was named, said that Bob Church, the Negro Republican boss of Memphis, had demanded $1,000 of his salary each year in return for the appointment.

George H. Poole, former United States commissioner, who was a candidate for the office, said that Church had demanded $2,800 from him for the office and in addition had demanded the right to dominate the office once it had been filled.

One of the sub-headings in the Commercial-Appeal's story says, somewhat sardonically, "Expect Washington to Act." We Georgians have no desire to tell Memphians anything so shocking as that there is no St. Nicholas, but it might not be harmful to disillusion them about Washington acting in postmastership scandals. Washington had all the opportunity it wanted to act upon in Virginia and in Georgia and it has been as quiet about it as Mr. Mellon was about the $50,000 of Sinclair Liberty bonds tendered to him.

In Georgia, postmasterships were sold right and left. The postoffice department or the department of justice sent men down here to gather the information and they secured any number of affidavits. The Telegraph printed the contents of those affidavits and nobody disputed their truth. The explanation was made that the cases could not be prosecuted because the "gifts" were campaign contributions. Technically, perhaps, they were, but actually they were nothing less than barter and sale of postoffices.

In Virginia, Bascom Slemp engaged in the same sort of practice. Slemp's letter to a Republican leader advising him not to promise an applicant anything until he had "contributed" $100 to the Republican campaign fund was produced in the senate. It indicated more clearly than anything else that the Republican leaders of the South hold the sale of postoffices to be one of the legitimate grafts arising from tenure of power.

Florence, S. C., News Review
Wednesday, March 28, 1928

AFFIDAVITS SAY NEGRO OFFERED TO SELL OFFICE

Church Of Tenn. Charged With Attempt To Trade Postmastership

WASHINGTON, March 26. (AP)—Agents of the department of justice have been ordered into the field to investigate charges that Bob Church, negro Republican of Tennessee, offered to sell the Memphis postmastership to G. H. Poole for $2,400.

The charges were borne in affidavits from Poole submitted today to Postmaster General New by I. J. Harwood, Republican leader of West Tennessee. The postmaster general immediately forwarded them to the department of justice with a request for action.

Before the day was out, Attorney General Sargent ordered special investigators to make a thorough inquiry into the charges with the view to prosecution if the facts warranted.

Postmaster General New expressed surprise at the charges, declaring that never before had there been any reason to suspect Church's motives in recommending postmasters. Church was described as a Yale graduate with independent means through inheritance from his father who was a real estate operator.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican

The Solid South Broken--Rift Upon the Rock of Race Prejudice

The solidity of the South has been based upon race prejudice and political intolerance and not on exact justice and humanity among men, for 60 years, on race hatred and not love of humanity. The South today is as much devoted to race hatred and political intolerance as it was to slavery in 1856, when the Republican party was organized for the avowed purpose of abolishing slavery under God. God raised up Lincoln to emancipate his people from chattle slavery, and he has called Herbert Hoover from the plow to free the South from moral cowardice and intellectual slavery; from race prejudice and political intolerance.

The campaign which just ended, in the most glorious victory of the people without regard to politics is a solemn warning to the South that it must agree with every other section of the country to a race and political policy which preaches and practices absolute freedom of speech, press, religion and the right to vote for all men without regard to color or faith. The South must agree to and practice absolute economic and political equality for all the people without regard to race or color.

The day of race hatred and intolerance has passed, and the political switch of North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, Oklahoma and Kentucky is an unmistakable sign of the times. The breaking of the Solid South ushers in a new and progressive era and the Reactionary South had as well set its sail to catch the passing breeze.

In our home state the Democratic campaign was pitched solely upon the ground of Negro elimination, and the Anti-Smith Democrats pitched their campaign upon the ground of obscuring the Negro politically and argued to Mr. Mann that if the Negro were obscured they would carry Georgia for Hoover. The Negro, out of his love for the Republican party and his faith in Herbert Hoover, agreed to actual obscurity to give the lily-whites and the Anti-Smith Democrats the opportunity to put over their program.

Their campaign was a program of abuse and denunciation of the Negro, with every evidence that there was a strong effort being made to keep the Negro from voting for Hoover, in spite of the fact that they were pretending to carry the state for Hoover.

The Democrats were telling the people, if Hoover were elected, "Black Ben Davis" and "Yaller Mamie Williams" would be the bosses and control the situation.

The Anti-Smith Democrats and lily-whites to counteract Democratic propaganda were telling the people that Mr. Hoover and southern Manager Mann had proposed to reorganize the South on a lily-white basis if elected, and had promised that Georgia would never be afflicted with another Negro National Committeeman and National Committeewoman; that they were in sympathy with the South; but in spite of all these falsehoods and misrepresentations the Solid South was broken and the work of the demagogue race hater and political intolerant was given a deathly blow from which it will never recover.

Mr. Hoover carried six Southern states and in the language of The Georgian, broke the Solid South and liberated the people from political slavery and intolerance.

In accordance with God's plan Hoover carried 40 states and Al Smith 8; Smith carrying six Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina; and two Eastern States, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Smith received 87 electoral votes, the smallest number ever given any Democratic candidate for president; Hoover took 444 electoral votes, the largest number ever given any presidential candidate in the history of the nation.

Four years ago Davis carried Georgia by 92,000 votes, Al Smith carried the state by 30,000; Hoover reduced Davis' Democratic majority by 60,000 votes. Coolidge carried eight counties in 1924, but Hoover carried 45 in 1928; Coolidge recieved 32,000 popular votes in 1924, but Hoover reecived 97,000 popular votes in 1928. This great commotion means something in God's way. Hoover will prove a Lincoln with the courage to do his duty without fear or favor.

There will be no white or black Republicans, he will appoint men and women to office who deserve to be appointed, whether they are accorded their place in the public mind by the people to be served or not. Hoover hates race prejudice and loves merit. He is too big to be little and hasn't any patience with those who discriminate on the grounds of color. The Negroes of this country voted for him in every state, almost unanimously because they knew according to his record that he was too big of heart, of soul, and of intellect to discriminate in favor of, or against any people in the discharge of his public duties. He is a Republican and is proud of his party and will direct its destinies under God.

NEWS

Griffin Ga

OCT 15 1928

"HOOVER WILL 'BLOW UP' SOUTH AND END WHITE SUPREMACY," SAYS CONGRESSMAN DYER.

Here you are in plain language. No person qualified to vote can fail to understand what it means. You do not have to read between the lines. It's as plain as the nose on your face.

Congressman L. C. Dyer, of the 12th district of Missouri, author of the Dyer anti-lynching bill is the man who said it.

Read it all you "Hoovercrats." And remember it is not a Democratic man making the charge. Remember it is not a "liquorized" press making the statement.

No, it's old man Dyer himself.

Here's the news story from St. Louis:

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Oct. 13.—That Herbert Hoover, Republican nominee for president, will blow the "solid south" to pieces in the November election is confidently asserted by Congressman L. C. Dyer of the 12th Missouri district, author of the famous Dyer anti-lynching bill, which has been passed by the Republican house of representatives and defeated by a Democratic filibuster in the United States senate.

"It is just as logical and reasonable for congress to enact laws for the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments as it is for congress to pass the Volstead act for the enforcement of the prohibition amendment," said Dyer.

"My anti-lynching bill intended to enforce

the 14th amendment was passed by the Republicans of the house of representatives by a vote of two-to-one. In the senate it had the support of the Republican members, but the southern Democratic senators took advantage of the despotic senate rules to stage a filibuster that prevented its coming to a vote. Had these rules been changed as advocated by Vice President Dawes, the Dyer anti-lynching bill would now be a law.

"The passage of my bill would have been followed by the passage of still another law designed to enforce the 15th amendment also, and thus the negro in the south would have come into the full rights guaranteed him by the 14th and 15th amendments.

"On November 6 that great engineer-politician, Hoover, with the vote of the prohibitionists and those swayed because of the religious question in the south, will drive such a thick wedge through the heart of the 'solid south' and their 'white supreacy' slogan that it will blow up their whole unconstitutional program. After the south has been blown to pieces by Engineer Hoover, our next president, that will be the finish of the nullificationists of the south who have for 60 years violated and prevented the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments. Then congress will enact enforcement laws that will give millions of negroes their constiutional rights as citizens, and place them on an equality with all other races."

That makes our blood run cold.

And when we stop and realize that some of our good friends, good citizens of Spalding County, good neighbors and law abiding citizens are willing toaid and abet Hoover in his attempt to "blow up" the South, we feel all the keener.

——"Invest In And Around Griffin"——

Negro Voter Discuss Political Situation

Four hundred Negro voters of Norfolk, meeting last night at the Dunbar School, were instructed regarding the use of the ballot in the approaching election and urged to take a more active interest in both municipal and national affairs.

The speakers were D. W. Byrd, E. S. Peters, P. B. Young, editor of the Journal and Guide, and George W. Walker, of Portsmouth, all colored. Young spoke in behalf of Governor Smith's candidacy, while Walker supported Herbert Hoover. The crowd was equally divided on the two candidates, judging from the applause that greeted the speakers. The meeting was presided over by C. C. Dogan, colored, who called the meeting.

What the People Think

ANSWERS S. B. WILKINS

To the Editor of The Call:

In your issue of October 19, S. B. Wilkins has an article advocating the voting for Smith in preference to Hoover, which I do not object to, but when it come to going back to Lincoln and further for reasons for doing so, is, I think, unnecessary, and also unjust to the memory of Lincoln. My memory does not quite reach back to Lincoln, I was born the day the presidential electors elected Abraham Lincoln the first time.

The first time my father ever left Vermont was in 1856 to help make Kansas a free state, the next time he left that state was in response to Lincoln's call for volunteers, two of his brothers-in-law, his brother, eight cousins and two-thirds of the fathers of my schoolmates and other childhood associates also enlisted so that I believe I got pretty accurate knowledge of the Civil War and its causes.

Thirty-four years of my life has been spent south of the Mason and Dixon line, but never until I read this article did I ever hear on either side of this line anything approaching the sentiment "Lincoln didn't care a hoot whether you are a slave or not."

When Lincoln saw a scene like the one in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" where Elisa is sold on the auction block, and said, "If I ever get a chance to hit that institution I will hit it hard." do you expect to convince many that he didn't care a hoot? If he didn't care why did he write this to his friend, Mr. Speed: "How can any one who abhors the oppression of Negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring 'all men are created equal!' We now practically read, 'All men are created equal except Negroes'. When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read 'All men are created equal except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics'." Why, if he didn't care a hoot, did he say "I don't want to see any one a slave but if we must have it I would like to see it tried on those who are in favor of making some one else a slave"?

I think it is generally understood without dispute, that the Battle of Gettysburg was the turning point of the war. and to one that has heard it described as vividly and often as I have by those that fought there, will have no doubt that the failure of Pickett's charge was the turning point of that battle, and when Pickett's men were breaking Meade's line in many places the 13th Vermont, (my father's regiment) which had returned from capturing a battery on little Round Top, together with the 16th Vermont and a New York regiment who had returned from similar deeds were hurled on Pickett's rear and a few moments later his men were in full retreat and Lee's hope of leading a victorious army into Washington was then and there forever crushed.

Now, Mr. Wilkins, just tell the world that the man what ordered that charge on Pickett's rear and saved the day at Gettysburg and made the proclamation of emancipation a great deal more "than a scrap of paper" was General Winfield S. Hancock, democratic candidate for president in 1880, for I think it would be more effective than trying to make us think that John Quincy Adams and John Hancock were Democrats, as used in a partisan sense of today.

As to Lincoln and his party on the slavery question Lincoln had, as he said, taken a he hated slavery it was his duty to save the solemn oath to save the Union and much as Union even if he had to endure slavery, in fact with the slave states independent there was no possibility of interference. With Wall street bleeding the nation with the exception clause on the greenbacks, with the hotheads clamoring for war with England, with the border states who were liable to rebel with the states already in revolt Lincoln had no alternative but caution on the slavery question to save the Union. If the republican party was not organized because its adherents were dissatisfied with the Whigs on the slavery question, will Mr. Wilkins tell us what was the cause of its birth?

If the south had not felt that the republicans would eventually destroy slavery by emigrating to slave states as they did to Kansas, or by some other process, why did they rebel?

S. C. Stoddard, 1400 Wood avenue,
Kansas City, Kansas.

BILL McDONALD WRITES THE CALL

Lunenburg, N. C., Exchange
Thursday, October 25, 1928

DYER PROMISES NEGRO FULL VOTE

Missouri Republican Congressman Predicts End of White Supremacy

Extracts of a campaign speech delivered on September 23 in his home district in St. Louis, in which Congressman L. C. Dyer, republican, promises the Negro full suffrage and predicts the end of Southern white supremacy with the election of Hoover are being distributed by Democratic State headquarters.

The quoted extracts follows:

"There are powerful and influential people who are ready to demand of Congress at an early session, laws, with ample appropriations that will make these two amendments (giving the Negro equal suffrage) effective. Just as the people who through Congress placed them into the Constitution, as they did the Eighteenth Amendment. My faith is such that I believe we will see the day, and that not very far off when the Federal Government will, by virtue of Congressional acts, place enforcement officers in the Southern States charged with enforcing these two amendments and give the Negroes their rights as citizens, as guaranteed by the Constitution. President Coolidge in one of his messages recommended that the Federal Government take charge of elections in these states.

"On November 6 that great engineer-politician, Hoover, with the votes of the prohibitionists and those swayed because of the religious question in the South, will drive such a thick wedge through the heart of the Solid South and their white supremacy slogan that it will flow up their whole unconstitutional program.

"After the Solid South has been blown to pieces by Engineer Hoover, our next President, that will be the finish of the nullificationists of the South who have for sixty years violated and prevented the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Then Congress will enact enforcement laws that will give millions of Negroes their constitutional rights as citizens and place them on an equality with other races."

THE SOLID SOUTH BROKEN.

VIEWED purely from the material standpoint, the breaking of the Solid South politically in the present election will be of enormous value to this section. It will give increased confidence to the business peoples of other sections of the country, for the very solidarity of the South in politics has to some extent retarded Southern development, great as it has been. This development can be, and will be, far greater than in the past.

Diversification of thought and of political activity is a blessing to every state, considered merely from the material viewpoint; but measured from the higher standpoint of the benefit to humanity, the broadening of the thought of the people, the decision of Virginia and North Carolina, Florida, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Oklahoma and Texas in favor of Hoover and Curtis, will be of profound significance and of tremendous value not only to the South itself, but to the entire country.

the 14th amendment was passed by the Republicans of the house of representatives by a vote of two-to-one. In the senate it had the support of the Republican members, but the southern Democratic senators took advantage of the despotic senate rules to stage a filibuster that prevented its coming to a vote. Had these rules been changed as advocated by Vice President Dawes, the Dyer anti-lynching bill would now be a law.

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In your issue of October 19, S. B. Wilkins has an article advocating the voting for Smith in preference to Hoover, which I do not object to, but when it come to going back to Lincoln and further for reasons for doing so, is, I think, unnecessary, and also unjust to the memory of Lincoln. My memory does not quite reach back to Lincoln, I was born the day the presidential electors elected Abraham Lincoln the first time.

The first time my father ever left Vermont was in 1856 to help make Kansas a free state, the next time he left that state war in response to Lincoln's call for volunteers, two of his brothers-in-law, his brother, eight cousins and two-thirds of the fathers of my schoolmates and other childhood associates also enlisted so that I believe I got pretty accurate knowledge of the Civil War and its causes.

Thirty-four years of my life has been spent south of the Mason and Dixon line, but never until I read this article did I ever hear on either side of this line anything approaching the sentiment "Lincoln didn't care a hoot whether you are a slave or not."

When Lincoln saw a scene like the one in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" where Elisa is sold on the auction block, and said, 'If I ever get a chance to hit that institution I will hit it hard." do you expect to convince many that he didn't care a hoot? If he didn't care why did he write this to his friend, Mr. Speed: "How can any one who abhors the oppression of Negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring 'all men are created equal!' We now practically read, 'All men are created equal except Negroes'. When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read 'All men are created equal except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics'." Why, if he didn't care a hoot, did he say "I don't want to see any one a slave but if we must have it I would like to see it tried on those who are in favor of making some one else a slave"?

I think it is generally understood without dispute, that the Battle of Gettysburg was the turning point of the war, and to one that has heard it described as vividly and often as I have by those that fought there, will have no doubt that the failure of Pickett's charge was the turning point of that battle, and when Pickett's men were breaking Meade's line in many places the 13th Vermont, (my father's regiment) which had returned from capturing a battery on little Round Top, together with the 16th Vermont and a New York regiment who had returned from similar deeds were hurled on Pickett's rear and a few moments later his men were in full retreat and Lee's hope of leading a victorious army into Washington was then and there forever crushed.

Now, Mr. Wilkins, just tell the world that the man what ordered that charge on Pickett's rear and saved the day at Gettysburg and made the proclamation of emancipation a great deal more "than a scrap of paper" was General Winfield S. Hancock, democratic candidate for president in 1880, for I think it would be more effective than trying to make us think that John Quincy Adams and John Hancock were Democrats, as used in a partisan sense of today.

As to Lincoln and his party on the slavery question Lincoln had, as he said, taken a he hated slavery it was his duty to save the solemn oath to save the Union and much as Union even if he had to endure slavery, in fact with the slave states independent there was no possibility of interference. With Wall street bleeding the nation with the exception clause on the greenbacks, with the hotheads clamoring for war with England, with the border states who were liable to rebel with the states already in revolt Lincoln had no alternative but caution on the slavery question to save the Union. If the republican party was not organized because its adherents were dissatisfied with the Whigs on the slavery question. will Mr. Wilkins tell us what was the cause of its birth?

If the south had not felt that the republicans would eventually destroy slavery by emigrating to slave states as they did to Kansas, or by some other process, why did they rebel?

S. C. Stoddard, 1400 Wood avenue,
Kansas City, Kansas.

BILL McDONALD WRITES THE CALL

Laurinburg, N. C., Exchange
Thursday, October 25, 1928

DYER PROMISES NEGRO FULL VOTE

Missouri Republican Congressman Predicts End of White Supremacy

Extracts of a campaign speech delivered on September 23 in his home district in St. Louis, in which Congressman L. C. Dyer, republican, promises the Negro full suffrange and predicts the end of Southern white supremacy with the election of Hoover are being distributed by Democratic State headquarters.

The quoted extracts follows:

"There are powerful and influential people who are ready to demand of Congress at an early session, laws, with ample appropriations that will make these two amendments (giving the Negro equal suffrage) effective. Just as the people who through Congress placed them into the Constitution, as they did the Eighteenth Amendment. My faith is such that I believe we will see the day, and that not very far off when the Federal Government will, by virtue of Congressional acts, place enforcement officers in the Southern States charged with enforcing these two amendments and give the Negroes their rights as citizens, as guaranteed by the Constitution. President Coolidge in one of his messages recommended that the Federal Government take charge of elections in these states.

"On November 6 that great engineer-politician, Hoover, with the votes of the prohibitionists and those swayed because of the religious question in the South, will drive such a thick wedge through the heart of the Solid South and their white supremacy slogan that it will flow up their whole unconstitutional program.

"After the Solid South has been blown to pieces by Engineer Hoover, our next President, that will be the finish of the nullificationists of the South who have for sixty years violated and prevented the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Then Congress will enact enforcement laws that will give millions of Negroes their constitutional rights as citizens and place them on an equality with other races."

THE SOLID SOUTH BROKEN.

VIEWED purely from the material standpoint, the breaking of the Solid South politically in the present election will be of enormous value to this section. It will give increased confidence to the business people of other sections of the country, for the very solidarity of the South in politics has to some extent retarded Southern development, great as it has been. This development can be, and will be, far greater than in the past.

Diversification of thought and of political activity is a blessing to every state, considered merely from the material viewpoint; but measured from the higher standpoint of the benefit to humanity, the broadening of the thought of the people, the decision of Virginia and North Carolina, Florida, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Oklahoma and Texas in favor of Hoover and Curtis, will be of profound significance and of tremendous value not only to the South itself, but to the entire country.

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Party Affiliation

Republican

COME OUT INTO THE LIGHT

THE Negro Republican political leaders of Chicago owe their elevation to their positions to Repuublican voters, most of them colored. This should make it binding upon them to support Republican candidates that are fit and worthy whether regular or independent. They owe their allegiance to the Republican party and its candidates.

Chicago Ill.

In the present political campaign, national local, there are leaders in both the major parties feel that they cannot endorse the standard bearers of their respective parties, and they have publicly renounced their own parties and crossed over.

It is an open secret in Chicago that some of the Negro Republican leaders are covertly working for Democratic nominees and against the nominees of their own party. A leader has as much right to change his choice and vote as has the ordinary voter; but first he should resign as a leader and come out into the open and declare himself to his followers as well as the public.

Colored Democrats deserve credit for declaring themselves Democrats in the market place, in the highways and byways. They don't pussyfoot about it. If it is true, as reported, that some of our leaders are secretly flirting with the Democrats, working for the defeat of their own candidates themselves, they should be made to forfeit the support of loyal Republicans, be cast out of the councils of that party or be catapulated into the camp of local democracy, where it is doubtful if they would be received, being considered unworthy of trust.

Everything in the present political campaign is being done in the open and above board. The people will not permit issues of the campaign to be suppressed; neither will they long tolerate the duplicity of their leaders.

By ther acts of holding with the hare and running with the hounds, they have weaned some staunch voters from their cause and wrought havoc with the simple faith of the public.

The large decrease in registration of voters in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th wards, strongholds of Republicanism in Chicago, is directly traceable and attributable to the loss of respect of the voters for some of their leaders and loss of confidence in their integrity.

If such disloyal leaders refuse to come out into the open voluntarilly, they should be forced out into the open and out of leadership.

CAMPAIGN DEFECTIONS.

One of the curious features of this rather remarkable campaign is the importance that has attached to the Negro vote in most of the Northern states. The fact that a colored weekly, published in Chicago, advised its readers to vote against the Republican ticket, was considered of sufficient moment to justify nearly two columns of explanation and comment by Richard V. Oulahan in the New York Times. The fact that the Chicago Defender gave such advice is not of itself so significant, as its readers will remember that less than two years ago it devoted much space to supporting Smith for Governor. But Mr. Oulahan reports a frank admission on the part of Republicans, that Governor Smith would get many Negro votes, not only in Chicago but throughout the country, in states where they are able to cast a ballot.

The Defender's defection from the Republican ticket was artfully justified in a two-column editorial, which reviews the sins of omission and commission committed by the party in its treatment of the race during the past fifty years, and the fact that those who still support the ticket find themselves in such company as the Ku Klux Klan and Tom Heflin. It concluded with the simple statement: "If we have outlived our usefulness to the Republican party, there is a possibility that we can be of the same service to the opposite party. At any rate this is the only political move which we have not tried." Singularly enough, the arguments used to impress Negro voters with the wisdom of supporting Smith are the same articles published in the organ of the Ku Klux Klan, the Fellowship Forum, with the original purpose of driving white Southerners to the support of Hoover. This is a case of dealing with double-edged tools.

This defection of the Defender does not seem to worry the responsible political and religious leaders of the race in Chicago. The regular Republican organizations of the race in the several wards are supporting the national ticket with their usual enthusiasm. Many of the church organizations have passed resolutions endorsing Hoover, including both Baptists and Methodists. The business men of the race are generally supporting Hoover and the bulk of the Negro vote is expected to be cast for the Republican ticket. It is, however, admitted that there is more Democratic sentiment voiced among Negroes in Chicago than ever before. This is accounted for by the appeal made by the personality of Smith and his program to a certain class of voters. Then the Democratic leaders have authorized the expenditure of campaign funds for the purpose of securing Negro votes. This has stirred up action among the professional politicians of the race, who are doing their best to earn some of this money. Thus, as a correspondent says, Democratic money is talking in Chicago.

The judgment of those political observers who are conversant with the situation, as to what will happen on election day, is that more Negroes will vote for Smith than have voted for Democratic candidates in former years. But it is not expected that he will get a majority, or near a majority, of the vote of this group. The same forces that are at work in Chicago have been spreading some Democratic propaganda in New York, but for some reason it has been more of an under cover job. There has been the fear of alienating Smith's Southern supporters by too open an appeal to the Negro voters of New York. The local sentiment in favor of the municipal administration and Smith's stand for the modification of prohibition enforcement have been relied upon to yield him support among Negro voters. But it was evidently easier to make votes for him in Chicago than in New York.

While the Negro vote in New York may afford to divide on state and municipal candidates, it has reached the conclusion that, in national affairs, the best policy at the present time is to vote a straight Republican ticket.

A Battle Cry That Is Losing Its Efficacy

IT is a very happy circumstance that the Republicans have resorted to the use of the race question in this campaign. In doing so they reasoned, no doubt, that they were "fighting fire with fire." There is no doubt that the responsible ones in both parties have made themselves generally ridiculous in their attempts to be serious at the business of winning votes by waving a red rag at an artificial bull. The bogey has lost its legs and has none to stand upon. By throwing it back into the teeth of the Democrats, however, the Republicans are giving them a dose of their own medicine. It tastes very badly to the Democrats and we find them getting sick at the stomach. Among those of the high command there is a decided disposition to soft-pedal the old bugaboo.

So it is a good thing—for the race question—that the Republicans are playing upon it. We believe that it is going to mean the death of the thing as a serious political issue. When both parties take identical positions on the tariff there will be no tariff issue; when both parties take identical positions on immigration there will be no immigration issue. Now that they have taken identical positions on the race question there is no argument between them. It would be a very sensible thing if they would recognize this at the present stage of the campaign and give the voters a rest from their harangues on the race question, or something enlighening upon the real issues, which are the tariff and farm relief.

On the latter the Republican candidate is talking in orthodox Republican fashion, while the Democratic candidate is proposing non-partisan measures, taking the two most vital questions before the American people out of the realm of partisanry, which sounds like good politics.

There are people, of course, who loudly insist that prohibition is the main issue of the campaign. In fact Bishop Cannon, Dr. Barton and their followers insist that it is the only issue. But there are equally as many who believe that prohibition is only a smoke screen to obscure what is in reality a holy war. Religious bigotry is only a transient factor in American politics, while racial bigotry has been a permanent one. The spread of it to the Republican party reveals it in its true light of falsehood and deception and spells for it disaster as a vote-winning battle cry.

RAINEY, THOMAS FLAY G. O. P. AT MEETING HERE

Local Smith Followers Pack

Elks Auditorium As Invectives Fly

VOTE FOR G. O. P. IS VOTE FOR THE K. K. K.

Moorfield Story And John Brown Cited As Race's Staunch Friends

Branding the Republican party as a dead carcas, as having deserted the principles upon which it rose to power, and with having sold its interest in the Negro for a mess of southern pottage, Julian D. Rainey, Neval Thomas, Ex-Mayor Howard W. Jackson and others urged a packed audience of Smith followers to make sure that he rolled up an unprecedented majority in Baltimore city next month.

The meeting, which fairly sparkled with strong invective and cutting thrusts, was one of the most enthusiastic gatherings ever held here.

Reviews History

Paying his respects to the republicans, whom he said had kicked the Negro out of the fold at the behest of Colonel Wise of Virginia, Mr. Rainey proceeded to shatter the two main arguments made, he said, by Negro apologists for the shame of the republican party.

The difference between the reaction of a white democrat and a white republican was merely geographic, he said. A democratic Smith from New York was more liberal than a lily-white republican from Mississippi. The argument that the South would be in the saddle if Smith is elected is as much of a fallacy as to say that man like Moorfield Storey would not thunder out against human wrong because he was a democrat.

In official appointments, he said the Negro fared much better under the only two democratic presidents Cleveland and Wilson, than they have under Coolidge, Taft or Harding.

Under Hoover, he declared, there is nothing to hope, because in fact with the South he has definitely committed himself to a policy which will completely eliminate the Negro. The process of elimination began at Kansas City and in the wake has followed Perry Howard, Walter Cohen, Benjamin Davis and Robert R. Church.

Fight Intolerance

The one issue above all others he says, is the fight against intolerance. A vote for the republican party this year means a vote for all the ku klux klan, and the religious bigots stand for, and the Negro cannot afford, scourged as they have been by intolerance, to help crucify Al Smith on a cross of religious bigotry.

Old War Horse

Neval Thomas was introduced as the "Old War Horse". His first utterance bore the appellation, for from beginning to end of his speech he hurled invective after invective against what he termed the worst enemy a people can have, a party turned traitor.

He reviewed his fight against segregation in the White House urging a "revolt from the treason of an infamous party." The Negro cannot lose," he said, "for we are already lying crushed and outraged as American citizens. We can only take the method of any defeated army which has been betrayed, turn our backs on our false enemies and sue the opponents for peace.

"We can at last afford to take a gambler's chance; for any gambler will take a chance on a game in which he knows he cannot lose."

Ex-Mayor Jackson

Among the other speakers were: Judge Paul Johannsen, Ex-Mayor Howard W. Jackson and William Curran, all of whom pledged their efforts towards making the democratic party one whom the Baltimore voters would not be sorry they supported.

One of the features of the meeting was an ovation given Thomas R. Smith, when Judge Johannsen recalled a friendship, which he said dated back 16 years.

"Governor Bilbo Story The Bunk"—Mrs. Booze

MOUND BAYOU, Miss., Oct. 25.—The charge made by Governor Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi that Herbert Hoover, Republican candidate for President, danced with Mrs. Mary Booze, National Committeewoman from Mississippi, was indignantly denied by Mrs. Booze here this week. Mrs. Booze, who is highly respected in church and fraternal circles, does not dance at all, according to her statement. While Mrs. Booze is not "beneath" dancing with anybody, it only shows the insidiousness of Democratic propaganda that such an appeal was made to race prejudice by the supporters of Al Smith. Her statement reads: "As for the statement that I danced with Mr. Hoover, that is ridiculous. As a matter of fact, I am upwards of 50 years of age, a consistent member of the Methodist church and do not dance. I have no idea whether Mr. Hoover dances or not."

BOLTERS FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

To The Commercial Appeal:

I am among the number of those who have been called bigots, fanatics and idiots and believe I am voicing the thought of all who have been thus classified when I say it doesn't hurt because we realize a standard of right that is worth bearing all such epithets and more.

We are not abashed because the Pro-Smiths say we are acting dishonorably for we are upholding that standard of honor which held the allegiance of our most intelligent and patriotic forbears, so precious to us that we will not forsake it simply for the glory of being affiliated with those who have no respect for it.

If I were opposed to prohibition I could not lose my sense of refinement to the extent that I would support a man who would express himself as looking to a day "when we can put a foot on the rail and blow off the froth." If we cannot look to the inmates of the White House as examples in refinement and wholesome influence we are indeed in a bad way. It is no wonder that Upshaw and other Hoover speakers cannot address the people on account of egg slinging and uproars. It seems to be the trend of these tolerant (?) politicians to show us what to expect if they win on November 6.

Intolerant fanatics that we are we haven't come to that yet. We haven't yet reached the point to believe that liberty, real liberty means license to wreck hearts and homes, fill prisons and send souls to perdition. If law against intoxicating drink is wrong so is law against murder and all other evils. Discipline is necessary to growth of individual character and in no less degree to national character.

Alfred E. Smith bolted the Democratic platform, bolted the usage of the Democratic partyt by selecting a Republican campaign manager who stated that he accepted the position in order to "help rid the country of he damnable affliction of prohibition." Another refined gentleman that! Both of them Bolters! "O Consistency, verily thou art a jewel!"

Some avow that Mr. Hoover is for social equality with the negro. Well, maybe we can tie him, but that one string would be easier tied than those several needed for Al. Yes, and verily it is an open secret that this same string will be needed should the Democratic nominee win. So there!

Yes, we are Bolters from the projects that do not make for righteousness and prosperity and we are proud of it.

MRS. BIRDIE L. JOLLY.

OVERLOOKING FERTILE TERRITORY

There is an old adage which runs, "Politics makes strange bedfellows;" but, judging from the trend of the present presidential campaign, particularly in Texas, it appears as if politics makes some politicans stage some strange stunts.

For the past several weeks, both the Dallas Express and The Informer have been urging Republican party leaders of the nation and Texas to organize the 100,000 or more qualified Negro electors in this state, who, under normal circumstances, usually vote for the Republican presidential electors.

However, strange things are happening politically this year in all sections of the republic, and "bolters" and "defectionists" have the staid party leaders literally up in the air.

According to the straw vote poll now being conducted nationally by the Literary Digest, the pre-election balloting shows that the Hoover-Curtis ticket is rather strong in Texas; and, if the forces supporting the Republican nominees were thoroughly organized and functioning in all sections of the state and among all groups and blocs favorable to their national standard-bearers, the political complexion of the Lone Star State might undergo a radical change at the general election on Tuesday, November 6, 1928.

Thus far little, if any, organization work has been done among the Republicans of Texas, and the party leaders, both of the state and nation, seem to be under the impression that no campaign or organization is needed to poll a record-breaking, record-making vote for the Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Apparently, the Republican leaders in the state are not anxious for such activity and organization, while the national party leaders do not seem to regard Texas even as a debatable state—not to the extent that the game is worth the ammunition; and thus they are firing all their shots in other sections of the country while thousands of voters, who could even yet be lined up for the Hoover-Curtis ticket, are permitted to run wild in the political forests—probably into the Smith fold.

If the Smith-Robinson ticket should carry Texas by a bare 75,000 or 80,000 majority; and, if the carrying of Texaxs should insure the election of the Democratic presidential ticket, The Informer wonders how the Republican leaders of the state and nation would feel as a result of their political hindsight playing second fiddle to their foresight!

The Informer does not pose as a political prophet or seer, but this paper—being conversant with the Hoover sentiment in this state and knowing the Democratic strength in previous presidential campaigns and elections—ventures the assertion that the Hoover-Curtis ticket would be victorious at the general election in "Democratic Texas," if the Republican leaders were amenable to advice from those who are more interested in party success and growth than in the distribution of federal patronage.

As for the Colored Voters' Division, headed by John R. Hawkins of Washington, D. C., its functions seem to be limited, circumscribed and proscribed; and the race appendage to the Republican national committee appears to be national in name rather than in scope and activity.

Even its power to operate among the colored electors in the several states seems to be curtailed, if in reality the division ever had any such authority and power; and howls are going up from other sections of the country in criticism of the bungling and do-nothing policy of the colored national party leaders.

Believe it or not (and this is our last editorial dissertation on this phase of the presidential campaign), Texas is mighty fertile territory for the Hoover-Curtis cause, and we fear that the Republican party leaders have overlooked or are overlooking a good bet in the Texas situation.

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YOUR SACRED DUTY.

Next Tuesday, November 6th, is the day on which all citizens of the United States who are qualified to vote will march to the polls for the purpose of selecting the president who will have charge of the nation's affairs for the next four years following March 4th.

Without doubt the problems that will confront our nation, under the administration of who ever is elected, are of greater import than those of any time in recent years. The voters, during the strenuous campaign that is just coming to a close, have been confronted with more confusing arguments on all sides than have characterized any previous national election.

After all has been said and done by the candidates and campaign leaders, the situation reverts to the masses made up of the voters themselves, and every man and woman who is armed with the necessary credentials to exercise his or her franchise is placed on a common level, each having equal power to cast a ballot for the candidate whom they feel will serve the interests of the country in the most efficient and effective manner.

Regardless as to what may be said of the qualifications of the two standard bearers of the major political parties, this publication, after due consideration and ample thought, feels constrained to advise the group which it represents to vote for and support the candidacy of Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis, republican nominees for president and vice-president respectively. There is little doubt but that these two men, who have rendered such unselfish and worthwhile service, will prove the choice of a large majority of the voters, and when the final count is made next Tuesday night will have been chosen the nation's chief executives.

Our parting word to our readers in this, the last issue before the election, is to refuse to become confused with the many immaterial and unfair arguments advanced by those espousing the cause of Herbert Hoover's opponent. Mr. Hoover's record during the last score of years is an open book, and nothing can be truthfully said that would prove derogatory to him to the extent that he would be disqualified to hold the high office of president. His cause is being advocated by honest, earnest and successful men and women of both racial groups who have the interests of our citizenship at heart, and the masses cannot go wrong by voting for him.

Consider the exercise of your franchise a sacred duty. To mark the ballot properly requires some thought and study. Those who have any doubt as to their ability to vote properly for the candidate of their choice should immediately apply for instruction, with a view of preparing themselves. Then on Tuesday, November 6th, march to the polls in as earnest and determined a manner as is possible, refusing to allow interference on the part of any who may be inclined to dictate to or confuse you, and cast your ballot.

Republican.

Letters To The Editor

Please be brief. We reserve the right to cut lettres more than 300 words long.

JUDGE TAYLOE, HOOVER AND THE WHITE RACE IN THE SOUTH

Editor The Advertiser:

Yesterday was set apart as the day on which there was to be uttered prayer

For Hoover And Prohibition

Forgotten was the fact that the utterance of such a prayer carried with it the unuttered prayer

For Hoover And Race Equality

If Hoover has any conviction on any subject for which he is willing to stand; if he be true to any utterance he has so far made in his lifetime; if he deems binding upon him the traditions of the party with which he has aligned himself, he will stand, not for the party of Lincoln, but the party of his fellow radicals, Thad Stevens, negroophiles, haters and baiters of the Southern whites.

Why should he deny a visit to the negro woman Booze while in Mississippi? Was she not a member of the National Republican organization? Was she not a desirable agent to him in corraling the negro delegates from the state? Why deny the dancing with her daughter.

Were not both events the proper thing for any member of the party that is yet devoted to the racial equality of Thad Stevens and his gang of radicals?

Well, well, the Episcopal bishop of Tennessee has the thing down pat. He was asked for whom he would vote in the coming presidential election. His reply was:

"I shall vote for Gov. Smith, of course."

And then he was asked, "Why?"

His answer: **"I am a white man."**

That is all the argument a Southern white man or woman should need or heed.

And that is all of that.

I am going to argue the objections to the governor; others have done that ever so effectively. They are but camouflage to cover hostility to the Democratic party and treachery to the cause of white supremacy in the South. No one can vote a Democratic ticket in this state unless he votes for Gov. Smith. The other ticket is Republican and the voter must cast his ballot under a Republican sign and a Republican motto. To this your column's testify when they print a sample ticket. **The hand of white man or woman should palsy before it could deposit such a ticket in the ballot box.**

I am not trying to voice race hatred. All my life the negro has been my familiar and is such today. The thing I wish to voice is that he is unfit to rule the whites and has no desire so to do. A vote for Hoover but gives him the idea that he is fit to rule the whites and to instill into him the desire to enter into a conflict that will do his cause no good and will rapidly drive from his side the whites who now vote for Hoover and racial equality.

What is the matter? Our neighbors Mississippi and Georgia will vote heavily for the party. Yet they are subject to like conditions under which this states seems to labor. Are Alabamians in less danger? Are they more afraid? Are they more devoted to prohibition? Have they less regard for racial integrity? Or what? Why not follow the lead of the neighbor states? Why not stand with them as did the heroes of sixty one? Or those other heroes who drove out the carpetbagger and the scalawag in seventy four?

W. H. TAYLOE.

Uniontown, Alabama.

DEMANDS FAIR TREATMENT.

Gillett, Ark.

To The Commercial Appeal:

I have been reading your paper for some time, and had almost come to the conclusion that you were trying to deal fair in the political campaign nationally. But after reading your editorial, page six, of the issue of Oct. 5, under the title "Smith and the South," I am again inclined to believe that you are dominated by the same feeling, motive and political element that have control over all papers supporting Al Smith.

Is it your purpose to mislead your readers? Or are you unable because of the power on the throne to speak your honest convictions?

Your argument in this editorial is common place and wholly unfit from every common sense standpoint, and far short of the dignity that should be shown in any paper of the class which The Commercial Appeal holds.

You say, without giving any reason whatever, that there is no reason Al Smith should not be supported by everybody, and you endeavor to force Smith upon the people by stating things that you know to be untrue. You have resorted, in this editorial, to the tactics of the little county politician; you yell "nigger" every time an honorable Republican dares to cross your track. Have you forgotten that your ex-mayor, a sure shot Democrat, votes 6,000 niggers for the advancement of honest Democracy?

You know, if you have not forgotten, that Al. Smith believes in race equality. He not alone believes in it, but he practices it; yes, he has a "civil service commissioner in New York by the name of Morton, who is drawing a salary of $7,500 per year, and has one or more white girls as secretary or stenographers. Yes it is allright to yell nigger at the Republicans, but you cannot do so and hold your job when Al is involved; you just cannot, can you?

Now, why not tell the people that a person's religion does not under any circumstances enter into one's qualifications for holding office, and that under the constitution any one has the right to condemn the religion of any office seeker, because free speech and free press shall not be abridged.

Why not allow every person in politics, in religion and in fact everything the same right you demand.

H. L. KAMPMAN.

HISTORY OF REPUBLICANS.

West, Miss.

To The Commercial Appeal:

This is the history of "blunders" made by the Republican party.

1. The founding of the United States Bank in the early years of the nation. Jackson succeeded that almost bankrupted the young republic. Andrew Jackson, a Democrat, abolished it.

2. The forcing of the nation into the Civil War by its (The Republican party's) attitude towards slavery. The Republicans wished to make the slaves away from their southern masters without paying them anything. Of course slavery was wrong, but it was also wrong to bankrupt the south.

3. The treatment of the south after the Civil War when "niggers" and white trash together misruled the flower of the nation's aristocracy and white women were raped and white men murdered by negroes at the instigation of their white masters.

4. The credit mobilier, a national scandal. Cabinet officers gave government land to railroad men in return for valuable considerations, mostly money and bonds. This happened in Grant's administration.

5. The "Big Stick" policy, a ruthless running over of little nations by the United States. This was continued in the Harding and Coolidge administrations.

6. The Teapot Dome scandal, in which cabinet officers sold valuable oil lands for next to nothing in return for bribes.

7. The humbling of the south by placing negro political bosses over it. This was done by every Republican administration since the Civil War.

8. Mr. Hoover's abolition of the segregation order in the Department of Commerce forcing, by so doing, whites and negroes to work side by side.

9. The evasion of the flood control and farm relief issues by the Republican party.

10. The criminal libels circulated against Governor Smith, at least not condemned by the Republican party.

Very truly yours,

R. ARTHUR ALEXANDER.

A DIVERSITY OF OPINION.

The discussion of Presidential candidates and the issues embraced in party platforms has been so wide and inclusive, that it has extended into at least two of the monthly magazines devoted to racial interests. In the Crisis for November it took the form of a symposium on the question, "How Shall We Vote?" John R. Hawkins, chairman of the Colored Voters division of the National Republican Campaign committee, told why he was for Hoover. Among other reasons given was because "his experience in ministering to war sufferers and flood sufferers have revealed his broad sympathies for all mankind." Mr. Hoover's record in the matter of Mississippi Flood Relief was mentioned as a testimonial of "his willingness to administer any high office without discrimination and with even-handed justice."

Ferdinand Q. Morton, Civil Service

Commissioner of New York City, insisted that the election of Governor Smith would be a fine victory for the cause of tolerance and fair play in America, and every American who suffers from the effects of religious bigotry and racial hatreds would be a beneficiary. As a logical result, he claimed that "the Negro could not be denied participation in these benefits." He maintained that colored voters should give their ballots to Governor Smith, if for no other reason, than to establish the fact that they are politically independent and regard the ballot "as our own property and not the property of the Republican party."

Dr. W. E. DuBois, editor of the Crisis, announced that he was going to vote for Norman Thomas and the Socialist ticket, for the former because he is a fine upstanding man who has not been afraid to champion the unpopular cause and because he recognizes the Negro as part of the laboring class. Reading the platform of the Socialist party and comparing it with the other two parties, Dr. DuBois pronounced it the only platform "that has common sense or justice, reason or hope, written into it. It dares to mention Negro disfranchisement as a prime cause of reaction, fraud and privilege, and it is right."

Opportunity, the monthly magazine published by the National Urban League also has a discussion of "The Negro and His Ballot," in which Clarence Darrow leads off by saying that personally he is very strong for Al Smith. He cannot say honestly that he sees any difference between the two parties so far as the question of equal opportunity for the colored race is concerned, and the only thing he is at all sure of is that the Negroes ought to vote independently and divide their votes. William H. Lewis, once a famous football star and a former Asssistant Atttorney General of the United States, is personally strong for Mr. Hoover, because he believes that upon vital issues to the race, "Mr. Hoover will be far more friendly, sympathetic, have a keener understanding of what is fair and just to the colored voter; and moreover the courage of his convictions."

For the Socialist party, Norman Thomas wrote asking cooperation in the common cause of ridding the world of poverty, tyranny and war. He said further "Specifically we have pledged ourselves to the Dyer anti-lynching bill. Generally we pledge ourselves to one justice for colored and white; to one test for the right to vote and hold office; namely, the test of personal fitness." He asks for support, "believing that a socialism which cannot conquer a distinctive race prejudice is no true socialism and that true socialism is the only road to a solution of our social ills."

In this diversity of opinion as to the course to be pursued by the colored voters in this campaign, there appears to be but one practical solution. In such states as New York, where these colored voters have allied themselves with the Republican party on national issues, they should support the candidates so long as they deserve that support. It is to be remembered that beside the election of President and Vice President, there are a Senator and Representatives in Congress to be chosen, as well as Governor and other state officers, including state Senators and Assemblymen. A Republican President will need a Republican Congress to put through his measures and a Republican Governor should have a Republican Legislature behind him.

As a practical measure of assuring the best government possible under the present system of party government, our voters will do well to support the Republican candidates for the various offices.

Bob Church

[Memphis Commercial-Appeal]

The attempt of the Press-Scimitar and a little group of willful white Republicans to eliminate Bob Church from direction of the Hoover campaign is one of our local political absurdities.

If Church does not direct the campaign in Memphis, it will be because he is engaged in political matters of more consequence.

If Church does not personally conduct the Hoover campaign in Shelby county it will be conducted by one of his lieutenants.

It is surprising that anyone should question his authority. He won over the lily white faction in the August primary.

He and his faction were recognized in Kansas City. His delegation was seated in the temporary organization. He won the contest before the credentials committee.

No federal appointment is made in Memphis and Shelby county under a Republican administration without his indorsement.

Federal officeholders and applicants for federal favor not only admit his authority, but seek his favor.

His part in Republican affairs was recognized by appointment on the committee that notified Hoover of his nomination.

The present controversy smacks of ingratitude. Church is a Republican year in and year out. He is high in the councils of his party.

It is rank hypocrisy to ask him to efface himself to make way for Democratic recruits who find the color line an obstacle to complete conversion to Republicanism.

Church is modest and unassuming. He never projects himself into the spotlight of local politics. His work is done in his Beale St. office in Memphis and in the White House in Washington.

He might consent to the appointment of a titular leader locally, but he would not surrender his power and prestige with the national Republican organization. There is no call on him to do so.

The lily white Republicans and the lily pure Democrats who support Hoover might as well make up their minds that there is no such thing as a Jim Crow Republican organization.

The demand that Church and other Negro Republicans make way for disaffected Democrats who want to ride with the Republican party for this trip only is a striking bit of audacity.

It is one of the traditions of the South that the Democratic party is the white man's party and the Republican party is the Negro party. It is not only a tradition of the past, but a fact of the present.

We have insisted that white persons only should vote in a Democratic primary in Tennessee. We have insisted on the right of the Negro to vote in a Republican primary and as he pleases in a general election.

To exclude the Negro from the Republican party to make place for white Klansmen would deprive him of his natural party affiliation and of the right of franchise.

We believe in being fair and honest in politics as in other things. Subterfuge and deception are reprehensible.

Church is the head of the Republican party in this county. He ranks higher than J. Will Taylor in the state.

His influence in the Republican party is more extensive in the South than any man, white or black.

Why muddy the water? Why attempt to deceive anybody? If the Republican party continues in control, Church will continue to be head of the party in Tennessee.

HEFLIN TURNS REPUBLICAN

At Dothan Heflin at last made up his mind to take the plunge into the chilly Republican waters. He definitely declared that he would vote against the Democratic nominees, Smith and Robinson. He defied the Democrats to read him out of the party and to remove him from committees in Congress. We have no doubt that in due time the Democrats will purge their ranks of such deserters as Heflin. We have even less doubt that in 1932 the self-respecting Democracy of Alabama will turn thumbs down on this faithless, ungrateful beneficiary of Democratic prestige and power. There must be at least 100 Democrats in Alabama any one of whom could beat Heflin for the United States Senate.

Heflin's Dothan speech contains nothing new. It is the same filth he has been peddling for two years or more, and is more offensive now only because of its age.

It is a depressing spectacle to see a United States Senator from Alabama making a speech containing so much of sheer falsehood, slander and half-truth as Heflin's Dothan speech. Heflin misrepresented Smith's viewpoint and record on the race question. He slandered Smith's church and bore false witness against it repeatedly. He vilified and misrepresented that great Southern Democrat, (and Methodist) Senator Joe Robinson, of Arkansas.

We doubt if in the history of this Republic a United States Senator has ever before made such a conscienceless attack upon the nominees of a great party and upon a branch of the Christian church as Heflin made upon Smith and Robinson and upon the Catholic church at Dothan. There is no decency in his speech. There is no evidence whatever of intellectual honor in the man who made it. A self-respecting Alabamian who has ordinary intelligence must feel ashamed and humiliated at the sheer exhibitionism of this mendacious demagogue.

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation

Republican.

THE JOURNAL ACCEPTS THE CORRECTION OF W. J. SHAW

The Journal is grateful to Mr. W. J. Shaw, who was secretary of the credential committee, for the correction with reference to the seating of the contesting delegates from counties other than Chatham in the convention March 3rd. The report was given us as geing correct or otherwise would not have been published. We have no desire to color anything for we believe that any business instituted on false-hood and corrupt practices will finally perish. We prefer defeat with honor than victory ill-achieved. The other eleven contests had no bearing on Chatham County and every one who is familiar with the circumstances and facts knows that the contest of the Lemon faction was premeditated and forecordinated, and that it was decreed that the Pettie faction should not be seated.

It would be astounding to many Savannahians if the Independent would publish the list of affiants in the Lemon contest with as much gratification as it seemed to get in making an unwarranted and unrighteous attack on Dr. J. A. Lindsay because he signed an affidavit which was substantiated by a great many of the leading men and women of Chatham, including the sheriff, who had no interest in the affair, other than to give the plain facts. We can not agree that a case is decided always on the preponderance of witnesses. It often happens that the character of the witnesses determines the verdict and then, in some instances, the judge maybe partial or the jury maybe packed. Delegates are elected by a majority of the qualified voters participating in a convention or mass meeting, and not a long list of fictitious names and affidavits of people who were not present. The Republicans of Chatham know that the Pettie delegates defeated the Lemon bunch by more than ten to one in the county convention held at the Chatham County Courthouse Feb. 4th, even though they were turned down in Atlanta, and all that may be said or done will not hide the truth, but the more it is stirred, the brighter it shines.

Savannah Morning News 3-31-28

Savannah Morning News 3-29-28

Atlanta Ga

BLIND WITH PREJUDICE

(The Savannah Journal)

The Atlanta Constitution, one of the leading dailies of the South, carried an editorial Monday of this week under the caption "A Doubtful Asset." In this editorial it took the occasion to warn Secretary Hoover not to count too confidently upon the pledges of support proffered by the Southern Republican delegates to the Kansas City convention, and cited several instances occurring half a century ago where some of the delegates "flopped" for a monetary consideration. The Constitution depends upon the support of the public for its existence and should have a higher regard for the feelings of those subscribers who are excluded from the party of its choice, and for other reasons choose to be Republicans, than to heap such coarse insults upon them as was done in this ludicrous article. It forgets the fact that many of the delegates of 1876 and 1880 were probably fresh from the yoke of slavery where they had been placed on the "mahket" so often until it had become a part of their nature to see themselves sold to the highest bidder. Since they had the opportunity of getting the "thrill" of doing some selling, why should they be ridiculed for simply practicing what they had been taught by their democratic slave masters?

But many changes have come about during the past fifty years. We now have the automobile, radio, aeroplane, a Lindbergh, a Tuskegee and even Tiger Flowers, one of the cleanest prize-fighters of history, who was also a Republican, has come and gone since the "eightiest." In these advancing times, it is but natural that the Republican delegates from the South would imbibe some of the progressive and enlightened spirit of this modern age and prove very unlike their predecessors in culture, intellectual attainments and independence. We are now living in a new era; we have passed through the bitter struggle of the World War where many of our "Southern delegates" led companies of soldiers on the battle fields of France for the defense of America and world democracy, and they have not only a higher educational standard, but have a broader conception of American ideals and feel a greater responsibility of American citizenship, and therefore are not to be traded and purchased by the highest bidder. They are capable of discerning the wheat from the chaff and will stand by their party and the men who are best qualified to serve the interest of all the people without regard to color, race or creed.

If the Constitution would only take the time to make a little investigation and was fair in the comparison of the Republican delegates from Georgia to the National Convention, it would find that on a whole they will not fall far behind the delegates coming from any other party when it comes to patriotism, respectability and real worth to their respective communities and sections. The four delegates from the state at large are B. J. Davis, national committeeman; J. H. Watson, fraternal leader; G. F. Flanders, one of the most prominent white men of Emanuel County, and T. N. Hendrix, another white man of wealth and influence. In the districts there are such outstanding characters as Dr. E. J. Turner, of Columbus; Professor H. A. Hunt Fort Valley; Dr. R. C. Williams, Augusta; B. F. Cofer, Albany; Colonel Sol C. Clemons, Macon, and still others who are dependable and possess unblemished qualities of integrity. This is the class that the Constitution brands—"on de mahket." They represent the leaders in their chosen professions and are men of wealth, influence and reputation, and will not be traded like dumb driven cattle at Kansas City. We hope the Constitution will wipe the scales of prejudice from its eyes in order to get a clear vision of the ability and standing of the Republican delegates from Georgia for 1928 and forget the dead past of 1876. Note the wonderful changes since the days of Blaine and Harrison. Look about and see the little village of Marthasville transformed into a thronging and populous city with magnificent skyscrapers, mammoth factories and stalwart department stores; beautiful paved boulevards and viaducts, and hills bedecked with colleges and universities. Go into the country and observe sandy deserts converted into pleasuresome highways; wild forests developed into prolific and profitable orchards and the one-crop system revolutionized into productive diversified farming. These and scores of other changes have come about in the past half century, and the world is beginning to think and act in terms of interracial fellowship and universal brotherhood, and it is shameful that this leading daily is so narrow and has such an obscured vision that it finds enjoyment in looking backwards into the records of the dead past for no other purpose than to humiliate its Republican brothers of the South. "Ah," said Rivarol, "no one considers how much pain any man of taste has to suffer before he inflicts any." The editor of the Constitution being a man of exquisite taste, must have suffered much pain in writing this burlesque.

But, "there are none so blind as those who will not see."

RECORD

Columbia S.C.

APR 3 1928

Negroes Crack Whip To G. O. P.

H. E. C. Bryant, veteran Washington correspondent says negro politicians throughout the North are abusing the Republican leaders on complaint that the Republican chiefs are "trying to eliminate the black man from party counsels." In other words they assert the "lily-white" movement is being fostered in the North as well as in the South.

Southern people who have had the negro politician with them now and then for many years would be pleased to hear some of the Northern, Western and Eastern republicans tell of the trials they are having with the "new voters from Dixie." In almost every State north of the Mason-Dixon line negroes are running for delegates to the republican national convention. Every year they are demanding more and more, and threatening to bolt the party if demands are denied.

Negro Leaders Demand Statement Of Hoover's Attitude; May Support Smith

WASHINGTON, April 7.—Special to The Advertiser.—Negro leaders are not satisfied with the attitude of Secretary Hoover toward their protest against segregation. They want to know how he stands on the lily-white movement now in progress in the South.

"Segregation of colored employes in the census bureau of the Commerce Department has been abolished," declared Louis R. Lautier. "Colored clerks last Thursday were scattered throughout the bureau. Advertiser

"Herbert Hoover, secretary of commerce, who is a leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, is believed to be responsible for the order doing away with segregation in the census bureau." 4-8-28

Lautier then asserts that current reports say that staunch supporters of the candidacy of Mr. Hoover "are aiding financially and otherwise the movement to establish a lily-white Republican party in the South." Montgomery

"As yet," he added, "there has been no denial by the management of the Hoover candidacy that Secretary Hoover and his friends are aiding the lily-white movement."

The same negroes who insisted on the change in the situation in the census bureau, today made demands on Secretary Mellon and Under Secretary Mills, of the Treasury Department. They threaten to quit the Republican party, and support Gov. Smith, of New York, if he is nominated by the Democrats.

"In a letter to Mr. Mills, officers of the National Equal Right League, the Civil Liberties Bureau of the Elks and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of Washington request action on their complaint, against segregation in the Treasury Department, filed some time ago.

"We have the honor of asking you for the results of your investigations in your vast department and your future policy dealing with your colored employes," said the communication, signed by Neval H. Thomas, Archibald S. Pinkett, Robert J. Nelson and Thomas A. Johnson.

"It has been three months since we first called on you. Since then we have had two lengthy interviews with you, and paid five additional visits to see you without success. In the meantime, we have had no word from you as to your disposition of the case.

"We, therefore, respectfully ask that you make us reply, belated, if you please —to our complaints."

The Washington Tribune, negro paper, today, said:

"Until Mr. Mellon acts upon this condition, which is so distasteful, cramping and objectionable to the colored citizens of this country, men and women whose loyalty and devotion are unquestioned—we shall be forced to believe that Mr. Hoover says action is not sincere, but a mere bait to catch the unwary voter.

"It is not without meaning that the children and youth of our group, showing of news reels in a local theater, recently applauded uproariously every display of the portrait of Gov. Al Smith of New York."

Contest For Congress Waxes Pretty Warm In Windy City District

Chicago, Ill.—(ANP)—The fight for Republican candidate for the U. S. house of representatives from the first congressional district of Illinois, has simmered down to a race between Martin B. Madden, present incumbent, and Attorney William L. Dawson, a prominent young colored attorney.

Congressman Madden has the support of the regular Republican organization, which is headed by William Hale Thompson, Robert E. Crowe, Len Small, Homer Galpin and Bishop A. J. Carey. Attorney Dawson is backed by the Deneen wing of the Republican party and the Progressive Republican Club, headed by Dr. S. W. Smith and Dr. R. A. Williams, prominent Southside physician. Inquirer

At present it is impossible to forecast the winner and both sides assert that victory will be theirs on April 11, the morning following the election. Attorney Dawson has made a vigorous fight and has secured the endorsement of the Baptists Ministers' Association, of which Dr. L. K. Williams is president. The race issue is the chief plank in the platform and is creating widespread sentiment in favor of a Negro for congress. 4-7-28

While leaders of the other faction have expressed the desire to see a Negro sent from the district at "some time," they do not feel that the honor should be gained at the sacrifice of friend such as Congressman Madden has been to the Negroes, not only of the district which he represents, but of the country at large. It is upon the record made in his twenty-four years in the house of representatives that the congressman is seeking re-election, and that only. One of the outstanding accomplishments which has been played up by his supporters is the support he has given Howard University and Freedmen's Hospital.

Speakers point out that when Martin B. Madden went to congress Howard was receiving an annual appropriation of some $37,000; now it is almost a half million dollars. They further declare that his support is needed to pass the bill which has been introduced to make Howard an integral part of the government in order that Southern Democrats will not be able to drop the appropriation on a "point of order." Dawson's supporters say the group has waited long enough to place a Negro in congress and have raised the slogan "Negroes for Negroes." P. W. Chavers and Chandler Owen are also candidates.

Anyway, it is a real race and the result can only be determined on April 11. The last week will see one of the most determined fights for votes in the history of Chicago, and the whole country is awaiting the outcome.

Nashville, Ga., Herald
Thursday, March 22, 1928

State Republicans Elect Delegates To Convention

Atlanta.—Georgia Republicans in convention here instructed a delegation to the national convention to vote for nomination of President Coolidge should he be willing to accept the nomination in the event a draft movement is started.

The instructions were backed by a resolution putting the Georgia organization on record as favoring Herbert Hoover in case President Coolidge is unwilling to accept the nomination.

Four delegates at large to the Kansas City gathering were named by the convention. The other 12 of Georgia's quota of 16 delegates are being chosen by the congressional district organizations.

The four delegates named today were: Ben J. Davis, Negro, Atlanta, Republican national committeeman, Albany; G. F. Flanders, Swainesboro, and T. N. Hendrix, Edison.

Two changes were made in the Republican state central committee, J. T. Rose, Atlanta, replacing A. S. Anderson, Atlanta, as vice chairman, while Sara D. King, Negress, Albany, was named national committeewoman to succeed George S. Williams Savannah. Members re-elected to the committee are: Roscoe Pickett, Jasper, chairman; BenJ. Davis, Negro, Atlanto, secretary and national committeeman, and John W. Martin, Atlanta, treasurer.

Alternates elected for the four delegates at large to the national gathering were: W. P. Harris, Negro, Athens; C. W. Pidcock, Moultrie; Henry C. Davis, Macon and Sara King, Negress, Albany.

Following the state convention, delegates from the fifth congressional district reconvened in a meeting begun earlier in the day, selecting begun as the district's delegate to Kansas City, C. W. Hager, Atlanta, U. S. district attorney for the northern Georgia district. A. T. Walden, Atlanta, was named alternate. The convention adopted a resolution similar to that of the state gathering, favoring President Coolidge and secondly, Herbert Hoover.

Delegates already selected by district organizations, as listed by convention officials, were as follows:

First district B. W. S. Daniels, Savannah, and William James, Statesboro (contest); second district, B. F. Cofer, Albany; fourth district, E. J. Turner, Columbus; sixth district, Sol. C. Clemons, Macon, and J. J. Wright, Forsyth (one-half) vote each); eighth district W. H. Harris, Athens; tenth district, E. W. Brinkins Woodbine twelfth district, H. A. Hunt, For Valley.

Political - 1928
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

APR 14 1928

HOOVER AND THE NEGRO VOTE.

If the men who are earnestly and conscientiously striving by wholly proper methods to promote the move for the nomination of Herbert Hoover for President are truly grateful for real aid, they should present gold medals to Senator Blease of South Carolina and Senator Heflin of Alabama. The fight in Ohio for delegates is a hot one. The negro vote in Ohio is a heavy one, and race-consciousness is much in evidence.

So when the Senators from two of the Cotton States bitterly attack the Secretary of Commerce for stopping the segregation of colored employees in his department, for putting whites and blacks on precisely the same footing, for establishing race equality among salary drawers, Mr. Hoover has a right to chuckle. They are helping him along finely.

As for the intimation that no candidate who treats the negroes fairly can break the "Solid South," we imagine that has few terrors for Hoover. He is no star chaser. He doesn't expect to break the "Solid South," if he is the nominee. He does expect, with the assistance of big business and little business, to hold most of the great manufacturing States of the North; and his equality office rules will not lose him a single white vote in these States and may help him to win a colored vote that will be useful in any close election. Mr. Hoover should thank the two perniciously vocal Senators for their opportune assistance.

PERRY HOWARD SAYS BRIBE WAS OFFERED

'Lily Whites' Offered Him Money To "Lay Down" As Committeeman

Appeal American Baltimore

STATE SUPREME CT. HEARING APRIL 23

3-31-28

"Lily Blacks" May Be Compelled To Switch From Hoover To Lowden

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"Efforts have been made to brow-beat, intimidate and even buy me to lay down as the party leader in my state."

Thus spoke Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, upon his return here from Jackson, Miss., last Monday.

"I have stood steadfast," said Mr. Howard, "and shall carry the fight of the regular Republican organization in my state to the Supreme Court of my state where I am confident we will win."

Perry W. Howard

In Jackson, Miss., last Saturday the Republican state committee met and issued a call for a state convention to be held there on April 13 for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Republican national convention in Kansas City, Mo., June 12.

Second Call

This is the second call issued for a state convention. The first call was for a convention to have been held on March 14. George W. Sheldon, former governor of Nebraska, and ten other "lily-whites" obtained an injunction from Chancellor T. Price Dale, at Hattiesburg, Miss., on the ground that the call did not conform strictly with the Mississippi primary laws.

Hearing April 23.

The Howard organization took an appeal to the State Supreme Court. Last Saturday the question of advancing the appeal for an immediate hearing was argued in the Supreme Court. Monday the court decided to hear arguments in the case on April 23.

Incidentally, the leading counsel for the Howard organization is J. Morgan Stevens, former member of the Supreme Court and now law partner of W. Calvin Wells, chairman of the Democratic State committee.

Judge Stevens contends that Chancellor Dale erred in granting the injunction. He declares that the court had no jurisdiction under the law, the things complained of being party affairs.

Dangerous Precedent

"If eleven white men can enjoin the Republican party," says Judge Stevens, "then eleven Negroes can enjoin the whole Democratic party, under the law." The injunction, he states, sets up a very dangerous precedent for the south.

The Howard organization is recognized by Chairman William M. Butler of the Republican national committee as the only regular Republican party in Mississipi. Mr. Howard has a letter from Chairman Butler to that effect.

Hoover Involved

Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, who is a leading candidate for the Republican nomination, seems to be playing politics with both the Howard organization and the 'lily-white" group.

The "lily-whites" are said to be spending money in Mississippi freely. L. O. Crosby, lumberman of Picayune, Miss., is said to be putting up this money for the "lily-whites". Crosby is a Democrat and an ardent supporter of Secretary Hoover. He met Hoover when the Secretary was in Mississippi on flood relief.

Crosby Wants Howard's Place

In his zeal to contribute to his nomination of Secretary Hoover, Mr. Crosby is said to have intimated that he would even patch up the differences between Mr. Howard and the "lily-whites". Mr. Howard was advised of the olive branch offer extended by Mr. Crosby. A conference took place in New Orleans, La., between the two. Crosby, it developed, wanted Howard to give him his place on the Republican national committee.

Switch To Smoker

That is the version that Mr. Howard's associates are telling in Mississippi, and the feud between Howard and Crosby is more pronounced than ever. The effect is that the regular Republicans are declaring that if the "lily-whites" are for Hoover, they will be for Lowden or some other candidate.

OLD "MISS" TURNS BACK ON HOOVER

G. O. P. Meets Despite Injunction, Delegation Uninstructed

HOWARD IN SADDLE

States' Twelve Votes May Go To Lowden

JACKSON, Miss. — Having found a loop-hole in the injunction restraining them from meeting, the Republican organization, headed by Perry W. Howard, national committeeman for Mississippi, held its state convention here on April 18 and elected a "black and tan" delegation to the Republican national convention which meets in Kansas City, Mo., June 12. Six of the twelve delegates elected are colored.

Appeal American

Contrary to expectations, the convention failed to instruct its delegates to vote for Secretary Herbert Hoover for the Republican nomination for President.

Hoover, who is said to be on friendly terms with the "lily whites" in this state, must reject the 'lily white' support and declare his approval of the "black and tan" Republicans. Otherwise Mississippi's twelve delegates may support former Governor Frank O. Lowden. 4-21-28

The convention instructed its delegates to vote for the reelection of Perry W. Howard as national committeeman and Mrs. Mary C. Booze, of Mound Bayou, as national committeewoman. Baltimore Md.

Resolutions were adopted praising the administration of President Coolidge and the handling of party affairs by the national commiteeman and national committeewoman.

Mr. Howard addressed the convention at length. He attacked the "lily whites" for attempting to set up in Mississippi a white Republican party. He predicted the return of the Republican party to power, notwithstanding the Teapot Dome Scandal.

Judges For Howard

JACKSON, Miss. — The question of whether an equity court has jurisdiction over a political controversy raised in the Republican political fight in this state was argued in the Supreme Court here, Monday.

Two of the three judges on the bench indicated that Chancellor T. Price Dale, of Hattiesburg, should never have issued the injunction restraining the Perry W. Howard group from holding their convention here March 14.

HOOVER STILL LOOKS GOOD TO US

The recent courageous and patriotic action taken by Secretary of Commerce Herbert C. Hoover, in abolishing racial segregation and discrimination from his department at Washington, D. C., merely bears out what The Informer has stated in these columns heretofore regarding Mr. Hoover's Americanism, Republicanism and patriotism. Informer 4-21-28

Despite that fact that charges have already been made that Mr. Hoover was merely "playing politics" in the issuance of this edict putting an end to this evil system and pernicious practice, why did not some of his predecessors play this same game and do, years ago, what Mr. Hoover has done recently?

Despite the fact that racial segregation in several of the governmental departments at Washingon, has been repeatedly called to the attention of President Calvin Coolidge; Hon. William M. Butler, chairman of the Republican national committee, and other national party leaders, both in and out of congress, Mr. Hoover was the first one to act decisively and courageously.

In its support of Mr. Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination, The Informer has always regarded the commerce secretary as a man possessed with an independent mind; courageous, fearless, able, honest, just and efficient.

The country needs a president who is not a politician, but statesman and economist—a man with the courage of his convictions—and no man in America fits this bill better than Herbert C. Hoover.

In his administration of affairs in the flood area of the Mississippi River, Mr. Hoover showed that he believed in justice and fairness to all American citizens, and it is a matter of record that his official acts in this situation virtually wrought the second emancipation for thousands of Negro peons in the delta section—black men and women who had been held in abject bondage and serfdom on the large plantations of the affected region.

It required much moral courage and fortitude to issue an order abolishing a practice which had been in vogue in this and other governmental departments since the Taft administration; for while the Wilson administration sought to perpetuate this species of racial segregation, it had its birth during the Taft regime; and four American presidents—Taft, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge—placed their official stamp of approval upon this evil and pernicious practice by refusing to issue an edict calling for its abolition.

Despite the fact that President Coolidge has publicly declared that he does not "choose" to run for president in 1928, which indicates that he has definitely decided to retire from public office and will not need the votes nor influence of certain political elements; and; notwithstanding Mr. Coolidge's assurance to various colored delegations that he would put an end to racial segregation in the various departments and bureaus of the government at the national capital, up to the present hour the chief executive not only has not issued such presidential proclamation or order, but he has not even said one word against this species of segregation and discrimination.

Let's be willing to give Mr. Hoover credit for his big act, whether he is our choice for presidential candidate or not; for no man ought to be so narrow and prejudiced that he can not accord the proper tribute to a man who performs a distinct and signal service, even though he might differ with said man on many issues and matters.

Despite what others say and write in their opposition to Mr. Hoover's nomination, the secretary of commerce still looks good to The Informer, and this paper is still contending for his nomination and election as Republican presidential candidate.

4/21/28 *THE ANNOYING MR. BLEASE*

THE other day Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, candidate for Presidential nomination on the Republican ticket, abolished segregation of Negro clerks in his department. That was a good move calculated to make Mr. Hoover more popular with the million or more Negroes in the United States who can cast a ballot without fear of lynching. Now comes the annoying Senator Blease, elected to his office by a handful of people in South Carolina (because the bulk of the electorate down there is disfranchised), complaining against this action. The Senator screams out the alarming news that Mr. Hoover's order "forced white girls to use the same accommodations as Negro employes" and that this tragic action would "destroy all chance the Secretary may have ever entertained of breaking the 'Solid South.'" "If the policy started by Mr. Hoover is kept up," the fiery South Carolinian predicts, "those who have been dreaming a happy thought of a respectable Republican party in the South might as well wake up."

Ah! the delightful Senator Blease. We are beginning to realize now what his mission is in the United States Senate. It is, we are compelled to believe, the upholding of white supremacy and the spread of jim crowism. To Senator Blease an American must be what is called white before he can be classed as a citizen. Coming from a benighted area where Negroes are only a notch removed from serfdom, deprived of all political rights and privileges, and whose sweat coins millions for their exploiters, Mr. Blease naturally wishes to extend this sort of thing over the length and breadth of the land. To that end he has labored assiduously since his election. At all times he is ready to annoy every public man who is trying to do the fair and right thing.

While we hold no particular brief for Mr. Hoover as a Presidential candidate, we believe that the support he will get for his ending of segregation in his department will far outweigh any opposition engendered by the ranting of Senator Blease to arouse home and national Ku Klux sentiment. When it comes to votes we think those of the Negroes in the more civilized areas of the country will far outnumber the handful in South Carolina and neighboring states who are permitted to vote.

NEGRO POALITICAL LEADER CHARGED WITH ATTEMPTING TO SELL POSTMASTERSHIP AT MEMPHIS

Telegram to The New York Age

Washington, D. C.—A political bomb was exploded here Wednesday when G. H. Poole, a white man of Memphis, Tenn., made the charge that Robert R. Church, nationally known Republican politician, offered to sell Poole the postmastership of Memphis for a consideration of $2,400 in an affidavit filed with Postmaster General New by I. J. Harwood, Republican leader of Western Tennessee.

The Postmaster General immediately forwarded the charges to Attorney General Sargent with a request for action.

No one here or elsewhere who knows Mr. Church, believes for an instant that the sensational charges will be found to be of the least merit or will be in any way substantiated by the Department of Justice investigation, which Mr. Church, himself, most urgently demands.

The Church candidate for the $8,000 postmastership at Memphis was nominated by President Coolidge nearly a year ago. The nomination was only recently withdrawn after the Senate either refused or threatened to refuse confirmation.

HOOVER STILL LOOKS GOOD TO US

The recent courageous and patriotic action taken by Secretary of Commerce Herbert C. Hoover, in abolishing racial segregation and discrimination from his department at Washington, D. C., merely bears out what The Informer has stated in these columns heretofore regarding Mr. Hoover's Americanism, Republicanism and patriotism. Informer 4-21-28

Despite that fact that charges have already been made that Mr. Hoover was merely "playing politics" in the issuance of this edict putting an end to this evil system and pernicious practice, why did not some of his predecessors play this same game and do, years ago, what Mr. Hoover has done recently?

Despite the fact that racial segregation in several of the governmental departments at Washingon, has been repeatedly called to the attention of President Calvin Coolidge; Hon. William M. Butler, chairman of the Republican national committee, and other national party leaders, both in and out of congress, Mr. Hoover was the first one to act decisively and courageously.

In its support of Mr. Hoover for the Republican presidential nomination, The Informer has always regarded the commerce secretary as a man possessed with an independent mind; courageous, fearless, able, honest, just and efficient.

The country needs a president who is not a politician, but statesman and economist—a man with the courage of his convictions—and no man in America fits this bill better than Herbert C. Hoover.

In his administration of affairs in the flood area of the Mississippi River, Mr. Hoover showed that he believed in justice and fairness to all American citizens, and it is a matter of record that his official acts in this situation virtually wrought the second emancipation for thousands of Negro peons in the delta section—black men and women who had been held in abject bondage and serfdom on the large plantations of the affected region.

It required much moral courage and fortitude to issue an order abolishing a practice which had been in vogue in this and other governmental departments since the Taft administration; for while the Wilson administration sought to perpetuate this species of racial segregation, it had its birth during the Taft regime; and four American presidents—Taft, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge—placed their official stamp of approval upon this evil and pernicious practice by refusing to issue an edict calling for its abolition.

Despite the fact that President Coolidge has publicly declared that he does not "choose" to run for president in 1928, which indicates that he has definitely decided to retire from public office and will not need the votes nor influence of certain political elements; and; notwithstanding Mr. Coolidge's assurance to various colored delegations that he would put an end to racial segregation in the various departments and bureaus of the government at the national capital, up to the present hour the chief executive not only has not issued such presidential proclamation or order, but he has not even said one word against this species of segregation and discrimination.

Let's be willing to give Mr. Hoover credit for his big act, whether he is our choice for presidential candidate or not; for no man ought to be so narrow and prejudiced that he can not accord the proper tribute to a man who performs a distinct and signal service, even though he might differ with said man on many issues and matters.

Despite what others say and write in their opposition to Mr. Hoover's nomination, the secretary of commerce still looks good to The Informer, and this paper is still contending for his nomination and election as Republican presidential candidate.

4/21/28 Pittsburg Courier

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Political - 1928
Party Affiliation

Jasper, Ala., Eagle
Wednesday, October 24, 1928

WHO STARTED NEGRO PROPAGANDA?

The presidential campaign of 1928 is drawing to a close, and a thousand things have been said during this campaign that would have been better left unsaid. Never before in the history of America has there been so much mud-slinging, false propaganda or so many appeals to prejudice. During the past few weeks the Anti-Smith Democrats and Republicans throughout Alabama have been protesting against the "negro propaganda" that has ben circulated by the Democrats. At this juncture it would not be amiss to ask who started the negro equality propaganda in this campaign. It was the Anti-Smith Democrats themselves. Read their first advertisements and recall their early speeches.

Early in September, 1928, Rev. L. D. Patterson delivered an address at the court house here and organized the Anti-Smith Democrats in Walker county. He attacked Gov. Smith for his alleged attitude toward the negro.

He said a high government official had told him that he had seen Gov. Smith eating and drinking with a negro man and that the negro slapped the governor on the shoulder and said: "We are going to put you over this time you old — — —." He also said a high government official had told him that he had seen Gov. Smith dancing with a negro woman.

Following Rev. Patterson's speech, The Eagle said editorially: "When one circulates scandal, he ought to give his authority for it and name his witnesses, if any." The Eagle then respectfully requested Rev. Patterson to divulge the name of the high government official quoted, and prominent members of the First Methodist Church here wrote Patterson asking him to give the name of the high government official and their letters were ignored as was The Eagle's editorial. Patterson's was the first negro propaganda heard in Jasper in this campaign. Later on came Hugh Locke and other speakers and they not only raised the negro equality question in their speeches but used it in their paid political advertisements throughout the state. stressing the alleged negro equality attitude of Smith.

Yet it is undenied that Herbert Hoover says he favors enforcing the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. It goes undenied that the negro, Hawkins, who seconded Hoover's nomination at Kansas City hailed him as a second Lincoln who would restore the negro his political rights. There are still left in Alabama enough followers of George Houston and John T. Morgan to fight this battle out to the finish.

The Southern people do not hate the negro. Their attitude toward him is prompted by that God-given instinct of race preservation. Present conditions are better for the white race, better for the black.

EAGLE
Dothan, Ala
OCT 8 1928

'Republican Half-Breeds Are A Menace to the Hoover-Curtis Ticket"

(Front page editorial from the Atlanta Independent, Negro weekly newspaper edited by Ben Davis, Negro National Republican Committeeman of Georgia.)

The greatest menace to Republican success in November, is the curse of lilly-whitism in the south. For forty years these **ignoramuses** have been arguing to the National Republican leaders, that if the party would eliminate the Negro from the party councils, they would break the solid south, but have never made anybody believe their story except the lamented President Harding, who said before he died, that he had been deceived by these crooks and set about to repudiate them, and correct the error that they had led him into.

The same propaganda is being fed to the leaders now by the same aggregation of half-breeds with the same degree of success, and the colored electors are holding Mr. Hoover responsible for the calamity; and as a consequence, the republican ticket is suffering in the north for the want of Negro support.

The Negroes despise the lily whites and the lily-whites hate them unqualifiedly.

The lily-whites vote in the Democratic party primaries and want to hold all of the offices under every Republican administration and control and the party machinery in the south. **All the trouble in the south today, is traceable to lily-white treachery, perfidity and ignorance.**

The first step of the half-breeds, after they come into control, instead of working to elect the ticket, is to drive the Negro out out of the party. They never think of elevating the ticket but of eliminating the Negro. **They'll tell any lie, commit perjury or stoop to any depths to play their game.**

While we do not believe that Mr. Hoover is a party to, or has guilty knowledge of this diabolical scheme to disfranchise the Negro; plotted by the lily-whites and executed by his agents, we have many reasons to conclude that the scheme is being encouraged by men high up in his war councils.

What Mr. Hoover wants, to win the election, is votes, and not races, votes count election day and not color. **The lily-whites would rather see Hoover defeated than to know that the Negro had a hand in the work of success.**

In Georgia the regular organization surrendered every thing to **a white committee which has turned out to be a dyed in the wool lily-white outfit,** which is carrying more scurrilous matter about the Negro than the Democrats are carrying. Chas. Adamson, King of the lily-whites, is sending out a letter soliciting funds and assuring those who will give, as an inducement, that the party will never have another Negro National Committeeman. **This animal is at the head of our electoral ticket and was placed there by "nigger" votes. He is only a sample of the lily-whites who are doing more to defeat the Republican ticket than to elect it. But Mr. Adamson has never been anything more than an ignorant piece of self-conceit without influence out side of his factory. If we hear any more of him, the "niggers" who put him on the ticket will take him off.** Just such men as he are responsible for the northern Negro's attitude towards Mr. Hoover.

The one effort of the lily-white organization, is to eliminate the Negro, discredit the organization that created it with a view of controlling the "pie counter" after the election.

This organization is doing precisely nothing. It has not called on the organization for a list of the county and district organizations, but has contented to make itself a one man organization in order to claim credit for the work of the anti-Smith Democrats and the regular organization.

It is not the function of a campaign committee to put out an electoral ticket but of the party organization, and these half-breeds has as well understand it once and for all times.

The head of this lily-white organization expressed the view the other day that if white speakers took part in the meeting in Clinch County at which the Secretary of the regular organization was to be the principal speaker, Mr. Hoover would lose white votes.

Who believes that Mr. Hoover would stand for this abominable rot and at the same time appealing for Negro votes throughout the country. No, Mr. Hoover is too big to have any part in this conspiracy to humiliate the race. Hoover loves humanity, not races any further than races make up humanity.

Political - 1928
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REPUBLICAN WARD IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Lest it be forgotten, there was one ward in this State that was carried by the Republicans—Ward 7 of Columbia. Mr. Hoover beat Governor Smith by 10 votes. This Ward is in the eastern section of Columbia and is the center of a large colored population, some of the leading Negroes of the City and State having their homes there. In 1920 this same Ward was carried by President Harding. Maybe, in the future, Ward 7 will not occupy this unique position in South Carolina. No doubt there will be many Wards and precincts that will give a Republican majority. But, anyway, there is at present one Republican bailiwick in Democratic South Carolina.

BOB CHURCH RUMOR BURSTS LIKE BUBBLE UNDER SWEEP OF SCOTT FACTS

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 20.—When requested today to comment on Mr. Robert R. Church's article released to colored newspapers, Doctor Emmett J. Scott, a member of the Executive Committee of Nine, Colored Voters' Division, Republican National Committee, consented only to say:—

"What a beautiful thing is a man of straw! He can be set up and he can be knocked down with impunity, and with blatant fury. Courage is indeed a wonderful thing, but it is not courage but cowardice when one seeks to launch an attack against a man of straw instead of against the foeman with whom one would rather not have controversy, and from whom one prefers to flee in fear and trembling.

Says Church Fears Vann

"Mr. Robert L. Vann, Editor and Publisher of the Pittsburgh Courier, and Chairman of the Publicity Committee, Colored Voters' Division, Republican National Committee, informed mutual friends of Mr. Church before his article appeared that he (Mr. Vann), not only wrote but took full responsibility for the article which appeared in The Courier, describing Mr. Church's acrobatic activities during the campaign years 1920, 1924 and 1928.

Mr. Church's Courage

"If it pleases Mr. Church to throw his shining lance in my direction instead of in the direction of the man who knew of, and described his acrobatic activities during the campaign years referred to, and who has exposed them to the mirthful gaze of the public, I am well content with the exhibition he makes of his 'courage' and his self-sufficiency.

"Mr. Church says he is trying to help Mr. Hoover's cause and that of the Republican Party. His actions, however, suggest that he is laboring under hallucinations of super personal grandeur and self-exaltation in his all-too-apparent attempt to destroy party harmony. He can not demonstrate his loyalty to the Republican Party or to Mr. Hoover, however, by seeking to destroy the influence of John R. Hawkins and those who have been designated by Dr. Work, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, to represent him in the management of the Colored Voters' Division.

"For myself, I can only say: I did not contribute in any way whatsoever a single line, a single sentence, a single paragraph, or a single suggestion to the article Mr. Robert R. Church of Memphis, Tennessee, says he is 'informed' I wrote, and which he knows I did not write."

J. M. HARRISON, LEADING LAWYER, SCORES REPUBLICAN PARTY, TELLS REASONS FOR OPPOSING HOOVER

J. M. Harrison of this city, one of the leading colored members of the Virginia bar, and one of the first colored men in the State of Virginia to take a stand for Governor Smith, in a statement made public this week, scored the Republican party as present constituted, and outlined ten forceful reasons for his opposition to Hoover.

"I do not see how any thoughtful and self-respecting Negro can vote for the Republican party as present constituted," Mr. Harrison stated. "The base ingratitude shown him after over half a century of blind and loyal devotion is without parallel in history, and I for one will do everything in my power to repudiate it," Attorney Harrison continued.

"Not contented with disgracing, ignoring and humiliating the leading Negroes, which was deliberately designed, it has joined an alliance with the most unAmerican and race hating group in America—the ku klux klan," Mr. Harrison went on. Continuing he said, "This organization of hooded violence has been repudiated and driven out by the best element of Southern people, and to the everlasting shame of the party of Lincoln has found hospitable asylum in its political household. It is said that in every evil there is some good, and I verily believe the action of the Grand Old Party is the salvation of the Negro, for in my opinion there could be nothing to cause him to break his political allegiance of so many years, except the treatment he has received in the house of his friends.

"The Negroes of Virginia at least live among a more tolerant class of people, and while the Dyer anti-lynching bill has been practically asphyxiated in Congress, the recent Democratic legislature of Virginia under the leadership of its progressive young governor, Harry F. Byrd, not only passed an anti-lynching bill but adjourned in honor of Lincoln's birthday. The Negroes of today represent self-determination and in a large measure are rallying to the support of Governor Smith. I believe the following reasons are logical ones for the thinking people of my group to consider and approve, and then support Smith, for it will prove that we have become independent and politically emancipated:

Ten Reasons Why I Am Against Hoover

1. I am against Hoover because he represents a party guilty of the basest political ingratitude known to the history of this country.

2. I am against Hoover because he has permitted the lily whites to ostracise, humiliate and disgrace the outstanding Negro leaders in the South.

3. I am against Hoover because in the partnership with the ku klux klan, he has accepted its support well aware of its religious intolerance bigotry and race prejudice.

J. M. HARRISON

4. I am against Hoover because he has not taken a decisive stand as to what his intentions are with reference to our group; his silence can only be interpreted as his being afraid to offend the lily whites and the klan.

5. I am against Hoover because the prosperity of which he boasts is only superficial; there are over 3,000,000 people out of work (bootleggers not included).

6. I am against Hoover because I believe this to be the phychological moment for the Negro to emancipate himself from political slavery.

7. I am against Hoover because the Republican Party in its greed for power has forgotten the Negro's loyalty, and for political expediency has joined hands with the ku klux klan, generally known as our bitterest enemy.

8. I am against Hoover because he has shown a marked tendency to use "weasel words' and is "pussyfooting" in a campaign that calls for a broad and uncompromising stand against the unAmerican propaganda circulated by the Republican Party.

9. I am against Hoover because the "Me too Boss, hat in hand Negro opportunists and adventurers" are willing and ready to sell our political birthrights for the proverbial "mess of pottage."

10. I am against Hoover because he has apparently lost the common touch, and is not in sympathy with the common people, and further, because the voice may be the voice of Hoover, but the hands are the hands of the lily whites and klan

INDIANS ON ROSTRUM, NEGROES IN BALCONY WHEN CURTIS SPEAKS

RALEIGH, N. C.—Describing the scene in the city auditorium when Senator Charles Curtis, Republican vice-presidential candidate, entered to address a political meeting here the other night, one of the daily papers stated:

"Much Enthusiasm"

"When Curtis entered the auditorium the crowd rose and shouted while he was piloted to the platform by ushers and local Republican dignitaries. On the right of the stage was a group of Croton Indians from Robeson county. The senator, who is part Indian himself, marched straight toward them and shook their hands. For a moment a silence dropped over the crowd like a wet blanket. They thought the dark skinned Indians were Negroes, that Curtis had pulled a political faux pas. But soon the word passed out and the cheers broke out again. There were about 50 Negroes present but they were sitting in the upper balcony."

Political-1928

Party Affiliation

JUDGE EVINS CALLS FOR A UNITED FRONT

Makes Eloquent Appeal For Reason And Consideration By Alabama Democrats

One hundred representative citizens of Alabama who met recently in the Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham heard Judge Robert B. Evins, of Birmingham, make what is considered the ablest statement of the present political situation in the state that has been presented.

The following strong appeal to the reason of those Democrats who ally themselves with the Republican party, through what Judge Evins believes to be mistaken obligations of citizenship or conscience is made for their open minded and serious consideration.

In the present campaign many good citizens, formerly consistent believers in and supporters of the Democratic party feel, for various reasons, that they are under an obligation of citizenship or of conscience, to break the bonds that have hitherto united them with that party and are now lending their aid to the election of the national Republican ticket.

These gentlemen and ladies too, could not thus ally themselves with the hereditary political enemy of the Southern people if they took into consideration the conseuences which will most surely follow the repudiation of the Democratic ticket in this campaign by any one of the States which constitute the solid South.

Recognizing their undoubted right to think and vote as they please, but believing that their interest in the prosperity, the happiness and the general welfare of our people is not less than that of those of us who feel the support of the Democratic national ticket to be a matter of the plainest self interest and of the highest patriotic duty I am setting forth the reasons which, regardless of any and every other consideration that does or could, exist, makes it, so far as I am concerned an imperative duty to support, with every force and power at my command, the national ticket of the Democratic party I hope that every white man and white woman in this State, to whose attention this expression may come, will, for their own sake as well as mine, give it their open minded and serious consideration.

I was born and, for many years, I lived in the heart of the Black Belt of Alabama, at Marion and at Greensboro. In common with most men of similar environment I have a sincere interest in and smyathy for the negro as a race and as an individual. I rejoice in their advancement in material prosperity, in education and in morals. But I know that no possible misfortune could befall us, or them, that could compare, in its evil consequences to the inevitable results of their recrudesence in the political life of the state. Nothing could be so quickly and so certainly productive of business chaos, legislative debauch, social disorder, poltical anarchy, racial hatred, misgovernment, violence and bloodshed, as to make them again a factor in the politics of this state.

Such a condition in this state must not be permitted to arise if any sacrifice that can be made will be effective to prevent it. It is, as I think I shall conclusively show, the condition that will arise if Mr. Hoover is elected with the aid of any of the states that make up the solid South.

I lay it down as a fact, as to which there can be no debate as to which there can be no difference of opinion, that white supremacy, complete and unchallenged, is the one political condition absolutely necessary to the happiness, the prosperity and the social order of our state. As long as that exists we can adjust ourselves to any political environment or condition, no matter how distasteful it may be. But without the undisputed supremacy of the white race in political affairs our situation becomes intolerable.

Whites Endangered.

It can not be doubted from the danger signals that flash from the utterances of both black and white Republicans, including Mr. Hoover himself that if the Republican national ticket is elected with the aid of Alabama, or a state like it, that the Hoover administration will not pass into history before it has accomplished the enactment of Federal legislation that will effectually destroy white supremacy in the South.

It may be thought by some that the suffrage provisions of our state constitution, which have protected us in this respect since 1901 will be a sufficient shield. No error could be more fatal. Our Constitution does protect us in the present state of Federal legislation on this subject, but, if legislation which Congress has a plain right to enact, under certain circumstances should be adopted our state Constitution would be wholly ineffective to protect us from the consequences. The qualifications for suffrage, laid down by our constitution are an imperishable monument to the legal ability and patriotic devotion of that great lawyer, Judge Thomas Wilkes Coleman, of Eutaw, who is their author. They have been approved by the Supreme Court of the United States and they take us to the very limit to which the State may go in view of the restrictions imposed on the state by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. But, in the application of these qualifications, a Republican Congress can claim, whether justifiably so or not, that there is a fraudulent discrimination against the negro which requires Congressional action to make the Fifteenth Amendment effective. It can claim that the boards of registrars, (created by the legislature of Alabama, and filled by the appointment by the governor of Alabama), register white men and women who dot not meet the Constitutional requirements, and refuse to register negro men and women who do meet the Constitutional requirements, and it can declare that while our Constitutional provisions as to the registration of voters, are fair on their face, they are grossly unfair in their administration. On the basis of such a declaration, which a partisan majority can make whether it is a fact or not, Congress can pass a law providing that the registration of voters shall be made by a board of registrars appointed not by our governor, but by a Republican president. Such a law would be sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States Mr. Hoover in president, would appoint the members of those boards. Can you doubt that the man who is hailed by the negroes as a reincarnated Lincoln, would appoint on those boards members of the negro race and when we, our wives, daughters and mothers go to register, their right to do will be passed on by a board constituted in part or in whole of negroes? How, it may be asked, will Democrats who support Mr. Hoover be pleased with this monstrous offspring of the unnatural political marriage they are contracting?

This is what can be done. Why has it not been done before and what reason have we to expect that it will be done now in the event that we in the South become responsible for Mr. Hoover's election.

It has not been done before because, from the end of the Civil War to this good day the Northern and Eastern Democracy, including Tammany whom some seem to think it is a mark of social distinction to repudiate, have been our firm and loyal friends and allies Who was it that signed the bail bond which released Jefferson Davis from a Federal prison and the handcuffs which a vindictive and ungenerous enemy had placed upon him? They were members of Tammany Hall. Who was it that volunteered, without compensation, to defend him? It was Charles O'Conor, one of the greatest lawyers this country ever produced, and a member of Tammany Hall. Who was responsible for the removal of Federal soldiers stationed in the South for 12 long years after Appomattox, to support with Federal bayonets the rule of the negro and the carpet bagger over the white people of this state? It was Abram S. Hewitt a member of Congress from New York a member of Tammany Hall.

Mr. J. J. Willett, of Anniston, in a recent letter to the press relates the circumstances. In 1878 Mr. Hewitt offered an amendment to the general appropriation bill providing that none of the money appropriated for the army should be used in maintaining the Army of Occupation in the South. The House adopted the amendment; the Senate refused to concur in it. Mr. Hewitt refused to withdraw it and Congres was forced to adjourn without having provided money for any department of the government. President Hayes was forced to call Congress in extra session to pass an appropriation bill. Every pressure was brought to bear on Mr. Hewitt but he stood firm and refused to allow the bill to pass without the provision he had inserted and because money had to be provided for running the government, it was passed with that provision in it, and the federal soldiers had to be withdrawn from the South for lack of money to keep them here. It is a matter of history that a member of Tammany Hall was the leader and the effective agent in restoring us here in the South to the status of a free and self-governing people.

The Force Bill

For the last 50 years we have dealt with this problem in our own way only because we have always had the unflincing and loyal support of the northern and eastern democracy. When Henry Cabot Lodge in 1890, introduced his bill to provide for the federal supervision of elections, known as "The Force Bill," intending thereby to again make us subject politically to the negro and his ally, the northern Republican, every solitary one of the 11 members of Tammany Hall in the House of Representatives led by Roswell P. Flower, afterwards governor of New York, voted and fought against it.

Our salvation has been our political alliance with the northern and eastern Democracy, including Tammany. Can we now afford to break that alliance? Are we any more able now of our own strength to defeat this sort of legislation than we have been in the past? Have we any less need of friends than we have had in the past? Clearly not. As you will see, from what follows, days of trial are still ahead. If we repudiate our friends in the North and East, if we fight the candidate whom these ancient and loyal friends of ours have nominated, if we estrange them, and declare them to be unfit for us to associate with politically, with what grace, or, if we had the effrontery to do so, with what hope of success could we ask their aid when the next assault is made upon us?

What are the warnings that we have plainly before us that an effort will be made to pass this legislation They are on every hand, they are so plain and menacing that no man or woman of this state can afford to treat them lightly.

Consider first the attitude of the negroes themselves. Mr. Hoover is their debtor, and he and they both recognize it.

In the Republican convention Mr. Hoover was very actively supported by the negro delegates, of whom there were more than a hundred. He had endeared himslf to them a short time before by abolishing in th Census Department an order, made during Mr. Wilson's term, separating the white and colored employes in that department. The result is that since that time, to this very day, the two races are huddled together, sit together and are compelled to use the same rest rooms and lavatories. From this these negroes draw the conclusion and it would seem that they draw it correctly, that Mr. Hoover, having already as far as he can, established social and political equality, will go as much farther in that direction, if he is elected president, as his great powers as president will permit. So, he was their candidate in the Republican convention. A negro known as Professor John R. Hawkins, seconded Mr. Hoover's nomination. In his speech he said that two great races settled and built up this country—the Pilgrim Fathers who landed at Plymouth Rock and the negroes who landed at Jamestown and clearly implied that in his opinion they, that is, the northern white man and the southern negro were entitled to govern it. He excluded the white man in the South from any part whatever in the past building or future government of this country—and the Republican convention of whites and blacks applauded him to the echo. Does the fact that these sentiments were endorsed by that convention and further endorsed by the Republican national campaign committee, by the designation of Hawkins as chairman of a very important sub- committee mean anything? Can any Alabama citizen become aware of it and contemplate Mr. Hoover's election without the greatest apprehensions? Will not the preconvention policy shown in the abolition of the segregation order be followed up after election, and the debt of gratitude to Hawkins and other negro supporters be paid in full? But this, though sufficient is but the beginning. The Atlanta Independent is a newspaper published in Atlanta by Ben Davis, negro member of the National Republican Executive committee from Georgia. In the Sept. 6 issue of this paper is an editorial with the caption, "What Sort of a President Will Hoover Make." The following excerpts from this editorial are highly significant:

> "The paramount question in the mind of the average negro American, who thinks is, What Kind of President Will Herbert Hoover make if elected in November? And this question as thought out and applied in their minds is not what kind of president will he make, in the general acceptance of the term and office, but what kind of president will he make in the enforcement of the constitutional rights of every American citizen without regard to faith or color; or whether under Mr. Hoover as president, so far as lie in his power, under the constitution, will the negro enjoy an equality of economic and political opportunities in common with all other Americans without reservation or molestation in every state in the Union.
>
> This question is paramount in the mind of the colored group, because the written record of the party shows that the group has been losing its force and indispensability in both the economic and political life of the nation since 1900; and the hour for answering the question affirmatively is at hand; and mandatory. And we believe the nomination and election of Herbert Hoover is the favorable answer to our rightful inquiry and equitable demand.
>
> We have reached the period in the national life when the spirit of Abraham Lincoln returns in the person of Herbert Hoover, carnate, and repeats that the nation cannot long endure, half in economic and political slavery and half free. In Mr. Hoover the man and the crisis have met, and his election means the gradual suppression of the forces that oppress and persecute human beings because of color and race. The feeding of the world, and contact with all the people of the earth have made Herbert Hoover too big to discriminate against one race for another, because of faith or color.
>
> When his attention was called to segregation in his department, he said, "let me investigate." He in-

vestigated; he discovered the truth. He never thought of race, color, nor politics, but of people, human beings, serving the government in common. He acted, and there is no segregation in his department.

In his speech of acceptance he declared for equal opportunity for every American. He made no promise to any race, or group, but to all people. He condemned economic discrimination when he said, "The basis of enduring prosperity is a job for every man at a living wage, vouchsafed by adequate protection to American labor and industry." He declared for the enforcement of the Constitution, and all of its amendments. **And, if elected, appropriate legislation will be recommended for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th, 15th and 18th amendments.**

Cincinnatus has been called from the plow to lead the Republican party back to the moorings where Abe Lincoln and Fred Douglass launched it."

Quoting Hoover

The author of this editorial, Ben Davis, is, as stated, the negro member of the Republican National Campaign Committee from Georgia. He was an active and very valuable supporter of Mr. Hoover in his campaign for the nomination and contributed largely to his nomination. When he says, **positively,** "And if elected president, appropriate legislation will be recommended for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th, 15th and 18th amendments," (the 15th being the negro voting amendment), can you doubt that he makes that assertion on the assurance of Mr. Hoover himself? He states positively what Mr. Hoover will do. To be able to make that statement he must have the promise of Mr. Hoover.

In the issue of this paper for Sept. 27, there is a front page editorial, discussing the Republican organization in Georgia, containing the following:

"In Georgia the regular organization surrendered everything to a white committee which has turned out to be a dyed in the wool lily-white outfit, which is carrying more scurrilous matter about the negro than the Democrats are carrying. Charles Adamson, king of the lily whites, in sending out a letter soliciting funds and assuring those who will give, as an inducement, that the party will never have another negro national committeeman. This animal is at the head of our electoral ticket and was placed there by 'nigger's' votes. He is only a sample of the lily whites who are doing more to defeat the Republican ticket than to elect it. But Mr. Adamson has never been anything more than an ignorant piece of self-conceit without influence outside of his factory. If we hear any more of him, the 'niggers' who put him on the ticket will take him off."

Observe the spirit of this. He refers to Mr. Adamson as "This animal," and says that if Mr. Adamson is so presumptuous as to let anything more be heard from him he will be punished. What sort of a state do you suppose Alabama would be to live in with a hundred thousand colored voters led by such insolence and arrogance as this. As further reflecting the expectations of the negro politicians, and of the spirit with which they anticipate their political enthronement in the South, the following from The Nashville Banner of recent date is interesting:

"One of the leading negro politicians of North Carolina, and well known throughout the South to members of his race, is W. Lee Persons. Some 30 years ago, during the period when Republicans and Populists fused in North Carolina, he was a member of the State Legislature. He later ran for Congress, but was defeated by outraged whites. He has since been holding a government position in Washington.

"Emboldened by recent happenings, he has emerged and is making an appeal to Southern negroes." Below is given in full, an open letter from him published in The Asheville Citizens. Read it closely:

"I welcome the accession of Senator Simmons to our ranks. Conversion is better late than never. Long ago we were antagonists, but we never struck below the belt. Today I welcome him with open arms to the grand old party of God and morality. After all these years of defeat and disaster for the black man's party in the South I can see us again coming into our own. Not a great many of us remain alive who can recall the days when black men sat in the chairs of state in the Southern capitols. Those days have long been gone, but bless God, I can see them returning. It is said that a house divided against itself cannot stand, and now I see the white people of the South dividing.

"I wish to use the newspaper of North Carolina to urge my people to get behind Senator Simmons and support him. What is true in North Carolina may be true in other Southern states. Just let us get control of the state machinery this time and Mr. Hoover in the White House will give us such help as will wipe out all the laws in the South which will keep the black man from moving on the same plane as the white man."

After welcoming Senator Simmons "to our party," he tells the negroes what a Republican victory will mean. It will "wipe out all the laws in the South which will keep the black man from moving on the same plane as the white man.

He recalls the days of the Reconstruction era "when black men sat in the chairs of state in the Southern capitols," and sees these days restored.

And what is true in North Carolina may be true in other Southern states. The assurance is based upon the election of Herbert Hoover to the presidency, Hoover whom the Negro Associated Press, published in Cleveland, Ohio, is urging Southern negroes to support for the reason that 'his broad and sympathetic understanding of human problems, as exemplified in his stamping out of segregation in his department in Washington as soon as it was called to his attention.'

This race issue has not originated with Democrats. It is made by Republicans. That Negroes everywhere are being given to understand that a national equality is being widely broadcast and has not been checked by one word from the Republican candidate for president.

The issue of white or black will hold the South again solid, as it should.

We do not know what Mr. Hoover has told these people privately, though from the assurance and arrogance of their attitude we may well assume that he has given them specific promises that the powers of the presidency will be invoked to restore them to political dominance in the South. But, his private expressions could not go much further than what he said in his speech of acceptance. He was discussing the 18th Amenrment and that suggested to his mind the 15th Amendment. This is what he said:

"Changes in the Constitution can and must be brought about only by the straightforward methods provided in the Constitution itself. **There are those who do not believe in the purpose of several provisions of the Constitution."**

There are but four provisions of the Constitution that are claimed to be ineffective through non-enforcement. One of them is the 18th, the prohibition amendment and the other three are the 13th, 14th and 15th relating to the civil and political rights of the negro. Of these last three the 15th is the one that it is most frequently said the Southern people have nullified. It is the amendment dealing with the right of the negro to vote. So that when Mr. Hoover said there were those who did not believe in the purpose of several provisions of the Constitution, he could have had reference not only to the 18th Amendment, but to the 13th, 14th and 15th as well. What his words meant was this:

"There are those" (the Southern people) "who do not believe in the purposes of several provisions of the Constitution" (the 13th, 14th and 15th).

He continues: "No one denies their right to seek to amend it. They are not subject to criticism for asserting that right."

That is he says we must submit to the same political domination we suffered under from 1865 to 1874 unless we can amend the Constitution, but that we must not relieve ourselves in any other way, because, he continues

"The Republican party does deny the right of any one to seek to destroy the purposes of the Constitution by indirection."

What Is Pledged.

Here it is in black and white. He charges that we do not believe in the purposes of the 15th Amendment, which is to place the negroes on a plane of political equality with us, and he is right. He charges that we have destroyed these "purposes" and we have done so carefully to this point, and he declares that the Republican party denies us this right and pledges himself to the enforcement of all provisions of the Constitution.

Can he fail, or refuse, if he is elected to carry out this pledge? Can we aid in his election when he has thus openly and positively committed himself to a course that can result only in our destruction? Is Davis wrong. Is Persons wrong, is Hawkins wrong, when they describe him as another Lincoln who will give them political domination as Lincoln gave them physical freedom?

If a plain and specific declaration of the intent of the Republican party to pass legislation to make the purposes of the 15th Amendment effective, that is, to put the negro on a plane of political equality with us, is thought to be lacking after a consideration of what I have already said, it is furnished in the following statement published in the newspapers on Oct. 4 and credited to Mr. Dyer, a Republican congressman from Missouri. Mr. Dyer is the man who has been trying for several years to pass a bill making the community in which lynching occurs, liable in damages therefor. His bill is still pending, and its passage is made a plank of the present Republican platform. A vote for Mr. Hoover, it may be said, in passing, is a vote endorsing that bill.

The newspaper account of Mr. Dyer's statement is as follows:

"Revival of the Dyer anti-lynching bill which would permit sending Federal officers into counties and states at the discretion of the U. S. District attorney is predicted by the author of that famous measure, Representative L. C. Dyer, of the Twelfth Missouri Congressional District, who, as quoted in an interview published in the Arkansas Gazette, of Little Rock, also has been talking about enforcement acts for the 14th and 15th amendments.

The Dyer bill, which was frankly aimed to permit the use of Federal strength in the South, passed the House in 1923, but was killed in the Senate after a three-day filibuster which was conducted by Democratic members under the leadership of Senator Oscar Underwood, of Alabama.

Congressman Dyer, who is one of the prominent supporters of Herbert Hoover, predicted that the Republican presidential nominee will blow the solid South to pieces in November," according to the interview in the Arkansas Gazette.

"'It is just as logical for Congress to enact laws for the rigid enforcement of these two amendments as to have the Volstead act for the enforcement of the 18th Amendment," Dyer was quoted as having said. "'The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have provisions for enforcement laws just the same as has the Eighteenth Amendment.

"'My anti-lynching bill, intended for the enforcement of the 14th Amendment, passed the House by a vote of two to one. It went to the Senate and had the support of a majority of the senators, but the Southern Democratic senators took advantage of the filibuster and prevented its coming to a vote in the Senate. Had the despotic rules of the Senate been changed as Vice President Dawes demanded and worked for, giving the Senate fair and sane rules to work under, it would have been an easier matter to have had my anti-lynching bill become law.

"'The passage of this bill, would have led to the enactment of a law for the enforcement of the 15th Amendment also and would have given the negro his full rights as guaranteed by those Constitutional Amendments.

"'As it is now, those amendments amount to only the scraps of paper they are printed upon and they remain scraps of paper at the hands of the Southern senators, whose constituents yell the loudest about nullification at anyone who dares question the wisdom of the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act. I am opposed to prohibition and would vote to repeal the 18th Amendment.

"'Until that is done, however, I am in favor of enforcing the prohibition amendment as best we can by providing funds and the necessary machinery. I have so voted heretofore and will continue to do so while I am a member of Congress as long as the 18th Amendment stands. I could not do otherwise and be consistent in my contentment of the 14th and 15th Amendments as that for the enforcement of the 18th Amendment.

"'Perhaps the world has never witnessed such inconsistency as that exhibited by the people of the Southern States in demanding and bringing about the nullification of the 14th and 15th Amendments by their state Legislatures and at the same time demanding the enforcement of the 18th Amendment. It is simply amazing. No amendment to the Constitution means anything unless there is an enforcement act and sufficient funds appropriated for enforcement. There are powerful and influential people who are ready to demand of Congress at an early session laws with ample appropriations that will make these two amendments just as effective as the 18th Amendment.

"'My faith is such that I believe we will see the day and that not very far off, when the Federal government will, by virtue of Congressional acts, place enforcement officers in the Southern states charged with enforcing these two amendments and give the negroes their rights as citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution. President Coolidge, in one of his messages, recommended that the Federal government take charge of election in the states.

"'It will be seen that my views on prohibition are not in accord with those of Herbert Hoover, but Mr. Hoover's stand on prohibition has captured the imagination of the ardent Democratic drys of the South to such an extent that they have forgotten their Democracy and have declared for Hoover and Curtis. And they cannot sidestep. Hoover has their votes bagged. Who was it who mistakenly said that Herbert Hoover is not a good politician?

"'On Nov. 6 that great engineer-politician, Hoover, with the votes of the prohibitionists and those swayed because of the religious question in the South, will drive such a thick wedge through the heart of the Solid South and their 'white supremacy' slogan that it will blow up their whole unconstitutional program. After the 'Solid South' has been blown to pieces by Engineer Hoover, our next president, that will be the finish of the nullificationists of the South, who have for 60 years violated and prevented the enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments. Then Congress will enact enforcement laws that will give millions of negroes their Constitutional rights as citizens and place them on an equality with all other races.'"

These express declarations clearly discloses the Republican purpose. How is it possible for Alabama Democrats to aid in bringing it to pass?

In similar vein, but from another point of view, an editorial utterance from the Birmingham Truth, a negro newspaper published in Birmingham, expressing its reasons for opposing the Democratic ticket, is pertinent. The following paragraph is printed in heavy type:

"Al Smith has not even waited until he reached the White House to bend the knee to the South. When he took office for his second term he bended one knee; In his refusal to appoint a negro to the colonelcy of the 369th national guard regiment, because it "threatened" to make whose enlisted personnel is entirely colored; in his refusal to look into the matter of the Wills-Dempsey bill because it possible for a negro to be elected his refusal to appoint negroes even fight; in his refusal to sign the court of his own political faith to public

Political - 1928

Party Affiliation.

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.
OCT 15 1928

WATSON SITS SILENT THROUGH COLORED RALLY

Comes Here to Address Negroes, but Doesn't.

Billed as the headliner at a colored Republican rally in the Eighth Regiment armory, United States Senator James Watson of Indiana sat on the platform for three hours yesterday before he was finally introduced to the audience. Then, after receiving scattering applause, he sat down without uttering a word.

Why the program was changed so that the principal speaker should be sandwiched in between two colored spellbinders with a perfunctory introduction was not explained to the crowd. Negro leaders, however, said they surmised that anti-Watson sentiment, which was manifest among many members of the audience, inspired by the Indiana senator's alleged affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan, prompted his withdrawal from the program.

Heckling Threat Overheard.

It was pointed out in support of this theory that during the meeting there were whispered conferences between Senator Watson and State Senator Adelbert Roberts, Negro chairman of the meeting.

Illustrative of the sort of sentiment which is said to have been responsible for the change in the program is this dialogue between two Negroes who were standing in the entrance to the armory.

"When is Senator Watson going to speak?" the first Negro inquired.

"Well, he better not talk here if he knows the time, the place, and the girl. We'll burn him up. He's K. K. K."

Senator Watson Explains.

After the meeting Senator Watson was approached for an explanation.

"O," he said, "I came here as a guest of Col. Roscoe Simmons. I was sent by the national committee. I had a bad throat and couldn't talk here."

"Did you expect to give an address when you arrived at the meeting?" he was asked.

"You bet," he answered, "I wanted to give them this," he added, setting his jaw forward in the pose of an orator discussing the issues of the campaign. "I spoke in Dayton last night and will speak again tomorrow night. One night's rest will be enough for my throat. Hoover will win. It's a cinch."

Candidates Scarce at Meeting.

Another feature of the meeting which aroused comment was the absence of all except one of the Republican state candidates, all of whom were on the program. Otis F. Glenn, candidate for United States senator, appeared and made a brief address at the end of the fourth hour of the meeting, after nearly half of the audience had departed.

The orators devoted most of their time to urging support of the Republican ticket for the protection and advancement of the Negro race.

In order to conteract the effect of yesterday's Republican Negro mass-meeting a Democratic rally is scheduled for tonight. It is to be held in the Wendell Phillips High school. The speakers will be three New York Negro leaders, Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom of the A. M. E. church, Ferdinand Q. Morton, and Willam A. Wallace.

G. F. PEABODY PRAISES STAND OF DEFENDER

The following telegram praising the fearless stand of The Chicago Defender in one of the most important presidential elections the country has ever anticipated, was received from George Foster Peabody, millionaire financier and philanthropist, who is known for the keen interest he displays in all matters pertaining to human relations and adjustment. The telegram, dated from Saratoga Springs, N. Y., reads:

Chicago Def.

Robert S. Abbott, Editor Chciago Defender: Bravo for your statesmanlike courage in advising your people to stop being chattels for Republican bosses when the party is angling for Lily White support, led by Bascom Slemp, the nominee's choice. I deeply sympathize with the profound difficulty for them to vote the Democratic ticket, but their freedoom to count as citizens depends on their making their vote tell as a matter of judgment and conscience, and not to be bought. Smith is a very human man and humble at heart, truly pious in his religion and if elected by the West and Northwest we may begin to break the Solid South domination of our party. It would be the end of Negro hope if Republican white primary is established in the South by Ku Klux Klan bigotry. I was impressed by Ferdinand K. Morton's presentation in the Crisis. Dr. Dubois, I thought, again failed to try to help your people out of the slough. Socialism cannot get anywhere in this country. You got on the right track for the ultimate realization of the power of workers who think for themselves. I hope Indiana will listen to you as well as Illinois.

POST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCT 14 1928

NEGRO G. O. P. BOSS STIRS UP TENNESSEE

Democrats Play Both Sides Against Middle in Republican Strife.

HARMONY IS PROFESSED

By CARLISLE BARGERON
(Staff Correspondent of The Post).

Memphis, Tenn., Oct. 13.—The Democrats are having a merry time here over the efforts of the Hoover Republicans and Democrats to bury "Bob" Church, for years the negro Republican boss of this, Shelby, County. Church's supremacy has been unquestioned over the years, and with Representative J. Will Taylor, of the Second District, has been the Republican dispenser of patronage.

Now the Hoover management, with longing eyes at this and other Democratic States, would like to keep him in the background, at least. There are Democrats who say quite frankly that had Church been displaced before or at Kansas City they would be fighting for a lost cause in this State. They insist that even if Church should be eliminated now it would be too late, and the more the Hooverites try to do it the more trouble they create in their own camp.

The race issue is perhaps the Democrats' greatest asset in this troublous period. Their great rallying cry is that the Republican party is the party of the negro. Church and his leadership are held up as the exemplification of the charge.

Like Democratic Propaganda.

A story that one hears so often as to lead to the belief that it is a well-calculated piece of Democratic propaganda runs like this:

"Two negroes meeting on the street got to discussing politics. 'Who yuh goin' vote fer?' asked one. "Mistah Hoovah, but I understand the white folks have a candidate, too."

Senator McKellar, recently renominated in a bitter Democratic primary thunders away with the race issue everywhere he goes, and he is speaking all over the State. Mr. Hoover's now famous anti-segregation order is shouted from the housetops, and undoubtedly has its effect.

The paradox of it all is that the Democrats have sent negro leaders into the State to make capital among the negro Republicans of the manner in which Church has been treated. Dr. J. H. Tompkins, negro leader of Kansas City, came into the State and organized negro organizations at both Memphis and Nashville. Hoover has turned his back on the colored race, the negroes are being told, and not only is Church's treatment cited but that of Perry Howard, of Mississippi, and Ben Davis, of Georgia.

Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt went into Mississippi, it will be recalled, just after the Kansas City convention and had Howard and other negro leaders indicted for bartering in Federal appointments. Davis is yet to be reappointed national committeeman from Georgia, a post he had held up to Kansas City since the death of Henry Lincoln Johnson.

Charge by Democrats.

The negro Democratic workers are charging that the Republicans are deliberately withholding action in the Georgia case until after the election when a white man will be appointed. The way they tell of Howard's treatment is a caution. Not only did the Washington high command set out to prosecute him, it is charged, but a white woman was sent into the State to make sure that Howard would not have a chance.

This play of the Democrats for the colored vote does not react in the white Democratic ranks or publicly conflict with the charge that the Republican party is the party of the colored man, and this is true simply because it does not get into the newspapers.

It would be interesting to know Church's real feelings toward the Hoover cause, but regardless of how loyal he is he admittedly finds it hard to combat the arguments of the Democratic negro workers.

Here is what Church says for publication:

"Congressman J. W. Taylor is the head of the Republican organization for the State of Tennessee, and I think sending into the State of Congressman Evans, of California, under the direction of Col. Mann did ten times more harm among the organization than any other one agency. I understand that both Col. Mann and Mr. Evans will have nothing further to do in this State, and we are now getting our organization in shape to function normally. If Mr. Taylor and his organization is let alone the prospects are excellent for Mr. Hoover."

Taylor and Church Ignored.

It should be told just what has happened down here that called for this statement from Church. Early in the campaign Evans came here from California and proceeded to take charge of things, wholly ignoring Representative Taylor and Church. Just who was responsible for bringing in Evans was not fully developed, but it was assumed that Claudius C. Huston, of Chattanooga, who has long coveted Taylor's rule, had quite a bit to do with it.

From the outset of Hoover's ascendency in Republican things, Huston has been in the saddle in this State. He put Horace M. Mann in touch with Hoover, and Mann has become the Southern Republican manager. Matters have gone from bad to worse for Taylor and Church, who are sticking together. It was on Mann's advice that Hoover spoke at Elizabethton instead of at Knoxville, where Taylor wanted him to speak. Taylor was conspicuous at the Elizabethton ceremonies by his almost total absence. Taylor, like Church, still insists that everything is harmonious in the Republican ranks, and there is the suggestion in Church's statement that Tennessee has now been taken from under Mann's jurisdiction. It may be that peace has been made. If it has not, Church and Taylor can be expected to stand together.

Newspaper Has Fun.

The Memphis Commercial-Appeal, Smith supporter, has made high glee out of all this. In one editorial it asks why Church should be ignored "Why, he has always been the Republican arbiter here, the newspaper declares, gleefully. "Is there one who really believes that he is going to step aside for the new order of things now?" Then, whenever there is another turn of the wheel and it looks as though Church and Taylor are on top again, it holds up Church as the personication of the Republican party in the South.

At present Taylor and Church appear to have swung back to recognition. Mann, it is said, is to have no more to do with the Tennessee fight. Mr Hoover did not intend to slight Taylor at Elizabethtown, according to word from Hoover headquarters at Washington But it has been up and down like that with the Huston and Taylor factions a daggers' points all during the campaign It will probably continue that way.

Commercial Appeal 10-28

BIG FIGHT LOOMS FOR REPUBLICAN 'FAVORS'

Bob Church Still to Be Reckoned With.

WELLFORD HAS CLAIMS

Hoover "Non-Partisan" Leader May Contest Negro's Hold On Country, But He Will Encourage Opposition in Ranks.

Having accomplished the task of defeating the Democratic party, Republicans and Hooverrats in Memphis yesterday were preparing to choose sides for the real battle that is to come.

While Walker L. Wellford, chairman of Hoover "Non-Partisan" headquarters here is said to be stirred up over the turn of affairs that brought Tennessee into the Republican columns, regular organization leaders are prepared to dispute with Mr. Wellford any

Commercial Appeal

claims he may possess to party leadership here.

Mr. Wellford has two figures to reckon with when Herbert Hoover moves into the White House in March for a four-year stay. One is Robert R. (Bob) Church, chieftain of the "Black-and-Tan" forces; the other Herbert L. Harper, defeated candidate for Congress.

Church Big Figure.

Bob Church, the negro, is still a big figure to reckon with in Republican circles, despite all claims of "Hoovercrats" to the contrary.

Mr. Harper's claims are purely claims of custom and will probably not seriously be considered. Up the country, in all recognized Republican circles, the party candidate such as Mr. Harper, whether he is defeated or victorious, is generally recognized as a factor in all patronage matters.

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That he will continue to be well received is taken for granted by his followers here. That he is still "in the saddle" they do not for a moment doubt.

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Church has always worked faithfully for J. Will. J. Will is said to have worked faithfully for Mr. Hoover. The colored man's own Second District came through Tuesday with a tremendous vote for Hoover. He is said to have been influential in the rest of East Tennessee.

Whether Paul Kruesi of Chattanooga can gain sufficient support within the party to succeed J. Will Taylor is a matter of grave doubt. Whether he will try or not has not been determined.

But, whatever the turn of events, there's going to be a big fight there.

Good Arguments.

There will be many good arguments to present on both sides when the battle really begins.

Wellford and his forces will probably contend that the negro vote in Memphis for Hoover this year was comparatively small.

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Hattiesburg Miss., Oct. 24—Herbert C. Hoover is entirely sympathetic with the South on the race question and in full accord with the policy to eliminate all Negroes from leadership, asserts T. J. Willis, one of the leading exponents of lily-whitism.

In support of this claim, Willis says that at the Kansas City Convention former Senator Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin, gave him the following message from the Republican Presidential nominee:

"You tell Mr. Willis and other representing the white groups that after my nomination, if I am nominated, the Negro leaders will be replaced by white men. We are going to have a white Republican party in the South."

Willis' Statement

Here is Willis' version of what happened at Kansas City with Mr. Hoover in the background: "When Perry Howard and his delegates arrived in Kansas City they were lined up with Mr. Butler of Massachusetts and Hilles of New York, who were leaders in the party opposing the nomination of Mr. Hoover. Butler controlled the entire delegation from his State while Hilles had half of New York's vote in his pocket; but Perry Howard and his gang had not been seated and we were up there to fight the recognition and prepared to cast our full strength for Hoover.

"Mr. Hoover stayed in his office in Washington, being personally represented in Kansas City by former Senator Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin. Learning of the fight between white and black factions of the party from Southern states, Hoover was apprised of the fact by a personal friend.

Hoovers's Views On Race

"Hoover is entirely in sympathy with the South on the race question since he has lived in California where the Orient has caused so much embarrassment. He understands the situation down here. He called Mr Lenroot in Kansas City and told him to bring utmost pressure to bear on the Credential Committee for the recognition and seating of the white delegates from the Southern states.

"But Lenroot, his personal manager at the convention, advised against the fight, saying that the nomination was already assured in spite of the Butler-Hilles opposition, and if the race issue were forced at that time it would result in unnecessary embarrassments.

"This was Hoover's answer: 'In that case you tell Mr. Willis and others representing the white groups that after my nomination, if I am nominated, the Negro leaders will be replaced by white men. We are going to have a white Republican party in the South.'

"And that is exactly what has happened. Here in Mississippi Perry Howard and his gang are the same as out. He and his leaders have been indicted by the Federal Grand Jury and the white faction's Presidential electors are to be on the ballot. That means that after November 6, the Negro faction here will be repudiated by the Republicans themselves in this State. It will mean that party affairs will have passed into the hands of reputable white men.

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"All this background is given to prove that the Republican party today has changed its attitude. It believes that there are a large number of citizens in the South who would vote the Republican ticket if the party in their section is controlled by white men, and the party now intends to give them that privilege."

Regeneration of the Republican party South of the Mason-Dixon Line is one of the most significant phases of the current Republican election, according to Willis.

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The ultimate insult has been given to Presidential Candidate Hoover. He has been accused to calling upon and dancing with a colored woman!

Governor Theodore G. Bilbo, of Mississippi, is responsible for this latest horror of a bitter campaign. Gov. Bilbo says he was not the author of the story; that he merely repeated the statement that was made at a public rally in Jackson, Miss., some days ago. But whether the author of the story or not, he gave it wide publicity, and drew upon his head the solemn and bitter wrath of one, George Akerson, assistant to the presidential candidate. Mr. Akerson's wrath was Jovean. He declared that the statement of the Governor was "unqualifiedly false," and characterized it further as the most indecent and unworthy statement in the whole of a bitter campaign."

The Republican campaign managers in their attempts to dent the solid south have circulated a similar report about Presidential Candidate Smith, alleging that he dances with colored women in New York City—a statement which brought forth no such bitter denial from the Democratic National headquarters, as has come from the Republican headquarters. Denial there was, but nothing so scatching, so insulting, so vehement as this which has come for the defense of Mr. Hoover. But here we have Mr. Akerson solemnly alleging that he was with Mr. Hoover EVERY HOUR (manifestly a physical impossibility) of the four months that he was in the flood area, and that the only contact he had with colored people was when they presented him with a memorial thanking for his aid to them in the work of reconstruction. Mr. Akerson alternately weeps and gnashes his teeth in the face of this atrocity—that his master could be accused of such an unspeakable, such a dastardly crime against decency.

We do not believe that Mr. Hoover called on the colored lady, nor that he danced with her. He does not look like a dancing man; there is no particular reason for his socializing with the Mound Bayouites, and the thought is enough to provoke the risibles of anyone with a grain of humor. Left to itself it would have died the natural death of all jokes. But Mr. Akerson exalts it to a crime of lese majeste; to a breaking of the decalogue, to the sin against the Holy Ghost.

And in so doing he hurls the vilest of insults in the face of every Negro in the United States. He wipes mud in their teeth, and he utterly destroys whatever lingering belief in the decency of the Republican party might have been left in the mind of the Negro. It is safe to assert that there is not a colored woman in the United States who would want to dance with Mr. Hoover, or would feel herself honored in so doing. But every woman of color feels her soul flame into a white heat of insulted rage at the characterization by Mr. Akerson, as "an indecent and unworthy statement."

The Republican party has fallen over itself repudiating the Negro in speaking to the south. It injected the race question into the campaign from the first, by spreading the propaganda in the south of Gov. Smith's affiliation with the Negro of New York; of Ferdinand Q. Morton's white stenographer, and considerable more such bitterness. It has out-Bourboned the Bourbons in flaunting the bloody shirt, and stirred up sectional hatred where sectional hatred had died down. It has grabbed frantically at every possible crevice to try to break into the solidity of the South. And now in a last wild stand against a possible loss of a doubtful gain, it shrieks insult and bilge at the Negro over the shoulders of the Governor of Mississippi.

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Political - 1928.

Suffrage.

New Poll List Shows 13,000 Voters In County

Montgomery County, in round figures, has 13,000 voters on the new poll lists, which have just been completed, as against 10,000 in the old one, it was announced yesterday by Paul B. Fuller, election clerk. Officials in preparing the new lists, struck about 1,200 names from the old one. They were of persons deceased or removed from the city.

SOUTHERN REPRESENTATION.

In instructing a grand jury which might be called on to investigate events surrounding the recent Illinois primary election, Federal Judge Wilkerson brought to the jury's attention section 19 of the federal code, which makes it an offense for two or more persons to conspire to injure, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise of any right or privilege guaranteed him by the constitution or laws of the United States.

Remarking upon Judge Wilkerson's charge to the jury, Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts inquired why federal judges in the south had not invoked this section of the federal code in order to insure Negroes their franchise rights.

Representative Tinkham has pending a resolution for an investigation by the census committee of disfranchisement of Negroes in southern states. He has little hope, he says, of getting his resolution to a vote. But he promises to keep on and, failing to get action on his resolution, will attempt to reach the question when the reapportionment bill comes up by demanding amendments to cut southern representation in accordance with the constitution.

It is the attitude of the people in most states where the right to vote is not abridged by laws technically within the constitution, but actually affecting only the Negro, that the southern states have their own peculiar problem, and a serious one, and should be permitted to work it out in their own way.

The south has reiterated its defense that its discriminatory laws are within the letter, though admittedly without the spirit, of the constitution. The Supreme court decisions have been most complaisant to the southern contention, and there the matter rests, so far as political rights are concerned.

But there it ought not to rest; the north has a right to insist, in so far as it affects the representation of the south at Washington, where laws are made with the assistance of southern congressmen for the nation as a whole.

Section 2 of the fourteenth amendment declares in substance that the representation of any state denying the vote to a certain proportion of its otherwise qualified electorate shall be reduced in that same proportion.

The fourteen southern states now have 129 representatives in congress. Were the fourteenth amendment enforced and their representation reduced in the same ratio that the franchise right is abridged, they would be entitled to only 65 representatives.

The right of the southern states to an unconstitutional representation is one that does affect the other states. Let the south, if it has to, settle its own internal problems of race as it will by force of laws governing only its own people. But concerning the representation of the south in the settlement of national questions the states where the vote is not abridged on account of race have an interest and, now aroused, have a right to raise the point and ask the south's intentions.

Alabama.

Official Count In May Primary Made By Pettus

Less Than 175,000 Votes Polled In Contests, Results Show

List Is Complete

Highest Vote Cast In Bonner-Gardner Race

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Less than 175,000 votes were polled in the primary of May 8, according to the official count as made by Chairman Edmond Pettus, of the State Democratic Executive Committee and made public here Monday. The highest vote was in the Bonner-Gardner race, closely followed by the vote in the Brown-Moore and Norman-White races.

The official vote for delegate at large shows the following:

Montgomery Advertiser.

	1st.	2nd.
Ayers	115,700	1,916
Bowie	35,392	1,449
Burr	110,320	2,767
Carmichael	138,957	1,594
Duggar	28,830	10,917
Faulk	69,635	10,663
Finklea	14,291	15,063
Gibson	24,088	9,703
Gunter	50,054	1,819
Henderson	45,778	1,730
Nihart	30,237	1,443
Weakley	42,257	13,478
Williams	45,123	2,038
White	24,726	9,425

Associate Justice Lucien D. Gardner defeated Senator J. M. Bonner for renomination by a vote of more than two to one. It was in the Gardner-Bonner race that the highest vote was polled, the total being 173,969. The vote in this race was:

5-22-28

Bonner	57,894
Gardner	116,075

The second highest vote of the election was polled in the Brown-Moore race for Democratic national committeeman. Mr. Brown defeated Mr. Moore by approximately 22,000 majority. The vote in this race was:

Montgomery Ala.

Brown	98,540
Moore	74,766

The third largest vote in the primary was polled in the Norman-White race for president of the Alabama Public Service Commission. In this race the incumbent, Mr. White, defeated Mr. Norman by two and one-half to one. The vote was:

Norman	49,032
White	122,746

Vote In Districts

Johnson and Eddington were easy winners for delegate from the First Congressional District. The vote in this district was Johnson 13,475; Eddington 13,349; McAleer 7,476; McDowell (deceased) 760; Towle 6,456.

Powell and Kendrick handily defeated Dent and Coker in the Second Congressional District. The vote was: Coker 9,674; Dent 11,075; Kendrick 17,606; Powell 19,278.

In the Third Congressional District Sollie and Comer were the winners, Sollie leading the ticket by a heavy majority. The vote was Comer 9,420; Harper 7,586; Peacock 8,081; Sollie 15,278.

Comer and Cooper were winners for delegates in the Fourth District without opposition.

In the Fifth District, Holly and Graves were elected delegates to Houston. The vote was: Barfield 6,668; Cockrell 9,422; Graves 9,756; Holly 10,482.

In the sixth district the winners for delegates to Houston were Foster and Seale. The vote was Foster 9,745; Mitchell 5,712; Seale 7,223.

In the Seventh Congressional District, Chestnutt and Wadsworth were winners for delegates to Houston. The vote in this race was Chestnutt 11,401; King 4,008; Lusk 6,944; Wadsworth 13,303.

Benson and Reeder were delegate winners in the Eighth Congressional District. The vote was Benson 15,934; Jackson 4,531; Reeder 14,672; Richardson 4,946; Wall 5,654.

Perdue and Dawson were winners for delegate in the Ninth District. The vote in this county was Sallie Cooper 2,073; Dawson 12,247; Joiner 1,658; McCullough 7,180; Perdue 14,464; Perkins 1,819; Pratt 7,447; Smiley 2,063; Perry 9,284; Vines 6,107.

In the Tenth Congressional District the winners for delegate were Childers and Earnest Fite. The vote in the district was Childers 5,311; Cobb 3,443; Douglass 3,849; E. Fite 5,541; Hollies 2,309; Kuykendall 4,467 and O'Rear 3,017.

The count was completed Monday by Chairman Pettus with the assistance of expert accountants. The state committee will meet at the capitol at noon on Thursday when the count will be checked and certified to the secretary of state.

SUPPOSE THEY DO BOLT?

Editor The Advertiser:

There were but 163,263 votes cast in Alabama in the Presidential election of 1924. Alabama can cast 400,000 ballots and then vote a smaller percentage of her eligible voters than most States.

Advertiser

In the last election West Virginia polled 76.98 per cent of her eligible vote. Alabama polled 13.88 per cent, but if we eliminate the negro altogether (even if Mr. Herbert Clark Hoover is opposed to this elimination) we then polled less than 25 per cent of our eligible vote.) There were twenty-one States in the last Presidential election casting more than 60 per cent of their eligible vote. If this happened in Alabama we would poll 400,000 votes and with this number of people exercising the franchise we could allow the Republicans 100,000 more votes than they polled in 1924 and then have a majority of 96,000 Democratic votes, or a majority much larger than the total Republican vote in the last election.

8-9-28

If Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, Nevada, North Dakota, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, South Dakota, Utah, West Virginia and Wyoming can poll more than 60 per cent of their eligible vote, there is no reason why the call of Democracy should not bring out a proportionate vote in this State.

Montgomery Ala.

If we take all the Republicans, white, black and ginger-cake, and add to them the color-blind Democrats, the Cannon Democrats, the Hoovercrats, the Anti-Saloon League and others who for good or poor reasons do not care to enlist under the Democratic banner, there is still reason to worry.

Men and women, old and young, good and bad, active or indifferent, will remember the carpet-bagger, the scalawag and the horde of mongrel aliens who swooped down upon the South after the War Between the States, remembering those dark days they will refuse to follow the flag of a color-blind leader. Their vision will clear up each day as they approach the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. They will think of Jeff Davis, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Morgan, Pettus, Houston and white supremacy and they will contrast these with Sherman, Thaddeus Stevens, Beast Butler, Judge Busted and the men who dominated the South when the Federal bayonet stood guard over the election boxes in Alabama.

Bishop Cannon can well afford to support Hoover while he sits on an advisory board composed of himself, four Republican United States Senators and six Republican Congressmen. He can well afford to advise the South to destroy Democracy while his organization is supported by Republican dollars.

In New York, Pennsylvania and the Central West the campaign may be decided on such issues as a change of the prohibition laws, or the tariff or farm relief, but here in the South where a white man can take no chances the Anglo-Saxon American will do what the Anglo-Saxon has done for a thousand years—he will maintain white supremacy and no agitator will cause him to forget that the South has ONE GREAT PERMANENT PROBLEM.

Ask the people of Clarksdale and Greenville, Miss., what they think of Herbert Hoover since his conference with the "colored brethren" during the flood troubles last year.

—A SON OF A CONFEDERATE VETERAN.
Montgomery, Ala.

DOZEN NEGROES JAILED

SELMA, ALA., Sept. 14.—(Special)—Twelve negroes have been committed to the Dallas County jail for failure to either pay their road tax or work their allotted time on the county roads, according to Sheriff R. F. Hamden. They will be brought to court next week.

ONLY 419 RACE VOTERS ON BOOK IN BIRMINGHAM

352 Men And 67 Women Are Registered Up To Date

LEGAL QUALIFICATIONS DISFRANCHISE MANY

Poll Tax, Land Ownership, "Understanding" Clause Are Worked

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., (Special)—Only 419 colored persons, 67 women and 352 men, registered as voters in this city July.

Some 15,559 white females and 37,267 white males registered the same day.

November 3 and 3 are two additional registration days provided before the presidential election.

Birmingham has 85,230 colored population and 147,000 white. Every third person in Birmingham is colored, but only one out of every 100 voters is colored.

Legal qualifications, by means of which whites maneuver to disfranchise colored persons include: two years' residence in State one year in county and three months in precinct; the ability to read and understand the Constitution or, as an alternative, to own 40 acres of land assessed at $300 for taxes, on which taxes must be paid. Also every voter, male and female, must $1.50 poll taxes up to the age of 45. Women must have paid poll taxes from 1920. No re-registration is required biennially if taxes are paid. Registration is with the county registrar.

Voting By Mail

Absent voters can write the county judge of probate for absent-voter ballots and instructions 5 to 30 days before election if they are registered, but otherwise legally qualified, absent voters can register by mail by writing county board of registrars, stating the facts and apply for registration affidavit and instructions to be executed before a notary. Thus registered by mail the absentee can also vote by mail.

First Negro Casts Vote In Houston In Many Years

DOTHAN, ALA., Nov. 8.—(Special.)—Bob Knox, the first negro to vote in Houston County in many years, cast his ballot for Hoover, Republican presidential nominee, at Jellico, Tuesday. Bob registered in the year 1901, the records show.

Several other negroes in this county are eligible to vote, but the Jellico negro is the only one taking advantage of this right Tuesday, in so far as can be learned.

The Jellico box accorded Smith but six votes, while Hoover was given 58 the tabulations show.

NEGROES SHOULD REGISTER

The announcement that the registration books for the voters of Jefferson County will be open to register voters in the next few days comes at a time when it seems to be propitious. There are no issues at stake and no reason for depriving Negroes of this opportunity may appear. It ought to be needless to urge the necessity of all Negroes registering who can qualify.

The importance of having the ballot is by far the greatest civic privilege that comes to a citizen. It does not provide the only means of participating in the government but it provides the best means for this. We might also say that it is not the only means of making citizenshjp count but it is the best means of making it effective. There is a large number of Negroes both young women and young men, who can qualify and who should have their names put on the registration book. There must arise issues that vitally affect the conditions under which we live and the disposition of these issues must depend on the voter.

We anticipate that the opposition to registering colored people will be nothing like so great as it has been.

This opposition must decrease as the number of qualified Negro voters increases and a sentiment for just and fair dealing grows. We must think of the Negro voter as a necessity. The only way to grow into a full fledged functioning citizenship is through the power of the ballot. This opportunity should not be neglected. Too long already have the Negroes of Birmingham and Jefferson County failed to recognize the importance of making a persistent effort to be registered. There are qualifications that must be met and there are thousands of unregistered persons who can meet them. It is a duty they owe themselves and the group with which they are identified as well as a duty they owe to their country.

We urge that our people watch for the announcement of the time and place of registration and register themselves to become qualified voters without longer delay.

Democracy Impossible, Says DuBois, Until Disenfranchisement Is Halted

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19.—(AP)—A declaration that democratic government in America is out of the question until the country faces what he described as the problem of negro disenfranchisement in the South was made today by Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, editor of the Crisis,, before the national interracial conference.

"Until the liberal white South has the courage to stand up for democracy, regardless of race, there will be no solution of the negro problem and no solution of the problem of popular government in America," he said.

"A disfranchised working class in modern civilization is worse than helpless," he added. "It is a menace, not simply to itself, but to every other group in the community. It will be diseased; it will be criminal; it will be ignorant; it will be the plaything of mobs and it will be insulted by caste restrictions."

Dubois said the political power in the South "is vested in the hands of a clique of professional politicians, white and black and there is nothing that has been done in dirty politics by Tammany in New York, by Thompson in Chicago, by Vare in Pennsylvania, that you cannot find duplicated by the political oligarchies which rule the Southern South."

"Nor is this all," he continued. "Because of the rotten boroughs of the South, real democratic government is impossible in the North. The democratic party cannot become a liberal body because the bulk of its support depends upon disfranchisement, mass and race hate in the South."

Statistics purporting to show the negro a greater criminal than the whites are grossly inaccurate and have not been authenticated, said Thorsten Sellin, of the University of Pennsylvania. This inaccuracy is largely the result, he added, of discrimination against the negro by courts and their inability to pay fines and their resultant imprisonment.

The conference, called by 16 national organizations dealing with racial problems to interchange information on the negro's relations with the white race concluded its three-day session tonight.

Political - 1928

Arkansas.

Suffrage

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Dec. 2 —(ANP)—The second step to secure full rights of citizenship for Negroes in the State of Arkansas was taken on Wednesday, when Negro Democratic leaders of Little Rock launched a campaign to restrain Democratic party officials from barring Negroes in any primary in Arkansas.

The colored members of the attorneys, Booker and Booker, obtained a temporary order November 27, enabling Negroes who could qualify, as Democrats, to vote in the recent city primary. Permission had been given in the Chancery court, where the litigation is pending, to include H. L. Compere, chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee and H. L. Lambert, secretary, according to the amendment filed Wednesday.

With the leaders of the state committee as defendants, the suit is expected to definitely establish the status of the Negroes who have allied themselves with the Democratic party. Booker and Booker, attorneys, have expressed the opinion that the case will terminate in a victory for Negro citizens and point out that the voting of Negroes in the recent primary resulted in none of the dire calamities so frequently predicted by those desiring to bar the Negroes from exercising their franchise.

GAZETTE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK

1 9 1928

Democratic State Leaders Sued by Negroes Seeking Vote.

A move to restrain Democratic party officials from barring negroes at any primary in Arkansas was made yesterday by negroes who obtained a temporary order November 27 enabling members of their race who could qualify as Democrats to vote in the recent city primary.

Permission had been given them by Chancery Court, where the litigation is pending, to include E. L. Compere chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee and H. L. Lambert, it secretary, as defendants, an amendment filed yesterday to the original petition, recited. When brought in November, the suit named only the judge and clerks in the city primary as defendants.

With the state committee leaders as defendants, the suit is expected to settle definitely the status of the negroes who regard themselves as Democrats through having supported candidates of that party in the past. The negroes now ask that the restraining order be extended in scope to give them access at the Democratic polls throughout Arkansas, and that the Democratic officers be enjoined permanently from enforcing the party rule limiting participation in primaries to white persons.

THE NEGRO'S RIGHT TO VOTE

(Kansas City Call)

The following editorial is from the Little Rock Democrat, a daily paper in Arkansas and we could not have expressed the sentiment better in The Call.

Holding that the Democratic party rule in Arkansas denying Negroes the right to vote in a Democratic primary is in conflict with a ruling of the United States Supreme Court, Circuit Judge Richard Mann of the Second Division, acting for Chancellor Dodge, has granted an injunction against enforcing that rule.

The party rule in question declares that "the Democratic party of Arkansas shall consist of all eligible and legally qualified white electors, both male and female, who have openly declared their allegiance to the principles and policies of the Democratic party as set forth in the platform in the last preceding Democratic national and state conventions, who have supported the Democratic nominees at the last preceding elections and who are in sympathy with the Democratic party in the next succeeding election."

Judge Mann's ruling was based upon a Supreme Court decision in a Texas case in which it was held that a party rule denying Negroes the right to vote in a primary violated the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This amendment says:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

The Negro petitioners for the restraining order further cited the Fifteenth amendment to the Constitution which declares that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

These are the facts which make up conditions as they exist. The Democratic State Central Committee will meet December 7. Whether that body will fight the ruling remains to be seen. As the situation stands today the Negro enjoys equal rights of citizenship in Arkansas.

BROOKLYN STANDARD UNION

NOV 27 1928

Negroes Get Suffrage

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Nov. 2 (U. P.)—For the first time in the history of this State a court has held that negroes are entitled to cast ballots in the Democratic party. The ruling resulted yesterday from a petition filed in the Pulaski County Chancery Court by Dr. J. M. Robinson and nine other negroes asking the court to restrain election officials from denying negroes the right to participate in primary elections.

VOTERS AWAIT BALLOT FIGHT IN ARKANSAS

U. S. High Court May Decide Question

Little Rock, Ark., Dec. 7.—Many white Democrats, aroused over the decision of a local court giving all qualified citizens the right to vote in a Democratic primary election, are debating whether the Democratic state central committee will resist the attack on its rules when a meeting of the committee is held here Friday. Officials of the Democratic city organization are awaiting the outcome of the conference of representatives of the state party organization.

Attorneys for the citizens heretofore barred from the Democratic primary elections declare they were ready to take their case to the Arkansas supreme court and the United States supreme court if necessary to fix the status of citizens who vote the Democratic ticket in general elections.

Judge Mann, in the absence of Chancelor Dodge, issued a temporary order restraining the election officials from denying ballots to citizens who qualified at the city primary as Democrats in respectis other than that of race. At the hearing the attorneys representing the applicants for the injunction cited the decision of the United States supreme court in March, 1927, holding invalid a Texas statute prohibiting citizens from participating in Democratic primaries.

Several attorneys have taken the position that the Democratic party has authority to exclude these citizens by rules, as has been the custom in Arkansas in the past. The Arkansas supreme court has held that where there is no law to the contrary a political party may establish its own requirements, it was pointed out. It was conceded that an Arkansas statute barring these citizens from the Democratic primaries would be void under the 14th amendment, the United States supreme court having so decided in the Texas case, but some of the attorneys contended there was nothing to prevent the party from adopting rules limiting its membership as it should see fit.

Aftr the issuance of the court order Monday, it is alleged, only eigh citizens voted. Their ballots wer counted separately. A hearing o the petition for an order is to be hel before Chancelor Dodge to determin whether the injunction is to be dis solved or made permanent.

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

SEP 2 6 1928

FAILURE TO PAY POLL TAX CUTS ARKANSAS VOTE

Ballot System Keeps the State Solid.

BY ARTHUR EVANS.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Fort Smith, Ark., Sept. 25.—[Special.]—The plain mechanics of politics, the voting system, has a lot to do with the solidity of the solid south, and here in Arkansas, as in some other states, the cross currents of Volsteadism, church, and flood control are sucked into a whirlpool with restricted suffrage, poll tax and white supremacy.

Much of the intolerance talk in the churches and much of the dry shouts from the moonshine districts in the hills won't be registered in votes in November for the simple reason that the shouters have neglected to pay their poll taxes of a dollar a head, without which no one is entitled to vote. At the same time, a reaction is setting in against the political pulpiteers.

Pulpit Tirades Bound Back.

Prominent laymen and pillars of Methodism and of the Baptist church are arising to denounce preachers who try to deliver their congregations in politics.

The rebukes emanate from within the religious fold, and in Arkansas one finds a well defined current of criticism among Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians against efforts such as those of Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt assistant attorney general of the United States, to promote the church war in Ohio.

The Rev. John Roach Straton of New York, who ducked Al Smith's challenge to open debate in his own church, appeared in Little Rock a few nights ago. He drew a crowd of 7,000. The Democrats say everybody turned out to gratify curiosity. Straton said "Smith is the nominee of the worst forces of hell," but as to whether his words had effect, the Democrats point out that at the meeting a call was issued by a W. C. T. U. worker for the women to turn out next day to organize an anti-Smith unit.

Three Attempts Fail.

Not enough showed up to organize and they say three subsequent efforts have failed to produce a quorum of anti-Smithites.

The greatest advantage the Democrats have is organization. Negroes represent about a third of the population, and the election system is designed to keep the whites in control. The Republican party heretofore has been mainly the aggregation of postmasters and other federal office holders.

The Democrats have been so strong that elections have been settled at the primaries. The Democrats have a "white man's" primary, membership being confined to white electors, and the primaries have drawn a larger vote than the presidential election. For instance, a month ago, 215,000 votes were cast in the primaries, while in the last presidential election only 138,000 votes were polled.

No G. O. P. Primaries.

The Republicans hold no primaries as the candidates have to pay the cost of judges and clerks, printing of ballots, and the rest, and it would be throwing money to the birdies nor-

mally in a state of such Democratic proclivities.

The Democrats control the election machinery. The marking system looks upside down to a northerner. Instead of marking a cross for candidates the voter wants to vote for, down here he has to scratch off the ballot the names of candidates he does not want to vote for. On the mere makeup of the ballot, the Democrats, at the top of the ticket, have an advantage.

350,000 Qualified Voters.

The poll tax system, which was adopted to keep the Negro from voting, now is disfranchising more whites than Negroes. The machinery starts eighteen months ahead of an election. The poll tax for 1928 was assessed in May, 1927, and it became delinquent last April. If paid before July 1, it entitled the person to vote in any election between that date and July 1, 1929. Some 350,000 poll taxes were issued this year by July 1, and that represents the maximum electorate for November in a state of nearly two million population.

Among the Negroes much Smith sentiment is being displayed, due to the Klan hangover, and there is a Negro Smith club. But the Democrats are not for lowering the bars for in some counties the Negroes are two-thirds of the population, and in the south the abiding factor in politics, regardless of other issues as they come and go, is white supremacy.

Political - 1928

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ARKANSAS NEGROES PAY THEIR POLL TAX

Pine Bluff, Ark., July 26 (PNS)—Jefferson County this year has nearly 10,000 qualified voters according to a report filed with County Clerk L. T. Sallee, Wednesday by Sheriff Brewster. It is said that the number this year is increased several thousand over last year, when no important election were held. More than half of the Jefferson county residents who paid poll taxes this year were Negroes.

NEGROES VOTE IN ARK PRIMARY

Arrest White Man For Striking Negro As He Casts Ballot

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. Dc. 5—(ANP)—History was made here Monday when Negroes voted in a Democratic primary for the first time since the party law was passed which denied them the right to vote. The voting was made possibl through an injunction granted by Judge Mann, who ruled that the law was unconstitutional because it discriminated against Negro citizens.

While white voters in general accepted the ruling of the court, there were those whose ire was aroused by the decision. One of the latter group, a doctor, struck a Negro postman, one the head as he cast his ballot. The white physician was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace.

According to the reports, the postman sopped by the polling place to cast his vote. As he was doctor stopped by the polling place to cast his vote. As he was in the act of placing his ballot in the box, the doctor struck him in the act of placing his ballot in the box, the doctor struck him from behind, felling him. The police officers in charge of the pol testified that they saw the post man fall but did not see no one strike him, as they were looking the other way.

Voters File Petition When Refused Ballots

The Negro Democrats, Arkansas, headed by Dr. J. M. Robinson, W. S. Brown, Isaac Jimerson J. W. Douglass, Leeroy E. Williams, J. O. Hickman and others filed a suit in Pulaski Chancery Cort of Little Rock, Ark., to restrain and enjoin the election judges and commissioners from refusing to permit the Negro Democrats of said city from voting in the Democratic primary held Monday for the selection of candidates for Mayor and Aldermen. The suit was filed after a large number of Democrats of color had presented themselves at the various voting precincts and were refused a ballot.

The plaintiffs in the suit immediately secured the services of Attys. J. R. Booker, J. A. Booker and John A. Hibbler, who in record-breaking time went before Judge R. M. Mann with their petition for injunction and a temporary restraining order wherein the attorneys set up that the "plaintiffs were and are taxpayers and qualified voters and qualified to vote in the Democratic primary that the right to vote in said city primary election was being denied to them on account of their color race and previous condition of servitude; that said primary election was equivalent to final election; that they were being deprived of their rights and privileges as citizens under the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Con- America; that such a denial on stitution of the United States of account of race and color is an abridgement of their rights as citizens and a denial of the equal protection of the laws of the United States of America.

After a preliminary hearing in which it was shown that several Negroes had applied and were refused the right to vote, and a citation of the case of Nixon et al, vs the Election Commissioners of Texas, the Chancery Judge, issued the restraining order and the Negro democrats were permitted under the injunction to vote.

The Texas case, which was cited by the attorneys, was decided by the supreme court of the United States in January, 1927, and the action of the court of Little Rock, bids fair to presage another emancination for our people.

Injunction Permitting Negroes To Vote Issued

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., Nov. 26—(AP)—A temporary injunction restraining election officials from preventing Dr. J. M. Robinson, local negro physician, and nine other negroes from voting in the city Democratic primary, was issued today by Circuit Judge Richard Mann.

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ARKANSANS CAN CAST VOTE IN PRIMARIES

Barring Them Violates Constitution, Little Rock Judge Rules

Note: According to this dispatch from Little Rock, the prophecy of The Call, made in an editorial immediately after the election, that democrats seem to be ready to establish contacts with Negro voters, is practically a fact.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Rules of the democratic party in Arkansas were held in conflict with a decision of the United States Supreme Court, insofar as the barring of Negroes from primaries is concerned, when Judge Mann of Second Division Circuit Court, acting as chancellor, Monday, issued a temporary order restraining judges and clerks in the city primary from denying Negroes the ballot.

Application for the order was made by Dr. J. M. Robinson and others and the petition was granted after a hearing before Judge Mann, who served in the absence of Chancellor Dodge the suit being filed in Chancery Court. D. K. Hawthorne, who was chairman of the Pulaski County Democratic Campaign Committee for the Smith-Robinson ticket, appeared as attorney for the democratic election officials. The plaintiffs, Dr. Robinson, J. O. Hickman, Ike Jimerson, J. W. Douglass, W. S. Brown, Leroy E. Williams, A. E. Amos, R. Howell, J. W. Walker and E. E. Dubisson, were represented by Robert Booker and John Hibbler.

In compliance with the temporary order, Chancery Clerk W. E. Greene certified copies to Sheriff Haynie, whose deputies immediately notified the judges and clerks at the various precinct voting places. The injunction was signed about 3:30 p. m. It will remain in effect until dissolved or made permanent order, should decide against them, the plaintiffs said they were prepared to appeal to the Arkansas Supreme Court, and if necessary, to the United States Supreme Court.

Section 2 of the democratic rules, Judge Mann ruled is discriminating against Negroes and this is not in accord with the action of the United States Supreme Court in March, 1927, invalidating a Texas statute for bidding Negroes the ballot in democratic primaries, the law being held violative of the Fourteenth amendment.

Post Bond of $2,500

The temporary order restrained the election officials from preventing any "persons qualified to vote from exercising their right of franchise in the democratic city primary . . . on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Bond of $2,5000 was filed by the plaintiffs to put the order in force. It was necessary for Judge Mann to conduct the temporary hearing because Chancellor Dodge was holding Prairie Circuit Court at DeValls Bluff.

As a precautionary measure, Judge Mann instructed the judges and clerks to keep separate the votes of Negroes. In their complaint, the Negroes said they were "being deprived of their rights and privileges as citizens and democrats under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the constitution of the United States.

Whether the democratic state organization will become involved in an effort to sustain its rules in the litigation probably will be determined by the state central committee at its meeting here Friday morning December 7. Mr. Hawthorne said

NEGROES VOTE IN ARKANSAS DEMO. PRIMARY; WHITE PHYSICIAN STRIKES COLORED VOTER

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Dec. 4.—(A. N. P.)—History was made here Monday when Negroes voted in a Democratic primary for the first time since the party law was passed which denied them the right to vote. The voting was made possible through an injunction granted by Judge Mann, who ruled that the law was unconstitutional because it discriminated against Negro citizens.

While white voters in general accepted the ruling of the court, there were those whose ire was aroused by the decision. One of the latter group, Dr. L. L. Marshall, struck E. S. Scott, a Negro postman, on the head as he cast his ballot. The white physician was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace.

According to reports, Scott stopped by the polling place to cast his vote. As he was in the act of placing his ballot in the box, Dr. Marshall struck him from behind, felling him. The police officers in charge of the poll testified that they saw Scott fall but did not see Marshall strike him, as they were looking the other way.

Voters File Petition When Refused Ballots

The Negro Democrats, Arkansas, headed by Dr. J. M. Robinson, W. S. Brown, Isaac Jimerson, J. W. Douglass, Lee Roy E. Williams, J. O. Hickman and others, filed a suit in the Pulaski Chancery Court of Little Rock, Arkansas, to restrain and enjoin the election judges and commissioners from refusing to permit the Negro Democrats of said city from voting in the Democratic primary held Monday for the selection of candidates for mayor and aldermen. The suit was filed after a large number of Democrats of color had presented themselves at the various voting precincts and were refused a ballot.

The plaintiffs in the suit immediately secured the services of Booker and Booker, consisting of J. R. Booker and W. A. Booker, and of John A. Hibbler, who in record-breaking time, went before Judge R. M. Mann with their petition for injunction and a temporary restraining order wherein the attorneys set up that the "plaintiffs were and are taxpayers and qualified voters and qualified to vote in the Democratic Primary; that the right to vote in said City Primary election was being denied to them on account of their color, race, and previous condition of servitude; that said primary election was equivalent to final election; that they were being deprived of their rights and privileges as citizens under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America; that such a denial on account of race and color is an abridgment of their rights as citizens and a denial of the equal protection of the laws of the United States of America."

After a preliminary hearing in which it was shown that several Negroes had applied and were refused the right to vote, and a citation of the case of Nixon, et al, vs. the Election Commissioners of Texas, the Chancery Judge issued the restraining order and the Negro Democrats were permitted under the injunction to vote.

The Texas case, which was cited by Attorneys Booker and Booker and John A. Hibbler, was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in January, 1927, and the action of the Court in Little Rock bids fair to presage another emancipation for our people.

NEGRO MAY VOTE IN WHITE PRIMARY

LITTLE ROCK, Nov. 29.—(LP)—For the first time in the history of this state, a court has held that negroes are entitled to cast ballots in the democratic party.

The ruling resulted yesterday from a petition filed in the Pulaski county chancery court by Dr. J. M. Robinson and nine other negroes the right to participate in primary elections.

Circuit Judge Richard M. Mann, in the absence of Chancellor Frank M Dodge, granted the petition.

Dr. Robinson, who headed the negro Smith-Robinson club during the presidential campaign, said today that while only a few negroes participated in the democratic primary there are 465 negroes in Little Rock who can qualify as democrats under the new court order.

THE NEGRO'S RIGHT TO VOTE

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The following editorial is from the Little Rock Democrat, a daily paper in Arkansas, and we could not have expressed the sentiment better in The Call.

Holding that the Democratic party rule in Arkansas denying Negroes the right to vote in a Democratic primary is in conflict with a ruling of the United States Supreme Court, Circuit Judge Richard Mann of the Second Division, acting for Chancellor Dodge, has granted an injunction against enforcement of that rule.

The party rule in question declares that "the Democratic party of Arkansas shall consist of all eligible and legally qualified white electors, both male and female, who have openly declared their allegiance to the principles and policies of the Democratic party as set forth in the platform in the last preceding Democratic national and state conventions, who have supported the Democratic nominees at the last preceding elections and who are in sympathy with the Democratic party in the next succeeding election."

Judge Mann's ruling was based upon a Supreme Court decision in a Texas case in which it was held that a party rule denying Negroes the right to vote in a primary violated the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This amendment says:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

The Negro petitioners for the restraining order further cited the Fifteenth amendment to the Constitution which declares that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

These are the facts which make up conditions as they exist. The Democratic State Central Committee will meet December 7. Whether that body will fight the ruling remains to be seen.

As the situation stands today the Negro enjoys equal rights of citizenship in Arkansas.

GAZETTE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

NOV 27 1928

INJUNCTION GIVES NEGROES THE VOTE

Election Officials Forbidden to Bar Blacks From Democratic Primary.

PARTY LEADERS IN DOUBT

State Central Committee Probably Will Decide if Matter Is to Be Fought in Courts.

Rules of the Democratic party in Arkansas were held in conflict with a decision of the United States Supreme Court, insofar as the barring of negroes from primaries is concerned, when Judge Mann of Second Division Circuit Court, acting as chancellor, yesterday issued a temporary order restraining judges and clerks in the city primary from denying negroes the ballot.

Application for the order was made by Dr. J. M. Robinson and other negroes, and the petition was granted after a hearing before Judge Mann, who served in the absence of Chancellor Dodge, the suit being filed in Chancery Court. D. K. Hawthorne, who was chairman of the Pulaski County Democratic Campaign Committee for the Smith-Robinson ticket, appeared as attorney for the Democratic election officials. The negro plaintiffs, Dr. Robison, J. O. Hickman, Ike Jimerson, J. W. Douglass, W. S. Brown, Leroy E. Williams, A. E. Amos, R. Howell, J. W. Walker and E. E Dubisson, were represented by Robert Booker and John Hibbler.

In compliance with the temporary order, Chancery Clerk W. E. Greene certified copies to Sheriff Haynie, whose deputies immediately notified the judges and clerks at the various precinct voting places. The injunction was signed about 3:30 p. m. It will remain in effect until dissolved or made permanent by Chancery Court.

May Not Fight Ruling.

If Democratic leaders agree with Judge Mann's view that the party has no authority to exclude negroes from its primaries, several said yesterday it is likely they will not offer further opposition to the petition, which the negro attorneys declared is intended to end definitely the policy of restricting participation in primaries to white persons. If the Chancery Court, after a hearing on the petition for a permanent order, should decide against them, the negroes said they were prepared to appeal to the Arkansas Supreme Court, and, if necessary, to the United States Supreme Court.

Section 2 of the Democratic rules under which negroes have been barred provides that "the Democratic party of Arkansas shall consist of all eligible and legally qualified white electors, both male and female, who have openly declared their allegiance to the principles and policies of the Democratic party as set forth in the platform of the last preceding Democratic national and state conventions, who have supported the Democratic nominees at the last preceding elections, and who are in sympathy with the success of the Democratic party in the next succeeding election."

This, Judge Mann ruled is discriminating against negroes and this is not in accord with the action of the United States Supreme Court in March, 1927, invalidating a Texas statute forbidding negroes the ballot in Democratic primaries, the law being held violative of the Fourteenth amendment.

Negroes Post Bond.

The temporary order restrained the election officials from preventing any "persons qualified to vote from exercising their right of franchise in the Democratic city primary . . . on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Bond of $2,500 was filed by the negroes to put the order in force. It was necessary for Judge Mann to conduct the temporary hearing because Chancellor Dodge was holding Prairie Circuit Court at DeValls Bluff.

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Whether the Democratic state organization will become involved in an effort to sustain its rules in the litigation probably will be determined by the State Central Committee at its meeting here Friday morning, December 7. Mr. Hawthorne said

Suffrage.

EXPRESS

Los Angeles Cal

JUL 3 1928

NEGROES ACT ON VOTE PROBLEM

Declare Disfranchisement to Be Question of Democracy; Not of Race

Reiterating its assertion that the disfranchisement of the American Negro is not a race problem, but one of democracy, affecting the world, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today made public the text of the address adopted at the nineteenth annual conference of the association, which ended here Sunday.

The address was drawn up by a committee with Dr. W. E. B. du Bois as chairman and says in part:

"The year of the presidential election brings forcibly to the mind of every American, white and Negro, the insistent problem of democratic government in the United States. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its nineteenth annual conference reiterates its charge that the disfranchisement of the majority of intelligent adult Negroes in the United States is not simply a race problem, it is a problem of democracy and it affects the entire nation and the whole world.

"If democracy is discredited and sneered at today it is very largely because of its partial failure in the United States.

"The disfranchisement of the foreign born in New England, and the gerrymandering of congressional districts elsewhere, give the astonishing result that a million voters can elect 45 congressmen in the South and 16 in New England, but only 13 in the Middle West and 12 on the Pacific coast.

"Facts such as these are ruining the interest of Americans in elections all over the United States. Ordinarily, scarcely one eligible American voter out of three goes to the polls, and the number of citizens 21 years of age and over who did not vote in the last election reached 90 per cent in two states; 70 to 90 per cent in seven states; from 50 to 70 per cent in nine states, and from 40 to 50 per cent in 16 states.

"Thus democratic government in the United States has become a farce, primarily because for the sake of disfranchising the Negro, white America has been willing to disfranchise itself.

"Disfranchisement and segregation, race hatred and war, all are steps toward the same degeneracy. We have driven official residential segregation out from the protection of the law; but it continues to be common in real estate manipulation and by voluntary agreement. Some segregation by race of American citizens is still practised and persisted in the departments of the federal government at Washington. It is due to our unremitting effort that this open defiance of the constitution is no longer general. Whatever political power we have should be used to continue the fight."

Political 1928

Suffrage

Colorado.

Dothan, Ala., Journal
Thursday, July 19, 1928

NEGRO VOTE TO SUPPORT SMITH

DENVER, Colorado,—The theory that the negroes of the nation always support the Republican nominees and vote the Republican ticket has been exploded on more than one occasion. The blacks of Colorado, according to it's leaders went over eighty per cent for Smith. The following telegram was dispatched to Governor Smith immediately following his nominatin.

"The Colorado Negro Voters Advisory Association congratulates the Democratic party upon your nomination as its standard bearer for the Presidency of the United States. Your nomination comes to the negroes of America as their second emancipation proclamation. The first freed them manual bondage. The second freed them from political slavery. Colorado negro voters will give to you and Senator Robinson in our judgment at least eighty per cent of their voting strength."

Political - 1928

Suffrage

D.C.

M'ADOO IS ATTACKED ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE

He Sympathizes With Nullification, Tinkham Charges.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28.—(AP)—Accusing the southern states of disfranchising the negro voters, Representative Tinkham, Republican, Massachusetts, asserted today in the House that William G. McAdoo was "in sympathy with the nullification" of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

Commercial Appeal

The Massachusetts representative said in a recent speech on the enforcement of the prohibition amendment reached the "pinnacle of nauseating hypocrisy" in his views on upholding of the Constitution.

2-29-28

"Any American who has travis familiar with the fact that the negro votes as freely as the white man in the north, east and west, but not in the south," Tinkham declared. He added that because of the nullification of the constitution the elections in the southern states "are unconstitutional and lawless and the presidential elections are tainted with fraud and illegitimacy."

Memphis Press

If prohibition is enforced by federal statute, he argued, the other amendments should be upheld by similar means.

DON'T FORGET TO REGISTER

In our enthusiasm for candidates or other things economical, or political, let us not forget to register. Let us not forget that the one essential element which will insure good government is an honest ballot and that the man without the ballot will continue to be the tool and vassal of the man with the ballot.

Independent

There is only one way in this government to have real liberty, and that is to have elections where the people can freely express their will, unmolested at the ballot box. It is well to remember that only those who are qualified to vote and exercise that right are considered a part of the people. The man with the ballot and who refuses to use that ballot is a menace to free institutions, and should be excluded by permanent disqualification. So let us register; we can only get relief economically, religiously, politically or otherwise, by the ballot, so let us register.

Atlanta Ga.

D. C.

Political - 1923
Suffrage.

Fighting For Suffrage In District Of Columbia Centers Around Negro's Plea As Voting Factor

Is Leading Forces For ... and He Answers Arguments ...y Opponents of Proposiiton

...y RIENZI B. LEMUS

...n, D. C.—The Nation's Capitol is, in ...merous, paradoxical aspects, an oasis ... a desert of inequalities—the one com- ... the entire country where both blacks and ...are disfranchised, or rather unenfranchised. ...opulation is greater and more sophisticated ...an that of Idaho which, save Alabama, furnishes the greatest yawper, Borah, to the United States Senate.

Washington wants to vote, wants to vote for President, Vice President, and a representative in Congress; but mostly wants to do so if it can be arranged as it has been arranged in South Carolina, and a dozen other sovereign States of the American commonwealth, which like Tex Rickard vainly tried to run the heavyweight-boxing championship game—wholly "nordically."

Age

The leader of the votes for Washingtonians movement is the editor of the "Evening Star," the Capitol's leading, venerable and profitable afternoon daily, Theodore W. Noyes. The Noyes are to Washington and its journalism what Dana was to the "Sun," and what Ochs is to New York and the "Times," with the distinction that Dana and Ochs were first of their dynasties. Additionally, "Ted" Noyes' brother, Thomas Noyes, president of the Associated Press, first news gathering and news distributing agency of the Universe.

3-24-23 New York, Mirr

Held "Jim Crow" Contest.

Scarce two weeks ago was it when Neval Thomas, Banquo's ghost of segregation's proponents, relentlessly pursued Noyes and the "Star" for sponsoring a "jimcrow" high school oratorical contest here. Mr. Thomas confronted Mr. Noyes with the fact that his contest manager had held a conference with the high school principals to arrange the affair—but 'twas all "lily-white." The principals of the Negro high schools were left out.

Then it was that the faculties of the latter declined the invitation from the "Star" to participate in a "segregated" debate on the scared Constitution of the U. S. A.

The resolution to amend the Constitution to permit Washingtonians the great privilege of declining to register and vote was offered in the House of Representatives by Congressman Dyer, of anti-lynching Bill—"rainbow legislation" fame, and hearings, ending March 15, were conducted by the House judiciary committee.

At the hearings, suffrage opponents grounded their opposition on the colored man, and never got away from their "ground," as the Afric content of the District of Columbia's population is in excess of 25 per cent, and enfranchisement would "mean" Negro domination. So, not unlike the U. S. prosecutors, who must defend bootleg-snatchers and hooch-sniffers accused of murder in performance of duty, Editor Noyes was constrained to hold the Negro's brief against the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune hurled at his pet hobby-suffrage for the decitizenized or uncitizenized Americans of the District of Columbia.

Comparative Statistics.

Pointing out that "the argument offered by the opponents that colored residents would hold the balance of power is not based on a careful study of statistics," Mr. Noyes asked—

"Is there some peculiar unfitness in the District's white population and some extraordinary taint in the District's colored population which render the three-fourths plus one-fourth combination virulently poisonous, while the much higher colored percentages in some of the States, reaching sometimes one-half plus one-half combination, becomes innocuous?"

He cited comparative statistics relative to racial percentages of Maryland and Virginia, and said—

"If Washington is unfit for Americanization because of 25.1 colored percentage are not Baltimore with 14.8; Atlantic City 21.6; Richmond, 31.5, and Norfolk, 37.5 (averaging 26.3) also unfit?"

Despite the sound argument of Mr. Noyes' foregoing comparative query, some persons here state tht it would not be difficult to apprehend the sort of construction Senator Blease, of South Carolina, would place on the citation of the two Virginia cities—Norfolk and Richmond—which have largest colored percentages, in view of the fact that colored citizens have been disfranchised in both for 30 years. To these persons, references to those two "lily-white" towns carries pert significance; though he followed with this—

"No element of the population has shown since 1870 greater progress in radically reducing illiteracy and in the thrift and industry which honestly accumulate property than the colored people of the District. In the World War the percentage of enlisted colored soldiers was distinctly greater in the District than the colored percentage of the District's total population."

This, and all information about the colored people used by Mr. Noyes before the judiciary committee, was furnished in a memorandum prepared by Prof. Kelly Miller, Henry Murray of Armstrong Technical High School, and Chas. E. Hall of the Census Bureau to whom Editor Noyes very properly referred when submitting a copy to the Committee "as three able representatives of the colored people."

Is A Nominal Desire.

The desire of the District's folks to vote is perfectly normal. They have to sit here and listen to the constant bids for attention of Senators Borah and Blease, both of whom represent constituents immeasurably less important than the District potentially is. What concerns colored citizens infinitely greater, however, is a more nearly fair attitude of the "Evening Star" towards them. For instance it is claimed that the "Star" recently printed what was aid in condemnation of Recorder of Deeds Froe (colored) and Superintendent of Schools Ballou (white) on the floor of the House by Congressman Holliday of Illinois, while Mr. Holliday's very complimentary references to Assistant Superintendent of Schools Garnett Wilkerson (colored) were deleted in entirety. The most progressive element of the District's population in radically reducing illiteracy and in evidence of that thrift and industry which honestly accumulates property wants the "Star" to get back in the faith and swing of its illustrious founder, long-time editor, the late Crosby S. Noyes, father of the present editor, than whom no community ever possessed a finer, nobler, squarer man.

COLORED VOTERS DIVISION.

The Republican Party has recognized the fact that no longer can every man who belongs to the colored race be counted a Republican. The time was when that was true. But it has handed out too much bunk in the past few years for the colored brother to become enthused over the idea. Besides, the Negro has grown in intelligence and has a pretty definite idea of the reasons of parties and know what National issues are and mean. Because of this the Republican party is making a special effort to influence and hold the Negro voter. Recently, Prof. John R. Hawkins of Washington has been appointed Chairman of what is known as a "Colored Voters Division of the Republican National Committee." The choice of Prof. Hawkins is quite fortunate. He is an outstanding Negro; a successful one by all the standards applied to measure success. Besides, in the organization he is assisted by other outstanding successful men. Such a move on the part of the Republicans no doubt will be to its advantage. In this respect, the Republicans have the advantage of the Democrats. All most all of the outstanding Negroes are or have been identified with that party. It will not be ever thus though. For as soon as the Democrats stop acting as is the symbol of the party, many of the best Negroes will be found that party. There is no more reason for all Negroes to be Republicans than for all whites to be Democrats.

Publication
See Number
8-1-28

Florida

Political - 1928
Suffrage

REGISTRATION BOOKS CLOSED BY OFFICIALS

Say Primaries Are for "Whites Only"

Pensacola, Fla., March 23.—State officials, after investigating "alarming" reports from this city and Tallahassee that members of the Race were registering in overwhelming numbers for the forthcoming Democratic primary, ordered the state attorney general to issue an opinion that the Florida law excluded members of the Race from participating in primary elections and that such action on their part should be met by criminal proceedings.

County solicitors have been ordered not to allow members of the Race to register or vote in the forthcoming elections.

Since the registration books were opened at the courthouse, 50 per cent of the voters registered have been members of the Race, and according to those in charge of the books, the number is increasing daily. This is the first time in history that the Race has registered in a Democratic primary since the Civil War. All of those registering have classed themselves as Democrats. They are preparing to take part in the city and state primaries. Under the classification it has gone under since the Civil war the primary is known as the "white Democratic primary."

Denied Rights

The white Democrats contend that their organization is private and has the right to bar those with whom they do not care to affiliate at the polls. The opinion voiced by members of the Race in this city and other cities in the state is that they have been denied the right to vote as Republicans in the primaries and can only vote as Democrats. The suddenness of their large registration as Democrats in order to put their candidates in offices has caused alarm in the Democratic ranks. The Race "Democrats" will vote for Democrats pledging to give them better schools, playgrounds, parks and paved streets, but will vote independently during the national election.

Regardless of the action taken by the state Democratic executive committee and the state, Race citizens will continue to visit the registration places. They are preparing to fight opposition to their registering in the state courts and in the United States supreme court. It was pointed out that a similar case of disfranchisement in Texas by Democrats was carried to the United States supreme court by citizens of that state and won. The voters contend that their rights given them under the federal Constitution have been denied them and that all elections open for the election of public officers should be open to them regardless of unwritten laws and the opinion of whites in control of certain parties.

MOVE TO QUALIFY NEGROES FOR VOTE IN FLORIDA SEEN

Tallahassee, Fla., March 16.—(AP)—Attempts are being made in at least one section of Florida, and possibly others, to register negroes for the coming democratic primary, reports to the attorney general's office today set out.

Attorney General Fred H. Davis received information that efforts were made to register about 600 negroes in Escanaba county recently. Davis has advised William Fisher, county solicitor, at Pensacola, that negroes should not be allowed to register and vote in the democartic primary election.

Although the United States supreme court has held that under a Texas law negroes may vote in democratic primaries, the Florida law on the subject, the attorney general says, is broad enough to exclude negroes.

Mr. Davis advised Mr. Fisher that the only way to handle the negro question in the primary is to file criminal information against members of the race when they apply for the oath, charging them with perjury.

"I have no doubt that an organized effort is being made in Florida to stir up trouble," the attorney general added.

PENSACOLA, FLA

Journal

MAR 16 1928

WHITE VOTERS ONLY ELIGIBLE FOR PRIMARIES

Democratic Committee Rules On Negro Registration For Elections

No matter what their desires may be, negroes are Republicans in Pensacola. They cannat vote in the Democratic white primary June 10, when the voters will decide whether Harvey Bayliss is to continue as mayor or whether Laurence Wilson shall have that job.

This decision was announced yesterday by E. P. Roch, chairman of the city Democratic executive committee, which met to discuss and rule on the problem presented when negroes, following a mass meeting some time ago, began to register in unprecedented numbers.

Resolution Given

A resolution adopted by the committee reads as follows:

"Be it resolved by the Democratic executive committee of the city of Pensacola, that only duly qualified white Democratic electors of the said city are hereby declared to be and are held to be members of the Democratic party in said city and are therefore entitled to vote in the primary election to be held by said party in said city on the 10th day of April, 1928....."

Vested With Power

The Democratic executive committee, its members claim, is vested with the power of determining who is a Democrat and who is not. However, it cannot prevent the negro from voting in a general election in June, if a general election is necessitated. A general election will not be held unless an independent candidate enters the field for mayor after the primary.

Registration officials said yesterday that registration of new voters continued with negroes equaling whites. However, the total number of voters registered shows a majority of whites.

FLA. DEMOCRAT' FIGHT BALLOT FOR NEGROES

Plan to Bar Negro Voters From Dem. Primary n Va.

Report The County Solicitor of Escumbia County, Fla., Has Been Advised That Negroes Should Not Be Allowed to Register.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Mar. 28—(ANP)—Much discussion is being brought about by the political right of the Negro to exercise the right of franchise. The Negro of the South seeks his right to register. They are not meeting with oppositon in some states, but in others, drastic moves have been made to bar them from the polls. This is especially true in Virgina and Florida. Florida even threatens to arrest them, but the colored people have threatened court action.

To Make Arrests in Florida

Taking cognizance of reports that efforts were being made to register Negro voters for the forthcoming democratic primary, Attorney General Fred H. Davis, it is claimed, issued an opinion holding that the Florida law excludes them from participation, and that any action their part should be met by criminal proceedings.

According to reports the attorney made his announcement after receivng information that registration of approximately 60 Negroes was being attempted in Escambia County (Pensacola). He advised the solicitor there that Negroes should not be allowed to register and vote in democratic primary elections adding that while the United States Supreme Court had held that under the law they had that right, the Florida law on the subject is broad enough to exclude them.

Declaring that he has no doubt that an effort is being made to stir up trouble in Florida, the attorney added that the only way to handle the situation is to file perjury charges against those who apply for the oath.

Va. Democrats Prepare to Block Negro Participation in Primary

Richmond, Va., March 28—(ANP)—The report that there are now some 5,000 qualified Negro voters which represents the balance of power, has thrown a scare into the ranks of the democratic partiy and state and city party leaders are preparing to resist threatened court action on the part of these voters who want to participate in the mayoralty primary on April 3. Despite the fact that the Suprme Court has ruled that there must be no discrimination on the part of the state, the democratic leaders are comparing carefully the law of Texas which was declared invalid with the law of Virginia. It is claimed by the white democrats that the Texas law differs from the Virginia state in that the former specifically bars Negroes from participation in a democratic primary and the law of the latter state does not deal with any particular party, nor does it bar any particular race, and if there is any discrimination it is not on the part of the state but of individuals.

The Negro voters, however, are going ahead and preparing for the battle which they feel confident will result in a great victory.

FLORIDA NEGROES DEMAND THE VOTE

Pensacola, Fla., March 26.—(AP)—A parallel with the famous Texas Jim Crow case was foreseen here tonight when the Colored Voters league issued a statement to the effect that negro voters in this city intend to vote in the coming city primary and general election come what may.

In a statement made public tonight the league says it does not want any race riot, but says it is determined to take part in the primary election, voting for the candidate it chooses. It declares it will carry the fight for this right to every court in the United States if necessary.

The statement points to lack of negro representation in the administration of city affairs and financing. It states openly that negroes in the city have not been taken care of prop-

erly, and that it, the league, intends to rectify this situation at the polls.

Pointing to the fact that its members are taxpayers and otherwise eligible to vote as they choose the league says "we want justice and justice is all that we ask for."

Several hundred negroes have already registered in the city offices. Several days ago the state attorney general issued an opinion that negroes could not, under Florida laws, vote in the city election. He suggested that negroes who registered to vote in the city primary could be held for perjury.

Gainesville, Fl
Tuesday, March

NEGROES SAY WILL VOTE IN ELECTIONS

PENSACOLA, Fla., March 26 (AP)—The Colored Voters' League of this city tonight issued a statement to the effect that negro voters intend to vote in the coming city primary and general elections.

The statement, which alleged a lack of negro representation in the administration of city affairs and financing, said that it, the league, intended to rectify this situation at the polls.

The state attorney general issued an opinion recently which satted that negroes could not, under Florida law, vote in the city elections.

Tampa, Fla., Times
Tuesday, March 27, 1928

Pensacola Negroes Will Try to Vote

Pensacola, March 27.—The colored voters' league of this city issued a statement to the effect that negro voters intend to vote in the coming city primary and general elections.

The statement, which alleged a lack of negro representation in the administration of city affairs and financing, said that it, the league, intended to rectify this situation at the polls.

The state attorney general issued an opinion recently which stated that negroes could not, under Florida law, vote in the city elections. The statement of the league declared its intention to carry its fight for representation to the courts if necessary.

Swainsboro, Ga., Forest-Blade
Thursday, March 29, 1928

Florida Negroes Demand To Vote

The negroes of Pensacola, Fla., are demanding that they be allowed to vote in the city elections. The Colored Voters League has issued a statement to the effect that negro voters in the Florida city intend to vote in the coming city primary and general election, come what may.

In a statement made public tonight the league says it does not want any race riot, but says it is determined to take part in the city election, voting for any candidate it chooses. It declares it will carry the fight for this right to every court in the United States if necessary.

The statement points to lack of negro representation in the administration of city affairs and financing. It states openly that negroes in the city have not been taken care of properly, and that it, the league, intends to rectify this situation at the polls.

Pointing to the fact that its members are taxpayers and otherwise eligible to vote as they choose the league says "we want justice and justice is all that we ask for."

Several hundred negroes have already registered in the city offices. Several days ago the state attorney general issued an opinion that negroes could not, under Florida laws, vote in the city election. He suggested that negroes who registered to vote in the city primary could be held for perjury.

DENIED BALLOT, VOTER SUES POLL OFFICIALS

PENSACOLA, FLA.—Action which may test the right of Florida election officials to deny race voters the right to the franchise was started here last week when Henry Goode filed suit for $5,000 against Thomas Johnson and Clifford Bell, white, managers of an election booth in which Goode was prohibited from voting.

More than 2000 other race voters registered but were also not permitted to vote.

FLORIDA NEGRO DENIED VOTE, HIS SUIT STATES

Seek $5,000 From Election Officials At Pensacola

Herald Commonwealth

Pensacole, Fla., April 19th.—Henry Goode, a Negro, has filed suit for $5,000 damages against Paul Riera, Thomas Johnson and Clifford Bell, manager of an election booth wherein Goode says he was prohibited from voting at a recent election.

Goode, it was represented, went to the precinct voting place armed with qualifying credentials, but was refused a ballot. Fred Marsh, clerk of the United States Court and practicing attorney here is representing the Negro.

More than 2,000 Negroes were registered for the election. None was permitted to vote, it is said.

Florida Whites Excited Over Primary Vote Fight

NEW YORK. — White citizens of Florida are excited over the determined effort being made by Negroes of Pensacola to establish their right to vote in the Democratic primaries of the state of Florida.

N. A. Jones, President of the Pensacola Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., reports that the case arising out of the attempt to bar Negroes from the polls will probably be argued in court some time in July or August.

"Most members of the N. A. A. C. P. are members of the Voters League and hence are bound together," reports Mr. Jones.

The white citizens according to local newspaper report, were called together by Mayor J. H. Bayliss of Pensacola, being notified by telephone of a meeting. Mayor Bayliss was renominated as a member of the City Commission in an election from which Negroes were barred.

The white citizens attending the meeting voted to ask that any surplus remaining from county candidates' fees after the June primary election, be used as a fee to pay attorneys opposing the Negroes. Other meetings of the white citizens were reported planned in connection with this contest.

PRIMARY TEST ON IN FLORIDA

Colored Physician Of Pensacola, Sues Election Clerks

CASE FAR-REACHING

By THOMAS L. DABNEY

Pensacola, Fla., May 15—A battle of great significance both for Southern Negroes and Southern whites is on in this city between Negroes who wish to participate in the Democratic primaries and the whites who are determined to bar the Negroes at all costs. The battle began when Dr. Horace D. Goode brought suit against Tom Johnson, C. J. Bell and Paul F. Riera, election clerks in the Democratic primary in the 32nd precinct because they refused to permit him to vote on April 10.

Dr. Goode has engaged Attorney Fred Marsh to push his case, while the three election clerks, against whom the $5,000 suit is brought, will be defended by Col. John S. Beard, William Fisher and John B. Jones. It is said that a prominent Jewish attorney, who consented to represent Dr. Goode, was so perturbed by public sentiment among the whites in the city against Dr. Goode and Negro participation in the Democratic primaries that he decided to withdraw from the case and returned the money that had been given him for his services.

Keen Interest Manifested

Keen interest is manifested among whites and Negroes in Dr. Goode's case not only in Pensacola but throughout the State. The whites are rapidly setting up their machinery of defense, and are discussing the case in the press and public meetings. A few days ago more than 40 white citizens gathered in the city hall at the call of Mayor J. Harvey Bayliss "to build a defense against the Negro vote attack.... The white press reported that the Mayor called the meeeting, "acting in the capacity of a private citizen and not mayor....." This explanation was offered to offset the appearance that the Mayor has some official connection with the defense. At the meeeting the Mayor announced that he called the meeting to devise means to raise funds to defend the three election clerks.

At the metting held at the city hall an attempt was made to crystallize sentiment among the whites against the action of Dr. Goode by relating "the trying times that Pensacola went through 35 and 40 years ago when virtual Negro rule was in effect....." Those who told the tale tried to make it appear that the city abounded in corruption under Negro rule, and that the city was saved only by the timely action of the courageous whites who gained political control from the Negroes and Northern Republicans.

Negroes Determined

The Negroes of Pensacola seem as determined to win their rights to participate in the Democratic primaries as the whites are to bar them. The local N. A. A. C. P. under the leadership of Mr. Nathan Jones is giving all the assistance it can to Dr. Goode's case. The Voters' League is also interested in the case; and its members are giving their support to the cause. Fortunately the local N. A. A. C. P. is conducting a membership drive; and the interest which Negro citizens have in the primary case is being used as a basis to increase the membership of the local.

Case Significant

All of the local Negro organizations will have an opportunity to function in behalf of the political rights of the race after June 4, at which time it is reported that an answer will be filed to Dr. Goode's charges. Dr. Goode's case is very significant in that it raises the whole question as to whether a Negro can vote in the Democratic primaries not only in Pensacola, but throughout the South. The case marks a departure of the Negro from the traditional policy of the race to vote the Republican ticket en masse. While the Southern white man still clings to the traditions of the past in things political the Negro is breaking away. This is a healthy sign, and sooner or later the white South must follow in the steps of the Negro. The Negroes of Pensacola are fighting their case with the hope and belief that they will win.

Florida.

Political - 1928

Suffrage

Cleveland, Tenn., Banner
Wednesday, March 28, 1928

RACE RIOT MAY FOLLOW

IF NEGROES VOTE IN FLA.

PENSACOLA, Fla., March 28.—(I. N. S.)—What promises to be one of the most bitter race fights ever seen is creeping upon this city with the coming of the city primary and general election, following the statement of the Colored Voters League to the effect that negro votes of this city intend to vote, come what may. The situation is a parellel of the famous Texas Jim Crow case.

The state's attorney general has already handed down an opinion that negroes could not under Florida laws vote in the city election, and that should they do, all those who registered could be held for perjury.

The Negro League is asking for the ballot on the grounds that negroes are property owners and taxpayers, that they have no representation in the administration of the city affairs and financing. The League statement declared that negro voters intend to go to the polls and rectify this situation.

The statement of the league declared that although it does not want any race riot, it is determine to take part in the elections and vote for any candidate it chooses.

Pensacola Negroes Fail In Vote Effort

PENSACOLA, FLA., April 10.—(AP)—Pensacola negroes, countering a recent ruling from the office of the attorney general of Florida, made a peaceful but unsuccessful effort to vote in a city-wide primary today.

Police were on guard at most polls and only three instances of mild disturbance were noted. Negroes who attempted to vote were told they would be unable to do so, and left quietly, except when two demonstrating negro voters were led from polling places by the police.

Negroes of the city, who early in the day retained a lawyer to bring immediate legal pressure to gain them voting privileges, tonight announced they would seek to have the election declared illegal in the courts.

J. H. Bayliss was reelected mayor by a majority of 1,705 votes over Lawrence Wilson. They were the only candidates on the ticket.

Mobile, Ala., Register

MAR 16 1928

DEMOCRATS PUT BAN ON NEGROES AT PENSACOLA

Naval Stores Men Discuss Advertising Campaign at Quarterly Gathering

WEST FLORIDA BUREAU
THE MOBILE REGISTER
Pensacola, Fla., March 15

At a meeting of the city Democratic executive committee today a resolution was passed defining those who may take part in the city primary to be held April 10. The resolution passed pointed out that only duly qualified white Democratic electors are declared to be and are held as members of the Democratic party in Pensacola, and are therefore entitled to vote in the primary election. This resolution was in accordance with the regular call for the primary which had been issued and the action is taken with a view to offset negro voters, it was claimed, when it was discovered that more than 1,000 negroes had registered as Democrats. This situation was pointed out and the committee was called together today to take action.

Washington, Ga., News-Reporter
Friday, March 23, 1928

Move To Qualify Negroes In Florida

Tallahassee, Fla., March 16.—Attempts are being made in at least one section of Florida, and possibly others, to register negroes for the coming democratic primary, reports to the attorney general's office today set out.

Attorney General Fred H. Davis received information that efforts were made to register about 600 negroes in Escanaba county, and Mr. Davis has advised William Fisher, county solicitor, at Pensacola, that negroes should not be allowed to register and vote in the democrattic primary election.

Although the United States supreme court has held that under a Texas law negroes may vote in democratic primaries, the Florida law on the subject, the attorney general says, is broad enough to exclude negroes.

Mr. Davis advised Mr. Fisher that the only way to handle the negro question in the primary is to file criminal information against members of the race when they apply for the oath, charging them with perjury.

"I have no doubt that an organized effort is being made in Florida to stir up trouble,' the attorney general added.

FLORIDA OFFICIAL DEFIES SUPREME COURT RULING

Attorney General of State Says Negroes Who Attempt to Vote Will Meet Criminal Action.

Tallahassee, Fla., March 28.—(By the Associated Negro Press.) Taking cognizance of reports that efforts were being made to register Negro voters for the forthcoming democratic primary, Attorney General Fred H. Davis issued an opinion holding that the Florida law [illegible] them from participating and that any action on their part should be met by criminal proceedings.

The attorney made his announcement after receiving information that registration of approximately 60 Negroes were being attempted in Escambia County (Pensacola). He advised the county solicitor there that Negroes should not be allowed to register and vote in Democratic primary elections, adding that while the U. S. Supreme Court held that under the law they have such a right, the Florida law on the subject is broad enough to exclude them.

Declaring that he has no doubt that an effort is being made in Florida to stir up trouble, the attorney added that the only way to handle the situation is to file perjury charges against those who apply for the oath.

Such practices as this in the South are what Southern senators, during this session of Congress, have contended do not exist, when Northern senators would bring such charges in support of reduced representation.

JOURNAL
JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

APR 21 1928

NEGROES TO ASK VOTING RIGHTS

Threaten to Call Out Militia; Republicans Hold County Convention.

Militia will be called out to see that negro voters may exercise their franchise in the November general elections, a meeting of the Duval county Republican executive committee gathered in the negro Masonic temple on Broad street, was told today by Judge H. L. Lindsay, Republican. Delegates were to be chosen to the state convention.

His assertion followed a question from Leon Anderson, negro, assistant secretary of the committee, as to how negroes could be expected to support the Republican ticket when, Anderson declared, negroes stood in line from opening to closing of the polls, four years ago, awaiting an opportunity to cast their votes.

At least one negro delegate will be on Florida's representation at the Republican national convention, it was stipulated in a report of the body's resolution committee.

Today's meeting was called by John R. Scott, negro chairman of the county Republican committee, to elect 11 delegates to the state Republican convention at Daytona Beach on May 10. These elections had not been held early this afternoon, the meeting being still in session.

After permanent organization had been perfected with Scott re-named chairman; S. D. McGill, negro attorney, vice-chairman; T. J. Bundrix, a United States deputy marshal as secretary, and Anderson as assistant secretary, various speakers were heard.

Billy Parker, editor of the Southern Republican, declared that negroes should vote. He said he had told the Believers in Jacksonville that if Florida should go Republican that the state would get publicity worth $10,000,000 from it. He predicted election of a Republican governor for Florida at this election and said that a Republican congressman and Republican United States senator might even be chosen.

Other speakers pointed out that Duval county negroes could marshal a 35,000 vote and should do so. The Jacksonville police department was brought into the discussions when one speaker said, "You all know what they're doing—what the city commission now is investigating. Let us register and vote and we can elect the commissioners and get a square deal."

Attendance of about 100 featured the meeting. About 15 were white persons, the remainder negroes.

The chairman warned, at the outset of the meeting, that nothing of a controversal nature would be admitted and Dr. C. V. Freeman, negro physician who had obtained the floor to talk declared he did have a grievance to submit but would abide by the rules. Other speakers urged more co-operation and less fighting against the organization from disgruntled persons.

Two Negroes Arrested When They Try To Vote

TALLAHASSEE, April 10.—(A.P.)—Two arrests were made here yesterday when hundreds of negroes attempted to cast ballots in a Democratic primary for a mayoralty candidate. The arrests were made in cases where the negroes insisted on voting. The police were assigned to guard the polls when it was reported violence might follow an attempt to prevent them from casting ballots. Two negroes even presented affidavits to prove their partisanship but were escorted from the polls by officers, along with several others.

NEGROES DENIED BALLOT SUE FLA. POLL OFFICIALS

$5000 Damages is Asked Against the Managers of Election For Barring Negro Voters

2000 REGISTERED BUT NONE ALLOWED TO VOTE

Qualified Credentials Fail to Give Citizens the Privilege That is Rightfully Theirs

PENSACOLA, Fla., April 25 (Special)—Florida's "white" primary law is to undergo an attack in the circuit court through a damage suit which is on the docket at Pensacola, the action having been instituted by Henry C. Goode, a voter who was denied the privilege of casting a ballot in the recent city primary when Mayor Bayliss was renominated by a large majority over his lone opponent.

Goode has filed suit for $5,000 damages against Paul [illegible] Thomas Johnson and Clifford Bell, managers of an election booth, wherein Goode says he was prohibited from voting at the recent election.

Goode, it was represented, went to the precinct voting place armed with qualifying credentials, but was refused a ballot. Fred Marsh, clerk of the United States Court and practicing attorney here, is representing Goode. More than 2,000 Negroes were registered. None was premitted to vote, it was said.

Jacksonville, Fla., Journal
Saturday, April 21, 1928

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Tallahassee, Fla., State
Friday, April 20, 1928

COLORED PEOPLE INDIGNANT OVER SOME FALSE NEWS

The following item recently appeared in several newspapers, and is copied from The Florida Sentinel, a negro publication in the city of Jacksonville:

Tallahassee, April 11.—Hundreds of Negroes here attempted to cast ballots in the Democratic primary election despite possibilities of violence. The election was to decide the candidate for mayor. Two even proved their partisanship by presenting affidavits but were escorted from the polls by officers. An extra force of policemen was assigned for that specific duty when it became known that Negroes were really determined to vote. Reports were circulated that arrests had been made but the charges, if any, have not been assertained.

Recently, the attorney general issued an opinion that Negroes who insisted on voting in the primary would be prosecuted for perjury. In view of this many came prepared to sign affidavits if challenged. It has been previously expressed that the fight for voice in local politics will continue to the Federal Supreme court if necessary. The primary law is being attacked by Negro voters in Virginia also.

There was not a scintilla of excuse for such a story. The colored people in Tallahassee are indignant, and have sent out the following emphatic denial:

Tallahassee, Fla., Apr. 16, 1928.

"Editor Daily Democrat:

"We have read in the colums of the newspapers that an article was published with large head lines, 'Negro Voters Led From Polls When Mayor Is Elected.' Where it states that hundreds of Negroes here attempted to cast their ballots in the Democratic primary election for mayor.

"Will state that this is an arrogant statement and is not fair to the citizens of Tallahassee, both white and black alike. We have made investigations and were reliably informed by the chief of police of our city that he had not heard of and was in no knowledge of any attempt on the part of the Colored citizens to vote in the Democratic primary election for mayor.

It is not fair to the citizens of Tallahassee, for such an article to appear in the newspapers casting a black spot on the city of Tallahassee where the best of relationship exists between both races.

"You will kindly publish this letter that all of Florida might see Tallahassee in its right light.

Signed:

JOHN NIMS, JR.
E. A. POTTSDAMER
Colored Citizens.

FLORIDA NEGROES BOLT REPUBLICANS

Gainesville, Fla., Aug. 18.—Adopting resolutions deploring the present status of the Republican party in Florida, 300 Negroes, representing 41 of the 61 counties of the state, met here today to align themselves against state candidates named by that party.

The resolutions, which denounced what was termed the "Lily White" faction of the party, were ordered sent to Dr. Hubert Work, chairman of the Republican national committee.

Declaring that in crucial times of the past, it had been the Negro who had kept the party intact in Florida, the delegates expressed their regret that the "Republican party of Florida has decided to make it an exclusively white party and deprive the representatives of 500,000 industrial, law abiding and God fearing colored voters of a representation in the party councils."

Political-19

Suffrage

Judge's Decision Upholds Primary Ruling In Florida

Pensacola, Fla.—(ANP)—The Democratic executive committee of Pensacola can bar Negroes from voting in city primary elections and not be liable for any action brought by Negroes denied the right to vote, Judge Thomas F. West ruled in Circuit Court here last Thursday.

The question was raised in a $5,000 damage suit filed by H. D. Goode against Thomas A. Johnson, Paul Riera and C. J. Bell, all white, after Mr. Goode was denied the right to vote in the primary election last April.

The suit will be appealed to the Supreme Court.

The fight among the Negro voters of Pensacola dates back many months to the time when colored political leaders who had organized a Republican club of voters decided to enter these voters in the Democratic primary. These leaders anticipated obstacles that would be placed in their path by white Democrats and disposed of them intelligently. Before the primary, there were several legal skirmishes, with the attorney general of the state ruling against the Negroes.

leaders of the movement here feel believe that the Negroes would be permitted to vote in the primary, so they instructed certain members who were to try to vote, to obtain affidavits from white precinct judges, sustaining their denial of the vote. These affidavits were to be made the part of later suits, such as Mr. Goode has just filed. The decision of Judge West is not a disappointment as the leadres of the movement here feel that it will be necessary to carry the case to the United States Supreme Court, and are prepared to do so.

FLORIDA COURT UPHOLDS NEGRO PRIMARY BAR

Disfranchised Complainants Will Appeal Case To Supreme Court

By the Associated Negro Press

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PRESS

Ft. Myers, Fla

SEP 24 1928

A WHITE PRIMARY

Always, the Fort Myers Press has stood for a white city primary. Year after year its editor has advocated in these columns and personally the advisability of the organization of a white primary before the city election, for a thorough discussion of candidates, and a decision regarding nominations.

Had these suggestions been followed year after year, and especially during the past troublous twelve months, this present difficulty would not be menacing us.

The situation in which this city finds itself at the present time is in no way the fault of our negro population, a population for which the Fort Myers Press has only the most kindly feelings, a population which it has always assisted and protected. The situation has been brought about by white citizens who have so forgotten their duty to themselves, to their city, and to the negro residents of their city, that they have attempted to use them for their own selfish political purposes.

It is possible to end this thing if steps are taken at once. It is possible to erase from the minds of these negroes who have been corrupted the misleading impressions that have deliberately been imprinted there. It is possible to help them to step back into their natural places and to keey themselves free from the "white folks scrimmages."

In fact, it is possible to cast the present errors and their results into oblivion, and as honorable men and women take a fresh start and from now on refrain from all civic transgressions, keep ourselves free from all contaminating influences, and especially from besmirching and degrading those in our midst who, because of social differences, should be our especial care, and are entitled to our protection and our help, that they may not fall into evil ways.

This is a good time to make fervent use of that well known petition, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil."

The Fort Myers Press is, here and now again suggesting a white primary before the next municipal election, and by this means we may destroy the spectre that is stalking amongst us.

Fort Myers Fla Press

Sept 24-1928

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FLORIDA PRIMARY DISPUTE TO THE U. S. SUPREME COURT

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., Sept. 19— Case involving the right of colored people to vote in the primaries of the State of Florida will be carried to the United States Supreme court if necessary, according to those backing the fight in this case.

Judge Thomas F. West, in Circuit Court in Pensacola, ruled that colored people cannot vote in a Democratic primary election in Pensacola as long as the city Democratic executive committee limits balloting to Caucasians.

H. D. Goode, who was denied the voting right, brought suit for $5,000 damages, through his attorney, Fred W. Marsh, who announced that appeal from the judge's ruling would be made to the Supreme court.

PRESS

Ft. Myers Fla

Sep 25 1928

NEGROES WILL BE ASKED TO AVOID POLLS NEXT WEEK

Political Opponents Sign Agreement As To Colored Vote

The request of Commissioner Cutter that all members of the city commission ,and the heads of the Progress club and the Business Men's league join in a request to the colored voters of the city to keep away from the polls on next Tuesday at the recall election, and that all parties to the election agree not to endeavor to get the colored voters to the polls or to have them vote has been finally agreed to by all parties except Commissioner Bartleson, who is out of the city. The agreement was signed last Saturday by Commissioners Bolick and Hough, and President R. L. Newman Sr., of the Progress club, and this morning was signed by Commissioner C. L. Starnes, and by President A. L. White of the Business Men's league and by Harry H. Burns campaign chairman of that organization and R. Q. Richards campaign manager of the Progress club.

Commissioner Bartleson will be asked to sign it as soon as he gets back to the city, so that no one will be out of the plan.

Suffrage

EVERY EVENING
WILMINGTON, DEL.

JUL 11 1928

THE NEGRO VOTER BECOMING RESTLESS.

A new element of uncertainty has begun to show itself in this year's presidential campaign that evidently was not anticipated in advance of the national conventions. Many thinking Negroes are expressing disgust over the outcome of the Republican convention at Kansas City. It is possible that if the platform adopted at that convention had not specifically mentioned the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution for its special attention the Negro's ire might not have been aroused to the extent it has been. In the light of what happened, however, it is difficult for many of the colored voters, who feel that they have been denied some of their rights, to understand why the Eighteenth Amendment was specified and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, in which they are especially interested, were not mentioned also.

The platform, it is true, did affirm Washington's doctrine, that "the Constitution * * * * is sacredly obligatory upon us all;" also Lincoln's declaration that "we are both duty and inclination bound to stick by that Constitution in all its letter and spirit from beginning to end." But here is the only direct reference made in the platform to any of the amendments:

> "The people through the method provided by the Constitution have written the Eighteenth Amendment into the Constitution. The Republican party pledges itself and its nominees to the observance and vigorous enforcement of this provision of the Constitution."

Why single out this particular amendment and ignore all of the others—except by implication? The obvious purpose was to pacify the "drys." At the moment the latter were making more noise than the colored people. Here is the plank that was handed out to the Negro:

> "We renew our recommendation that the Congress enact at the earliest possible date a Federal anti-lynching law so that the full influence of the Federal government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime."

It is not strange, therefore, that some of the leaders of the colored race are advising their people to exert their independence as voters and support not parties, but the men who can be counted upon to give them a square deal. Such a movement has begun to assume form all over the country. It is alive in Wilmington and shows evidence of growing. Doubtless its influence will be felt more and more as the campaign progresses. The Negro, evidently, is tired of meaningless promises. What he wants is action.

TIMES
CUMBERLAND, MD.

JUL 23 1928

SOUTHERN NEGRO'S OPPORTUNITY

The significant story is told of a Mississippi negro who, after passing the literary test for voting, was asked by the examiners: "What does eeny meeny miny mo mean?" Promptly the answer came: "It means that you gentlemen don't want to let me register." This is an interesting reminder that since the methods of greatly cutting down the negro vote were invented a new generation of negroes has come upon the scene, vast numbers of whom are sufficiently educated to pass the literary ballot-test. As long as the whites remain united at well as determined, presumably the status quo can be maintained. But let the whites be divided into two bitterly opposed parties, each seeing need of the negro's help, such help can be readily secured under the existing legal provisions, and the negro's opportunity to become the balance of political power in the South will have arrived. For South Carolina and Mississippi contain more negroes than whites, and some of the other Southern States, such as Georgia, contain nearly as many.

If the Bishop Cannon (dry) defection is really determined on successful revolt, opportunity is within its reach. But what it will have to consider is whether it values the supposed interests of prohibition above the long recognized need of white political supremacy in the South—whether, in order to gain its immediate ends, it is willing to put the negroes in the road toward the balance of political power in the Southern States. From the Southern point of view the question confronting the Cannon element is one of supreme gravity.

DEMOCRAT

Warrenton - Va

JUL 27 1928

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NEW YORK JOURNAL OF COMMERCE
JUN 22 1928

DISQUALIFIED TO VOTE.

As has been pointed out in these columns, the personalities of the candidates, the wet issue and the large campaign funds of 1928 are expected to produce the largest vote for President ever known in America. Nearly 27,000,000 voted in 1920 and nearly 29,100,000 voted in 1924. Well over the 30,000,000 mark is expected in this election by SIMON MICHELET, the best-known statistician of these subjects.

The number of disqualified citizens in the United States is very large, especially in the South, where various laws are designed to keep negroes from the polls and thus preserve the State Governments and Federal representation to the whites. In addition to these artificially disqualified citizens, there are many unnaturalized immigrants in America who cannot vote in 1928. The latest statistics on these two groups were collected by Mr. MICHELET on the basis of the 1920 census, so that there must now be many changes in the totals. But a glance at the figures is illuminating in several ways: for one thing it shows why, so long as Republicans urge the negroes to vote, the South will generally continue to vote Democratic.

Here was the situation in the Southern group prior to the elections of 1924:

State.	Eligible Voters.	*Disqualified Illiterates.	†Disqualified for All Reasons.
Arkansas	867,292	99,413	105,010
Louisiana	924,184	229,980	256,012

Texas	2,430,715	233,894	428,491
Tennessee	1,214,947	153,163	159,774
Alabama	1,143,395	228,565	236,167
Mississippi	876,106	182,135	185,834
Virginia	1,207,074	162,376	176,170
North Carolina	1,210,727	204,492	207,745
South Carolina	779,991	179,482	182,361
Georgia	1,421,606	261,294	267,833
Florida	536,614	58,497	80,758

*Nearly all negroes.
†Including unnaturalized.

In the border States, where no anti-negro voting laws prevail, the marked difference in the situation is shown in the following table:

State.	Eligible Voters.	Disqualified for All Reasons.
Oklahoma	1,021,588	64,812
Kentucky	1,289,496	147,230
Maryland	862,391	43,860
West Virginia	752,344	41,324
Missouri	2,038,814	69,103

The astonishing difference in the percentages of disqualification between these States and the States of the Solid South is readily apparent, the discrepancy in Kentucky being due to large groups of foreign workmen in the mines, strict registration laws and the municipal poll-tax requirement.

Among the States where the native-born population is high, where the colored population is small and non-restricted, the percentage of the disqualified is even less, as witness:

State.	Eligible Voters.	Disqualified for All Reasons.
Maine	475,191	53,850
Vermont	217,042	18,407
Iowa	1,428,682	61,208
Nebraska	738,310	51,116
Washington	857,079	96,518
Oregon	494,968	39,327
Colorado	564,529	42,699

There are many more in this classification: New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, the Dakotas, Kansas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah and Nevada. These States, with those in similar case named above, are the ones where an increased popular vote is likely to affect the national result. For in the Southern group (owing to the disqualified Republican negroes) an increased turnout will necessarily be Democratic; and in States like New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Minnesota it will be the pressure of both pa[illegible] organizations—the turn of the election in these States depending upon the extent to which the voters change their party allegiance and not upon increases in totals.

An Indifferent Electorate.

Statistics showing the percentages of enfranchised citizens of the United States who actually exercise their voting privilege reveal an alarming increase in the numbers of nonvoters even in Presidential years when interest in political issues would naturally be greatest. Since 1880, in fact, votes cast have constituted a steadily declining estimated percentage of the total number of possible votes, falling from 84 per cent in 1880 to 49.3 per cent in the election of 1920, with a slight rise to 51.2 per cent in 1924. It seems probable, therefore, that even if the present campaign should arouse a degree of interest that will counteract the disposition of some disgruntled regular voters to stay away from the polls, not much more than half the persons entitled to vote will do so.

When the voting disposition of the country is examined by districts, the situation seems in some respects to be a deal worse than the average for the whole United States indicates. While in the last Presidential election the Northern and Western States attained a voting efficiency of roughly 60 per cent, the Southern States with few exceptions had voting percentages far below 50 per cent. South Carolina carries off the honors with slightly over 6 per cent of the estimated eligible voters actually voting. Georgia is a distant second, with a percentage of 11.3 per cent. It is clear that in the case of the Southern States voting statistics are misleading as a test of the voter's indifference, since the laws of these States have resulted in the exclusion of thousands of negro voters and some whites. The result is that the percentages have to be computed without making due allowance for unknown numbers of the disqualified.

Thus the progressive disfranchisement of the negro voter has been one of the outstanding reasons for an increase in the number of nonvoters, while the enfranchisement of women who have been slow to avail themselves of their recently acquired rights is a still more potent cause of the recent sharp decline in voting efficiency. Believers in democracy and oversanguine feminists may feel discouraged by the poor showing made in the last two Presidential years, but we need not jump hastily to the conclusion that public interest in political questions has waned to anything approximating the extent that statistics would indicate. Residence requirements have greatly cut down the percentage of voters, especially in our large cities, literacy tests have made further inroads, while it was not to be expected that suddenly enfranchised women would immediately equal the voting record of the long-enfranchised male.

It must, nevertheless, be admitted that the returns show that in many of our States the votes cast represent a dangerously small proportion of the adult population. Wherever this is the case the chances for machine domination by an unrepresentative group of politicians are much better than average. For that reason alone, every effort should be made to "get out the vote," whether or not it has any effect upon candidates or policies in any given year or particular contest.

TWO CATS IN A BAG

THE NEGRO VOTE in this Presidential campaign is one of the most complicated problems that party managers have ever had to deal with. In Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and New York the Negro vote is large enough to turn the tide in a close election. Both parties, therefore, are actively fishing for it, and both parties are embarrassed in their fishing.

THE DEMOCRATS are making the most of the fact that the Republican party has not made an aggressive stand for the Negro's rights. They argue also that since the Democratic candidate for the Presidency is a Northerner he is more likely to give the Negroes their due than a Western Republican. But here comes the dilemma. If the Democrats make any specific pledges to the Negro they will alienate the Solid South, their surest stronghold. But if they do not make such pledges or give the Negro some assurance as to his rights, they will forfeit the Negro vote and perhaps the election. In short, they are trying to keep a cat quiet while they pull hairs out of its tail.

THE REPUBLICANS are trying to do the same thing. They are attempting to hold the Negro vote while making a bid for the Southern vote. They ought to know by this time that these two cats cannot be kept in one bag. In fact, the present Lily White policy of the Republicans has done more to alienate the Negro voter than the Republican party's consistent dodging of the disfranchisement question.

FOR TWENTY YEARS Republican leaders have been chasing a pipe dream—the breaking of the Solid South. They imagine they have a good chance to do it this year because many Southerners do not like Governor Smith. But when election day comes that dislike of Smith will amount to exactly nothing. The South never cared for Cleveland, or Bryan, or Parker, or Hancock, or any other Northern Democrat, but on election day it always turned out in full force to vote for them. And for all the talk of wetness and Tammany Hall and Popish government, the South will vote for Smith this year. The Republican party had better face this fact. It had better abandon the Southern pipe dream, return to its original principles and make sure of the Negro vote.

Suffrage

General.

NEWS
CHICAGO, ILL.

JAN 27 1928

From the Negro's Point of View

BY CHANDLER OWEN.

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.

Politically the Negro has fallen from high estate. He now seeks to regain his lost paradise. Time was when he had twenty congressmen and two United States senators. With the opening of the congressional campaign in Chicago to secure once more a representative from the colored group it is timely to set forth a brief statement of the Negro's former political importance.

Of the twenty colored men who were in the house of representatives one, Charles E. Nash, came from Louisiana; another, Jefferson F. Long, hailed from Georgia; a third, John R. Lynch, was selected from Mississippi. South Carolina led with eight, namely, Robert C. De Large, Joseph H. Rainey, Robert Brown Elliott, Robert Smalls, George W. Murray, Thomas E. Miller, Alonzo G. Ransier and Richard H. Cain. North Carolina sent to congress four Negro representatives, Henry P. Cheatham, James O'Hara, George H. White and John A. Hyman, the latter hailing from Warren county, Warrenton, N. C., the native home of this writer. George H. White of North Carolina was the last Negro to sit in congress, his second term ending in 1901. While the Negro has almost no political power in Alabama today, he once had three members in the house of representatives, Benjamin S. Turner, James T. Rapier and Jere Haralson. Virginia had a very distinguished representative in the person of John M. Langston, whose grandson, C. N. Langston, an Oberlin college graduate, at 21 is now cashier and a director of the Binga State bank of Chicago. Even though a few years ago over a hundred Negroes were killed while trying to vote in Florida, that state once had an able representative in Josiah T. Walls, who was elected four consecutive terms and served from 1871 to 1879.

In the Negro's aspiration to regain a place in congress it will probably be forgotten that he is still trailing his once brilliant political record, for he once had two members in the United States senate—Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, both of Mississippi. Today you would more readily expect to hear of a United States senator from Illinois, Ohio, Michigan or New York, but times change.

The disfranchised Negroes of Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina are steadily trekking to the northern and western industrial states—leaving disfranchised territory and arriving in the land of political opportunity.

It should probably be remarked that although most of these Negro congressmen held office following the throes of civil war, when hysteria was high and passions were hectic, there is not record of their vindictiveness to be found in history. On the contrary, they were poised and dispassionate, sympathetic and kindly. Bearing the spirit of Lincoln, so beautifully expressed by the emancipator in his inaugural address, "With malice toward none, with charity toward all," they sought to heal up the wounds of the civil war, to legislate as statesmen for the best interests of America, almost intuitively grasping the fine truth that what is best for America is also best for the man of color.

In the Negro's new endeavor again to attain his high political estate let us put forth a serious effort to give him modern political education, to have him shun machine politics and boss rule and exercise that political independence which is today elevating, quickening and enriching the lives of all peoples who discern the new day.

NEW YORK TIMES

JAN 9 1928

URGES FIGHT FOR BALLOT.

Representative Tinkham Tells Negro Audience Here to Demand Rights.

The disfranchisement of the negro is a fraud perpetrated not only on the colored race, but upon the whole country, Representative George Holden Tinkham of Massachusetts told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at its eighteenth annual meeting yesterday in the Mother A. M. E. Zion Church, 151 West 137th Street. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the association's organ, The Crisis, spoke on the same subject.

"You are as much citizens of the United State as the most conspicuous, who must obey its laws, pay its taxes and be drafted in time of war," Representative Tinkham said. "You cannot without a nullification of the Constitution, a colossal wrong and a grievous injustice, be lawlessly deprived of your constitutional rights and equal justice.

"The disfranchisement of the negro in the South is notorious, and frankly and publicly admitted. By this disfranchisement and the nullification of the mandatory Fourteenth Amendment, which requires reduction of representation in proportion to disfranchisement, the great Northern and Western States are deprived of their proportionate, just and legal representation. Shall fraudulent majorities in Southern States elect the President and control the Congress in violation of the Constitution and its just provisions?

"It was long ago evident that the United States had abandoned the negro politically to his fate. Let the negro turn to himself, develop his power, and be master of his own fortunes. Let him demand of the Republican Party, in whom lies his only hope, first, that the Republican Party pass the resolution for the investigation of disfranchisement and the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, and second, that at the next Republican Presidential convention a plank be inserted for the enforcement of the Fifteenth or Fourteenth Amendment. If the Republican Party does not grant the demands, let him as a unit vote against that party.

"Let the negro say to the world that he wants no part in the shame of having the United States pose before the world as dictator of international morality and sponsor of international ethics, with her President and national representatives elected in flagrant and defiant violation of her Constitution—monstrous national hypocrisy."

Mr. Du Bois quoted figures to show that while population in the South had increased greatly and women had been theoreticallly enfranchised, actual voting had either remained stationary or decreased in the last fifty years.

"For instance," he said, "Mississippi increased in population from 606,526 in 1850 to 1,730,618 in 1920. Yet her Presidential vote was 129,463 in 1872 and 112,463 in 1924. It can be proved statistically that every time a colored man is kept from voting a white man refrains from voting. Disfranchisement, therefore, in the South is not merely a negro problem; it is a problem of democratic government, and it affects the whole United States."

Miss Mary White Ovington, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the association, presided.

VIRGINIAN-PILOT
NORFOLK, VA.

JAN 24 1928

Negro Voters Declared Amply Protected

Asserting that the negro voters had been amply protected by the Fifteenth Amendment and that the courts would override any laws, violative of that and other sections of the fundamental law of the land, the Virginian said the "difficult problem confronting us must be settled justly and fairly, and for the higher good of all concerned."

"We realize," he said in conclusion," we can not settle it in prejudices, malice or ill-will without the results being prejudicial to us and the others involved. We recognize the necessity for dealing fairly and justly with all classes and races in our section.

"We have enacted laws providing for qualifications and requirements for voting which we deem necessary to protect ourselves from a class of voters whose introduction into politics has been most ruinous, not only to ourselves but to themselves and the entire country. We have gone no further than was necessary to protect the South from having a repetition of the infamies, social and political, which cursed our section in the dark and dismal days of reconstruction. Our suffrage provisions are similar to those contained in many other States which are enforced and declared legal and constitutional and if they are not, they will be invalidated by the Supreme Court of the United States and there is no necessity for continued agitation of this question and the repeated efforts to discourage and humiliate the South.

"The South is possessed of equal rights and equal responsibilities. It will fearlessly assert its rights and will patriotically discharge its responsibilities.

"I believe the narrow, partisan talk indulged in by some to arouse prejudice against the South now falls on deaf and unsympathetic ears. The partition wall between the North and the South, which once existed, has been battered down by the patriotic heart throbs of more than 120,000,000 people who are now one, loving one

(Con

and one country. The flag once cut now floats without a seam.

"Why seek unjustly and illegally to lessen Southern power? The hour may come in the storm and stress when one of the best defenders of our great national interest will be the conservative and patriotic forces of the South. Sirs, made brave by burdens borne and overcome; made patient by long suffering, chastened by great misfortune, made self-reliant by conquering difficulties and distress as great as ever afflicted a people; cherishing to a passion the high ideals inherited from her matchless Washington and her majestic Lee; thrilled by the possibilities of an industrial development and wealth almost unspeakable created by her own skill and effort, the South presents a combination of strength and of sentiment destined to make her once again a wise leader of national thought and national achievement."

VOTING IN THE SOUTH.

A few nights ago in a New York city assembly charts were shown to demonstrate how small a proportion of the adults of the national citizenship qualify and vote in our most vital elections.

There have been elections in which the president, vice president, a third of the senate and all of the house of representatives were to be chosen and in which less than half of the possible voters went to the polls and [illegible] per cent of them returned a great majority for the presidential electors of one of the major parties.

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
1-15-28.

The showing that was made of how small a percentage of adults vote in the southern states was amazing to those who do not understand the character of our populations and the qualifications required of voters, or the prevailing fact that there are few districts in the southern states where two-party politics is active. The consequence is that those uninformed people readily credit the charge that the southern people nullify the federal suffrage amendments of the constitution and intimidate millions of negro voters from going to the polls.

The obtrusive fact was shown, for instance, that in Georgia over 500,000 colored adults are "disfranchised" and over 700,000 white adults are not accounted for in any of our election returns. But our

kind northern critics do not speak of them as "disfranchised," but simply as indifferent slackers.

In the face of those facts all of our "white supremacy" justifications lose their appealing force. We appear to be people who take little to heart our obligations as electors, charged with the conduct of our public affairs and the personnel of our administrators. And few of our best leaders do not seem to sense how much of moral and civic influence we southern people lose by our indifference to our electoral privileges and duties.

It is probably too late to stir up the lazy patriotism of the present-day generation, but there is a high and strong appeal to our educators to bring forth the next generation fully instructed in and devoted to its civic obligations.

BIDS NEGROES FIGHT FOR BALLOT RIGHTS

Representative Tinkham Calls Disfranchisement in South a Fraud on Country.

URGES CONCERTED ACTION

Tells Audience Here to Vote Against Republican Party if Help is Not Given.

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South Intends To Abide By Voting Laws

Swanson, Of Vir[illegible] Says Section L[illegible] gards Threats

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23.—(AP)—Notification given in the Senate today by the two Virginia senators that the South intended to stick by its voting laws "despite threats of universal negro suffrage" stirred up a three-hour row which took in prohibition and presidential politics as well.

Senator Bruce, Democrat, Maryland, suggested in the course of a lengthy address by Senator Swanson, Democrta, Virginia, who was defending voting laws of Southern states, that the South sanctions "the same escape from the tyrannical oppression of the Eighteenth Amendment that it has from the Fifteenth Amendment."

Tired of Threats

Shouting at the top of his voice, Senator Glass, Democrat, Virginia, was quickly on his feet with the declaration that he was "tired of senators threatening the South" and he told the Maryland senator to "go ahead and get a drink if there is any way under the Eighteenth Amendment he can do it, but don't try to constrain or restrain Virginia from enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment."

Another ardent dry, Senator Borah, Republican, Idaho, rushed into the fight and inquired of Senator Bruce if he was urging nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment, which the Maryland senator denied.

Discussing the action of Southern states in requiring strict educational tests of voters which in turn had disqualified many negroes as voters, Bruce insisted the South had "circumvented" the Fifteenth Amendment in this manner. This was denied by Senator Borah, who said a close inspection of the voting laws of Southern states showed no violation of the constitution.

Finally, Senator Bruce called for more liberal treatment of the negroes by the South and for "more tolerance particularly in regard to social views and sectarian freedom." He then expressed the hope that at the next Democratic national convention the "sectarian prejudices shall not be as deep as they appear."

Again Senator Glass rushed into the melee and demanded to know if Senator Bruce thought a Southern man could be nominated for president. The Marylander replied in the affirmative but Glass retorted that "your grand children won't see that day."

Argument Heated

The debate between the fiery Virginian and the more reserved Marylander became so heated at one time that the presiding officer could not be heard when rapping for order and Senator Heflin, of Alabama, recent storm center in the party ranks, provoked considerable laughter by suggesting that "we have peace and harmony."

With a smile, Senator Bruce replied the "suggestion for peace and harmony comes from a very dubious source."

At one point Bruce took offense at "the furious attacks on me by the Virginia senator every time I mention the Volstead act." In this connection he called attention that Senator Glass was a total abstainer from liquor, and added: "He has denied himself a very rich measure of legitimate enjoyment."

After concluding a lengthy prepared address, asserting the right of the South's position on negro suffrage, Senator Swanson again entered the free for all debate with the statement that "he resented inferences that the South was intolerant to the negroes." Senator Borah again took the side of the Southerners and declared he thought the South more liberal along economic and industrial lines than is the North.

SENTINEL
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

MAR 20 1928

A Troublesome Issue

The issue of the south's disfranchisement of colored voters, says a Washington dispatch, is due for a further airing in congress.

The prospect of more pitiless publicity with regard to the nullification of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments no doubt is painful to democratic senators and congressmen. They would much rather talk about Illinois and Pennsylvania scandals than to throw the searchlight of debate on conditions nearer home.

But a further airing of this ancient abuse is inevitable, in connection with the reapportionment bill.

The house census committee realizes that something must be done about reapportionment, and when congress begins to scrutinize the political map and the size of electoral districts, it will necessarily have something to say as to the amazingly large balance of power now being wielded by the south.

It is inevitable in any reapportionment scheme that a number of congressmen will lose their seats. These prospective victims of the necessary revision naturally are not kindly disposed toward southern members who keep their seats chiefly by wholesale disfranchisement and nullification of the constitution.

Statistics are being gathered to show the undue preponderance of southern representation, measured by the number of actual votes cast.

According to the 1920 census, the average population per representative is about 240,000. The number of votes cast in typical northern districts ranges from 33,000 to 171,000. In southern districts, the vote is only from 5,000 to 8,000. In the last presidential election, it has been computed, the number of votes cast averaged 7,250 per representative in South Carolina, as against 91,483 in Illinois.

By reason of negro disfranchisement, some 7,000 southern voters are exercising as much political power as 90,000 northern voters. No wonder the south is making a tremendous noise about Illinois and Pennsylvania by way of diverting attention from its own assumption of an undue share of representations. This anomaly is bound to cause further debate and demand for equalization, in spite of Senator Glass' impassioned plea to congress to leave the south alone.

Political - 1928

Suffrage.

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.

Gazette

MAY 8 1928

THOSE WHO DO NOT VOTE

An eastern newspaper reader writes his paper a letter maintaining that a far higher percentage of qualified voters go to the polls in the United States than is commonly supposed. He points out that whereas 57,000,000 citizens are theoretically entitled to vote in national elections, many of these are, for all practical purposes, disfranchised. He says there are nearly 12,000,000 negroes who do not have the vote; estimates that 8,000,000 other citizens lose their votes because they are "floaters" or transients and accordingly do not have settled residences; and holds that probably 10 per cent of the 57,000,000 are kept away from the polls on election day by illness, accidents or sudden contingencies they cannot control.

Viewed in this light, national election figures are more encouraging. Of course, the man's figures may be open to criticism. But he at least presents a new angle from which to view the situation.

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

MAY 1 1928

SOUTHERN REPRESENTATION.

In instructing a grand jury which might be called on to investigate events surrounding the recent Illinois primary election, Federal Judge Wilkerson brought to the jury's attention section 19 of the federal code, which makes it an offense for two or more persons to conspire to injure, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise of any right or privilege guaranteed him by the constitution or laws of the United States.

Remarking upon Judge Wilkerson's charge to the jury, Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts inquired why federal judges in the south had not invoked this same section of the federal code in order to insure Negroes their franchise rights.

Representative Tinkham has pending a resolution for an investigation by the census committee of disfranchisement of Negroes in southern states. He has little hope, he says, of getting his resolution to a vote. But he promises to keep on and, failing to get action on his resolution, will attempt to reach the question when the reapportionment bill comes up by demanding amendments to cut southern representation in accordance with the constitution.

It is the attitude of the people in most states where the right to vote is not abridged by laws technically within the constitution, but actually affecting only the Negro, that the southern states have their own peculiar problem, and a serious one, and should be permitted to work it out in their own way.

The south has reiterated its defense that its discriminatory laws are within the letter, though admittedly without the spirit, of the constitution. The Supreme court decisions have been most complaisant to the southern contention, and there the matter rests, so far as political rights are concerned.

But there it ought not to rest; the north has a right to insist, in so far as it affects the representation of the south at Washington, where laws are made with the assistance of southern congressmen for the nation as a whole.

Section 2 of the fourteenth amendment declares in substance that the representation of any state denying the vote to a certain proportion of its otherwise qualified electorate shall be reduced in that same proportion.

The fourteen southern states now have 129 representatives in congress. Were the fourteenth amendment enforced and their representation reduced in the same ratio that the franchise right is abridged, they would be entitled to only 65 representatives.

The right of the southern states to an unconstitutional representation is one that does affect the other states. Let the south, if it has to, settle its own internal problems of race as it will by force of laws governing only its own people. But concerning the representation of the south in the settlement of national questions the states where the vote is not abridged on account of race have an interest and, now aroused, have a right to raise the point and ask the south's intentions.

General.

2,000,000 OF DIXIE WHITES FAIL TO VOTE

Du Bois Explains Disfranchisement In N. A. A. C. P. Keynote Address

19TH ANNUAL SESSION OPENS IN LOS ANGELES

White South Barring Negroes From Polls Cheats Itself Of Ballot

LOS ANGELES. — Disfranchisement of the Negro in Southern States has brot about such distortion of political power in the United States that a small oligarchy in the South is the dictator of the Nation, declared Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in the keynote address June 27, which opened the 19th Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dr. Du Bois pointed out that the barring of Negro citizens from the polls in southern cities had transferred political power into the hands of a small group of whites, as many as from 80 to 90 per cent of voters in far southern states refraining from voting in the election of 1920. Among the states where this abstention from use of the ballot was most pronounced Dr. DuBois cited the following states and their percentage of non-voters:

STATE	NON-VOTERS
South Carolina	92 per cent
Mississippi	91 per cent
Georgia	89 per cent
Louisiana	86 per cent
Texas	82 per cent
Arkansas	79 per cent
Alabama	79 per cent
Florida	72 per cent

Political Distortion

The consequence in political distortion, continued Dr. Du Bois, was that whereas it took 85,759 votes to elect a Representative in Congress from California and 91,785, from Ohio, citizens in southern states enjoyed in some cases ten times as much political power as citizens in the North, as follows:

SOUTH

State	Vote Per Rep.
South Carolina	9,449
Mississippi	10,312
Georgia	12,394
Louisiana	15,733
Texas	22,97
Virginia	23,10
Alabama	24,10

NORTH

State	Vote Per Rep
Indiana	97,106
New York	67,336
Kansas	71,278
New Jersey	75,333
Illinois	77,425

White Disfranchised

"It accomplishes this not simply by disfranchising Negroes. The population in Southern states has doubled and by reason of woman suffrage the voting population ought to have quadrupled; but actually, as a matter of fact, the voting population has increased less than 50 per cent showing that not only have two million Negroes been disfranchised but more than two million whites."

Dr. Du Bois quoted from an address of Henry W. Anderson, a white politician of Virginia, who asserted that in Southern States the qualification to vote is so limited that governors and other state officers are "sometimes elected by less than ten per cent of the population of voting age."

Presidential Electors

"At the event of a presidential election," continued Dr. Du Bois, "singular compilations are made. The Democrats can start out assuming the votes of 11 southern states with, at present, 124 of the 531 electoral votes. They need to fight therefore for only 142 electoral votes. They need to fight therefore for only 142 electoral votes to have the majority of the electoral college. On the other hand the Republicans must leave out of account 142 electoral votes at the start and of the other 407 electoral votes they can afford to lose only 141.

"But if this is the plight of the Republicans, what can be said of any Third Party? It simply has no chance at all.

Controversy

"As sure as fate some day there is coming in the United States a political controversy with social and economic roots which is going to open suddenly the question as to why the South has three times the political power of the West and why New England, with its disfranchised foreign workers, has more political voice than the West. The protest is not coming simply from Northerners or 'friends' of the Negro. It is even coming from the South itself.

Who Shall Rule

"This is no mere question of parish or section or race. It is a vast and pressing problem of democracy and civilization. We must decide, and decide soon, what persons, what public opinion in the United States shall rule. Shall it be the public opinion of a small select group of persons of Nordic descent? Shall it be the public opinion of the rich controllers of capital? Shall it be the public opinion of college graduates? Shall it be the public opinion of all adult Americans except Negroes, Asiatics and Latins? Or shall we try to make it the public opinion of all intelligent adults?

Whatever public opinion rules in the United States, it must rule freely and clearly without a system of rotten boroughs and without discrimination and cheating. The clearing up and settling of this great question is the vastest problem that faces America today and we must begin its solution now."

N. Y. EVE. WORLD
JUL 7 1928

BISHOP WALLS SEES DIVIDED NEGRO VOTE

Neither Party Will Control It Decalres A. M. E. Prelate

The Negro will divide his vote in the election for President, Bishop W. J. Walls of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, and a resident of Charlotte, N. C., predicts. Bishop Walls, who presides over the New England Conference, is chaplain of the National Negro Business League.

"The Negro has a great incentive to divide his vote in November," Bishop Walls said. "The wisdom of doing so has been vindicated in Chicago and other large Northern cities. In Chicago, where both Republicans and Democrats have nominated a Negro for the House of Representatives, it is practically certain a black man will go to Congress from the North for the first time."

DES MOINES

IOWA

JUL 1 0 1928

The Solid South?

BY MARK SULLIVAN.

(Copyright, 1928.)

Washington, July 9.—In the south are two opposed movements. One proceeds from political leadership. This with few exceptions is trying to hold the southern voters to Smith. The effort is strenuous. The Charleston (South Carolina) News and Courier pleads with the dry democrats of that state in an argument which runs roughly thus:

"If the South Carolina drys go out of the democratic party, the voters left in the party will be the wets. The wets may thereupon take control of the state organization, may try to make it a wet party, and may start a movement to repeal the local South Carolina dry regime which has been in effect since 1895."

The Negro Vote.

The News and Courier holds an additional threatened possibility up to the dry democrats of the state. It says that if there should be rival wet and dry democratic voters in the south, literate and property owning Negroes would be solicited to join both. Visualizing that condition, the News and Courier says:

"Let prohibitionists ask themselves whether Negro voters, for the most part, would be wet or dry." The News and Courier concludes its plea for local democratic regularity in the south thus:

"Democratic prohibitionists have everything to lose, and nothing to gain, by voting against Smith. So doing, they would blow up the fort in which they are now intrenched and surrender the site and the remaining foundations of it to their wet opponents. Only those who are fanatical wets would be delighted."

Many for Hoover.

To this kind of plea from democratic leaders and democratic newspapers, the answer of those southern democrats who disagree is that they have no intention of leaving the democratic party—they merely intend to vote against Smith and for Hoover in this election.

It is quite clear whenever one leaves the area of formal democratic leadership in the south and enters the area of more spontaneous expressions of sentiment that one finds a strong disposition to vote against Smith. The Manufacturers Record, for example, is in a sense the official organ of southern business in the whole area from Maryland to Texas. It is to the south what the Journal of Commerce and Wall Street Journal combined are to the business circles of New York. In its current issue, dated July 5, the Manufacturers Record says:

"The boast is openly made that control of the democratic party has been wrested from the south and is now concentrated in the city of New York and under Tammany auspices. If ever there was a time in the history of America when patriotic men and women were called to make a new declaration of independence, it is now.

Unwilling to Sell Soul.

"Some of our democratic friends have freely said that they 'would vote for the devil if nominated by the democratic party,' and doubtless some republicans feel the same way with respect to their party. Such men put party alliance before patriotism; party before country. It is time for these men and women, if they are patriots at heart, lovers of humanity and their country, to cast aside this kind of political affiliation and act upon their convictions. We can't believe the south is willing to sell its soul. To say that the decent, lawabiding, God-fearing, conscientious, upstanding, self-respecting men and women of the south chose such a man as their candidate for president is an insult to these men and women. He was foisted upon them by opportunist politicians, dazed by the misleading argument, 'We can win with Smith.'

"This suggestion that southern democratic leaders were misled, or in a few cases that they played false, runs through many of the outbursts of popular thought in the south. They insist that at the convention the south was fooled' or 'double crossed.' When told that Smith at least has right to make the declaration he did, they reply that if Smith did not fool them, Tammany did, and that somewhere in the management of the convention the pea was slipped under the other shell with a movement too quick for the southern dry voter to see.

Spoke for Many Women.

"There can be no doubt that Mrs. Shaver of West Virginia, wife of the democratic national chairman, spoke for many southern democratic voters, especially women voters, when she said:

"'We do not believe more than a few of the millions of the democratic women in this country can be fooled as all of the democratic leaders appear to have been fooled. How many times has Tammany supported the party nominee in the last sixteen years? Not once. Yet they have fooled these heretofore able democratic leaders into saying, 'I am a democrat—I will vote for Tammany whisky and a trick platform'."

BROOKLYN STANDARD UNION

JUL 6 1928

Colored Votes of 17th Spur for Hoover Drive

The olored voters of the Seventeenth Assembly Dstrict Republican Club are already organized for the fall Presidential campaign and are ready to work hard for the election of Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis.

The ticket was unanimously ratified at a recent meeting of the club held at the Community Centre on Fulton street, at which Mrs. Maud Neal, co-leader of the district, was the principal speaker. Mrs. Neal was a delegate to the convention in place of Commisisoner Lewis M. Swasey, whose illness prevented him from attending. She gave the members of the organization an interesting descrpton of the dongs at Houston. Followng her talk, a resoluton, introduced by Mrs. M. C. Lawton, ratifying the nominations and pledging the club's support, was unanimously passed.

President Holland presided at the meeting. Talks were also given by A. D. Peyton, F. H. Gilbert, N. B. Dodson, Mrs. Gertrude Brawner and Dr. W. R. Lawton.

DES MOINES

IOWA

JUL 5 1928

The Negro Vote

EDITORIAL IN THE BYSTANDER

Claude Bowers, keynote speaker and temporary chairman of the democratic convention delivering his address at Houston said:

"We are mobilized to lead the people back to the old paths of constitutional liberty, and to the good way. We are going back—back to the old landmarks of liberty and equality when ordinary men had rights that even power respected; when justice, not privilege, was the preamble of the declaration and the bill of rights had meaning; when the nation embraced every section and every class."

What more beautiful language could be written or spoken? What better language could be used to enunciate an invitation to draw all classes, races and groups to a political party?

Possibly Mr. Bowers himself meant what he said to apply to all. Woodrow Wilson had some fair ideas about the Negro in America; there are thousands of democrats in the north and south who believe the Negro should have a square deal at the hand of political parties.

We must realize that this country is governed by political parties rather than individuals. The backbone of the democratic party exists by virtue of its opposition to the Negro. The republican party fails miserably in its treatment of the Negro, but its historical background is closely allied with the fight for justice for the Negro and it cannot stray away without a stiff fight on the part of the Negro and a large number of white people who believe in justice to all or are high up in politics by virtue of a large Negro constituency.

The Negro voter must not be stampeded into the democratic camp by pledges which they cannot carry out. Personally their candidate will be fair, but remember that his is a government by parties and not individuals, and if elected, his hands will be tied by the rabid Negro haters in the party just as President Wilson's were.

JOURNAL

JUL 2 1928

Rounding Up The Negro Vote

It is well-known that there is not a negro political organization in the country that professes to be Democratic, and the number of negro voters in the Northern states who vote the Democratic ticket, if grouped in a single precinct, would not carry it. Hence the Republicans at Kansas City went out of their way to make obeseinces to the negro designed to placate and solidify the colored brother:

"We renew our recommendations that Congress enact at the earliest possible date a Federal anti-lynching law."

The hypocrisy of the declaration is fully exposed in the next section of the platform relating to home rule. In that section the platform declares:

"It (the Federal Government) should be equally zealous to respect and maintain the rights of the States to uphold the vigor and balance of our dual system of Government * * * * the effort which, however, is being continually made to have the Federal Government move into the field of State activities has never had and never will have the support of the Republican party."

Blowing hot, then blowing cold, is a fixed habit of Republican politics. It is almost a disease with them. The Democrats are guilty of using the same sort of tactics, but the Republicans appear to be a trifle bolder and more unconscionable.

Colored Voters Furnish Victory Margin to G.O.P.

Washington, August 19.—(United News.)—From 1868 to 1920 only one republican presidential candidate, Theodore Roosevelt, received enough white votes to elect him, the others receiving their majorities from negro voters. Henry Minor, of Mississippi, former democratic national committeeman, says in a history of the democratic party about to be published.

The history denies the charges of anti-Smith democrats that Tammany was responsible for Cleveland's defeat in 1888, saying he ran ahead of Tammany's candidate for mayor. Minor blames Cleveland's defeat that year on the former Kaiser Wilhelm, charging that due to friction between the United States and Germany over Samoa, the German vote in America went republican.

"Enough democrats supported Roosevelt in 1904 to give him, probably, a narrow white majority," Minor says. "Seymour in 1868 received more white votes than Grant. Tilden received a million more white votes than Hayes. Hancock and Cleveland received the support of hundreds of thousands more white votes than their opponents. Even the half million gold democrats voting for McKinley in 1896 failed to give him a majority equal to the colored vote of the nation, a vote always practically solid for the republican candidate. In the thirteen presidential elections from 1868 to 1916 the colored voters have furnished the republicans six of the seven majorities they received, if not the whole seven."

Suffrage

N. Y. EVE. WORLD

AUG 9 1928

INCREASE NOTED IN NEGRO VOTERS

Big Flow of Workers North Adds Many Thousands

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9.—The Negro vote, expected to play an important part in the November election, has greatly increased within recent years, according to a report from the Census Bureau. One reason is the transfer of hundreds of thousands of men and women from the Southern States to the North, East and West, where suffrage laws are less stringent.

In 1920, the number of Negro voters in New York was 142,544. It is estimated that 15,000 or more have been added since. New Jersey has approximately 80,000; Pennsylvania nearly 200,000; Illinois, 150,000; Indiana, 60,000; Ohio, 195,000; Tennessee, 245,395; Kentucky, 150,000; Missouri, 140,000; Maryland, 145,000; Oklahoma, 80,000 and Kansas, 40,000; Massachusetts, 50,000; Connecticut, 25,000. In Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine the numbers are smaller.

Negro Voters Increase

Northward Flow of Workers Gets Them in on Suffrage Rights

NEGRO VOTERS INCREASE

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NEW YORK WORLD

AUG 9 1928

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From The World's Bureau

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VOTES OF NEGROES MAY DETERMINE NEXT PRESIDENT

Figures Show There Are Over Five Million Registered Voters of the Race in Country.

Washington, D. C., August 15.—That the Negroes' votes are a potential power in determining the outcome of the presidential election may be attested by figures recently gathered to show the relative voting power Race voters and white voters in the United States.

Facts disclosed by the investigation were as follows:

There are about 5,588,500 Negroes of voting age in the United States. While the bulk of them are located in the South where they do not count, or at least are not counted at the polls, according to Republican leaders there are a sufficient number in many of the pivotal and in some of the border states to determine the result in a close election.

According to the Census Bureau the Negro population of the country numbered 10,463,131 in 1920, and it is estimated that it was 11,698,000 in 1927. About one-half of the number estimated for 1927 had reached the voting age.

New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri are states with a comparatively large Negro population that are regarded as either doubtful or debatable in the political contest now under way. The census of 1920 showed that each of those States had enough Negro voters that year to cut quite a figure in a national election.

The census reports disclose that in 1920 there were 5,522,274 Negroes of both sexes who had reached the voting age out of a total colored population in excess of 10,000,000. From 1920 to 1927 the number of Negroes increased to over 11,689,000, with a corresponding increase in the number of voters of that race.

In 1920 the census showed Negro voters in the states named as follows:

New York, 142,544; New Jersey, 75,671; Pennsylvania, 191,226; Illinois, 128,090; Indiana, 53,935; Ohio, 126,940; Tennessee, 245,395; Kentucky, 143,881; Missouri, 121,328, and Maryland, 141,991.

Of the total of 5,522,524 Negro voters in 1920, 2,792,006 were men and 2,730,274 women.

There are other states where the Negro is by no means a negligible factor in politics. For example, there was a colored population of more than 149,000 in Oklahoma in 1920, and of these more than 76,000 had attained the voting age.

Kansas had 79,725 Negroes within her borders in 1920, and of the number 37,000 were entitled to vote. In New England the 1920 population of Negroes was:

Massachusetts, 45,466; Connecticut, 21,046; Rhode Island, 10,036; Vermont, 572; New Hampshire, 621, and Maine, 1,310.

General

Official Popular Vote 1928

Constitution 12-22-28

(Copyright, by The Associated Press.)

The official vote in the November presidential election, as gathered from state capitols by the Associated Press, follows: Atlanta Ga

State	Hoover Rep.	Smith Dem.	Thomas Soc.	Foster Workers	Reynolds Soc.-Lab.	Pluralities Hoover	Pluralities Smith
Alabama	120,725	127,796	460	....	....	....	7,071
Arizona	52,533	38,537	....	184	....	13,996	....
Arkansas	77,751	119,196	429	317	....	....	41,445
California	1,162,323	614,356	19,595	112	....	547,967	....
Colorado	253,872	133,131	3,472	675	....	120,741	....
Connecticut	296,614	252,040	3,019	730	622	44,574	....
Delaware	68,860	36,643	329	59	....	32,217	....
Florida	144,168	101,764	4,036	3,704	....	42,404	....
Georgia	99,369	129,602	124	64	....	....	30,233
Idaho	99,848	53,074	1,293	....	....	46,774	....
Illinois	1,768,141	1,313,817	19,138	3,581	1,812	454,324	....
Indiana	848,280	562,691	3,871	321	645	285,589	....
Iowa	623,818	378,936	2,960	328	250	244,882	....
Kansas	513,672	193,003	6,205	320	....	320,669	....
Kentucky	558,064	381,070	837	293	340	176,994	....
Louisiana	51,160	164,655	....	....	....	....	113,495
Maine	179,923	81,179	1,068	....	....	98,744	....
Maryland	301,479	223,626	1,701	636	906	77,853	....
Massachusetts	775,566	792,758	6,262	2,461	773	....	17,192
Michigan	965,696	396,762	3,516	2,881	799	568,634	....
Minnesota	560,977	396,451	6,774	4,853	1,921	164,526	....
Mississippi	26,889	124,539	263	....	....	....	97,650
Missouri	834,080	662,562	3,739	....	340	171,518	....
Montana	113,300	78,578	1,667	563	....	34,722	....
Nebraska	345,745	197,959	3,434	....	....	147,786	....
Nevada	18,327	14,090	....	....	....	4,237	....
New Hampshire	115,404	80,715	464	173	....	34,689	....
New Jersey	925,796	616,517	4,897	1,257	500	309,279	....
New Mexico	69,617	48,094	156	....	....	21,523	....
New York	2,193,344	2,089,863	107,332	10,876	4,211	103,481	....
North Carolina	348,923	286,227	....	....	....	62,696	....
North Dakota	131,441	106,648	842	936	....	24,793	....
Ohio	1,627,543	864,210	8,683	2,836	1,515	763,333	....
Oklahoma	394,652	219,206	3,926	....	....	174,846	....
Oregon	205,341	109,223	2,720	1,094	1,564	96,118	....
Pennsylvania	2,055,382	1,067,586	18,647	4,726	380	987,796	....
Rhode Island	117,522	118,973	....	....	....	....	1,451
South Carolina	5,858	62,700	47	....	....	....	56,842
South Dakota	157,603	102,660	443	232	....	54,943	....
Tennessee	195,388	157,343	631	111	....	38,045	....
Texas	367,036	341,032	722	209	....	26,004	....
Utah	94,618	80,985	954	47	....	13,633	....
Vermont	90,404	44,440	..	....	....	45,964	....
Virginia	164,609	140,146	250	179	174	24,463	....
Washington	335,844	156,772	2,615	1,541	4,068	179,072	....
West Virginia	375,551	263,784	1,313	401	....	111,767	....
Wisconsin	544,205	450,259	18,213	1,528	381	93,946	....
Wyoming	52,748	29,299	788	....	....	23,449	....
Total	21,429,109	15,005,497	267,835	48,228	21,181	....	....

Minor parties vote (not included in above table). For Varney, prohibition: Indiana 5,496, Michigan 2,728, New Jersey 160, Ohio 3,556, Pennsylvania 3,875, Vermont 338, West Virginia 1,703, Wisconsin 2,245, total 20,101.

For Webb, farmer-labor: Colorado 1,092, Iowa 3,088, Oklahoma 1,284, South Dakota 927, total 6,391.

Scattering: California 261, Connecticut 6, Louisiana 18, Maine 1, Wisconsin 41, total 327.

Total of popular vote: 36,798,669.

Hoover's plurality: 6,423,612

Note: California, Hoover total includes 14,394.

Prohibition votes which party endorsed Mr. Hoover. Pennsylvania, Foster total includes 2,687 labor party votes. South Carolina, Hoover total includes 2,670 anti-Smith democrats voting for Hoover.

How Should Negro Citizens Vote?

ONE thing is certain about the voting of the Negro in the approaching presidential election. His vote must not betray an easy gullibility in swallowing down all the prepared-for-profit mess of pottage being vended off by party politicians who are in the business of herding unsuspecting citizens by feeding them with that which tickles the palate, but is of no profit in the end. With the Negro, as with all other American citizens, the obligation to himself, to his neighbor, and to the nation's well-being at large is that he shall cast his ballot for Christian principles rather than for parties. He should vote as a patriotic American, and not as a partisan.

By the term "American" we imply all of the moral grandeur the term can connote. An American citizen in this sense is one who is upstanding in virtue, intelligence, the sense of justice; who is thoroughly alert and loyal to the highest interests and ideals of his country without swerving. As such, and with the view of fostering such an ideal as basic in our national life, the Negro should vote in the coming election.

Political parties may be legitimate expressions of civic conscience. But when, as expressions of such a conscience, the things for which they stand clash with moral values in society, party obligation is then justly superseded by the higher authority of moral principles. Party loyalty is something that is man-made; loyalty to moral principle is demanded by the very nature of right, and is inescapable. In the present crisis in our nation's life it is unworthy of the Negro, no less of any citizen, to be persuaded or influenced in his voting by promises of party reward. He who does so puts his own personal gain before that of his country and sells out his country as treacherously and truly as did any traitor who ever disgraced the pages of his country's history. Let the Negro remember, too, that the very ones who will purchase his vote, as history shows, are they who, despite their own crookedness in this regard, are accustomed to brand him as venal and themselves as virtuous.

That is the major reflection. But another consideration must be had. The proverbial description of party pledges holds in regard to the antics of any political party. Let the Negro see to it that he be not the shock absorber for any party. Regardless of party, let him be zealous to perpetuate by his vote those principles, written deep in the nature of this Republic, that have made it the leading republic in our modern world, despite the lapses and backwashes which we find trying vehemently to divert the main currents of the nation's life.

When all is said and done, whatever party endorses it or whatever party evades the issue, and whatever may be the intensity of our loyalty to the party that does not declare for it, the Negro must cast his ballot against the liquor traffic. This course is dictated by every consideration of moral reason. For the Negro to vote for any party, any man, or measure that would countenance the use of whisky or alcohol would be suicidal. Since the coming of prohibition the school children of our nation have put into savings banks some forty million dollars; fewer children are haled into the courts of the country; drug addicts are less; our citizens are growing healthier; there is a marvelous decrease in the number of drunken brawls; millions of the youth have never beheld a saloon or scented its sickening fumes; churches have gained in membership, and the nation is traveling on wheels. This much in seven years—what will fourteen years reveal in moral and material advance? Lincoln deprecated what he characterized as the two destructive social traffics in American life—the one, the slave traffic; the other, the liquor traffic. To the crushing of the one he gave his life. Shall not the nation, for whose moral idealism he became a martyr, rise up and effect in the nation that complete national emancipation which he visioned.

Coupled with this is that other ideal and principle—the moral sovereignty of this Union. This nation is a sacred whole. It is a unit conserving in a collective way the highest interest of its several constituent parts. Such a political philosophy underlay its formation; in such alone, can it be preserved. This bedrock principle must be upheld by the Negro's vote in the pending election. It will be a dark day for the Negro as well as for the nation when the collective ideal of this nation and our sacred Federal Constitution shall be subordinated to the partisan dictation of a provincial State or section.

Nor must the Negro's vote be cast in the direction of countenance of intolerance or narrow bigotry, whether such an un-American attitude be manifested in the industrial, political, or religious aspects of our national life. There s a political party which stands as exponent and sponsor for the militant ideas of a section of our common country with which the great masses of Negro Americans are fully acquainted and of whom the Negro voter must be keenly aware. That section is extremely orthodox in religious theory and profession. On this matter of religious or sectarian belief, it would raise and project a holy crusade. It does not seem to know that expatiating about God on one hand, and humiliating a part of its citizens—God's children—by exploitation and social injustice on the other hand, are incompatible concepts. It seems not to sense the fact that religious orthodoxy, the true kind, reveals its vitality in expressional forms of social justice rather than in upholding, in verbal battles worn-out theories of interpretation of Holy Writ, and in making these serve to sanction anti-social race attitudes. Such is rather heresy.

While the masses of Negro Americans will vote for prohibition, for the superior sovereignty of the Federal Constitution and Government, he and the nation will emerge from this election aware that a new Negro politically is emerging in American life, one who cannot be coddled, bought, or frightened, but who will insist on studying the issues as these relate to fundamental principles of government, and who will vote according to the dictates of moral values.

Suffrage

FIGHT DISFRANCHISEMENT

Senator Swanson, of Virginia in his 15,000-word speech in defense and denial of Negro disfranchisement and attempting to show that the State Constitutions and laws thereunder which restrict, hinder, hamper and prevent Negroes from voting or qualifying in order to vote in all of the former seceding States except Tennessee has brought the issue of disfranchisement plainly and boldly to the front. It is an insolent and defiant challenge to thirty-eight States where representation in Congress and in the Electoral College is based on a population whose citizenship is unabridged, unhampered or restricted either by State Constitutional provisions and legislative enactments or by illegal administration of the laws by corrupt and dishonest registration and election officials.

As slaves Negroes were counted on a three-fifths basis in enumeration for representation, as freemen the entire number is counted without the privilege of voting.

As an illustration of the power and domination of the South in the government through suppression of the Negro vote a comparison of the votes cast in the last presidential election is of interest: Alabama with a population of 2,347,684 and 12 electoral votes cast 166,593 votes for president in 1924, while Minnesota with a population about the same as Alabama and with 12 electoral votes cast 822,779 votes for president in 1924; in the same election Georgia with a population of 2,895,479 with 14 electoral votes cast 166,577 votes while Wisconsin with 2,622,139 with 13 electoral votes cast 840,779 votes.

In all of the former seceding States in which there is a large Negro population there is the same disparity of votes because of the suppression of the Negro vote.

During the Civil War it was a boast of Southerners that one confederate soldier was equal to five "Yanks"; that was not proven on the battle fields but in these piping times of peace, one white man or woman at the polls in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Arkansas or Texas is equal to five white men or women in any other State.

Edward H. Wright in declining the request of the Republican Voters League to run for Congress in the First Chicago District says:

"A member of Congress elected from the ranks of the colored people in the First District would represent not only the people of his district, but he would be the spokesman in national affairs of fifteen million of his people throughout the United States.

"In my opinion no political party can be relied upon to make the fight for human rights which is involved in the Negro's complete political and civil emancipation in those sections where hs citizenship rights are abridged. To my mind the issue of paramount mportance in this country is not whether the Eighteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution should be enforced, but whether or not the necessary legislation shall be enacted by Congress to make the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution effective in spirit and letter."

"The representation in Congress of those States where the ballot is restricted, except for crime, should be reduced as provided for in the Fourteenth Amendment.

"It is my firm conviction that lynching, peonage, jim-crow cars, and disfranchisement would shortly disappear if every citizen was protected in the exercise of his franchise. This right would not be denied if representation in Congress would be the unfailing penalty for such denial.

"We have a hard fight ahead of us, but it is our fight and we must take it, for no one else will make it for us. 'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.' "

Mr. Wright clearly presents the issue in declaring that no political party can be relied upon to make the fight for human rights which is involved in the Negro's complete political and civil emancipation in those sections where his citizenship rights are abridged.

The Negro himself must lead in the fight and must use every party, every issue which can aid in achieving that end.

He must cut loose from tradition habit and inherited alliances and align himself locally with any party or group that possesses elements of strength sufficient to win and can be used to advance the cause of justice and fair play to the race.

Prohibition is the most intensely absorbing issue before the American voters this year. Politicians, generally both Democrate and Republican, seem to regard the Eighteenth Amendment as the only amendment that should be obeyed. Millions of dollars are spent yearly for its enforcement, while not a dollar nor a voice is lifted in Congress or elsewhere for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. No legislation has been passed or is offered to make them effective.

Advantage should be taken of the situation and used by the Negro for his own enfranchisement. The fight for enfranchisement must be made on Congressman and no Senator or Representative regardless of his wetness or dryness, should be voted for by Negroes unless he is known to be four square against disfranchisement.

INDEPENDENT

Helena, Mont.

JAN 24 1928

WALSH APPRECIATED ABROAD.

The Winston-Salem Journal, said to be the most influential paper in North Carolina tells in a recent issue some things about the Jackson Day dinner in Washington which would lead people to believe that Senator T. J. Walsh of Montana, is much more appreciated abroad than he is at home, particularly with regard to his possibilities as a democratic presidential candidate.

Perhaps that is just the way Senator Walsh wants things to be—at least he is not making much of an effort to win new friends in Montana by his various proposals for investigations, which do not seem to have struck a very responsive public sentiment in Montana.

However, it must be admitted that Senator Walsh is greatly admired for his ability at home and abroad. That he was a central figure at the Jackson Day banquet is well known and Montanans are proud that high personal tribute was paid to him at the great democratic gathering.

The Winston-Salem Journal says:

"The nearest the dinner came to launching a presidential boom was when the name of Senator Walsh of Montana, was called. Nobody failed to cheer long and loud for the man who drove the plunderers and corruptionists out of Washington. There was a feeling that here was a man who had done a job that Andrew Jackson, himself, would have taken delight in doing for his country. Here was a man, who in the last eight years had come nearest to typifying the Jackson spirit in American politics. Here was a man, who more nearly than any other, incarnated the only issue on which the democratic party could win."

The North Carolina paper does not say that Senator Walsh received this tribute and hearty applause because he is known as a "dry," but the same editorial conveys the news to its readers that the name of Al Smith received little applause as compared to the names of Walsh and McAdoo, and it states that Governor Ritchie of Maryland made a big blunder when he spoke on state's rights and branded national prohibition as fundamentally wrong in principal and a tragic failure in practice. The Journal says Governor Ritchie was actually rebuked by John W. Davis, the toastmaster, for his utterances.

We must take it then that the Winston-Salem Journal pays its great tribute to Senator Walsh because he is an ardent dry, and disguises the motive for its praise by referring to the activities of the Montana senator in driving the "plunderers and corruptionists" out of Washington. What the North Carolina paper wanted to say was that Senator Walsh got the cheers because he is the antithesis of Smith and Ritchie on the question of prohibition, as the editorial itself is headed "Democracy is Not Going Wet."

Andrew Jackson took the Constitution of the United States seriously. The dry element in both the republican and democratic parties take only the Eighteenth amendment seriously. It seems unthinkable to us in this later and more enlightened day, but President Jackson seems honestly to have felt that the founding fathers were not playing horse with posterity when they appended the bill of rights to that illustrious document.

What do the dry senators and representatives of either party care about the bill of rights or the sections of the Constitution other than the Eighteenth amendment? The paper which praises Senator Walsh to the limit because he stands for a strict enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment is a party every year to gross violation of the Fifteenth amendment which provides that the right of citizens of the United States to vote "shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

This amendment is nullified by the southern states which now make such a demonstration over the necessities of enforcing the Eighteenth amendment. The negro does not vote in the south—he is not permitted to vote. If Senator Walsh stepped out and demanded the enforcement of the Fifteenth amendment, would the Winston-Salem Journal eulogize his course.

The Fourth amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that the "right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized."

If Senator Walsh had made a speech at the Jackson Day dinner advocating the strict enforcement of this amendment to the Constitution, he would likely have been rebuked by the chairman, as the Winston-Salem Journal says Ritchie was rebuked for advocating state's rights and denouncing the Eighteenth amendment.

Everyone knows the amendment to the Constitution of the United States just quoted is violated every day, but we never hear a word from Senator Walsh nor his newspaper friends in the South, demanding that the Fourth and the Fifteenth amendments be enforced. Senator Walsh and his friends know the Eighteenth amendment by heart but they overlook the other provisions—they have forgotten the other sections of the document in their zeal for the blessed Eighteenth

Senator Walsh deserves commendation for driving the plunderers and corruptionists from Washington," and he has received a lot of it, but he is nominated for president by the North Carolina paper because he is a dry, and is sitting daily in the senate of the United States without demanding the enforcement of other provisions of the Constitution which would interfere with the disenfranchisement of the negro in the south and curb the activities of the prohibition agents all over the country and far out at sea.

Our forefathers wrote a few lines in the Declaration of Independence which should be read now and then. Complaining about the offences of the King of England against the people in America, they said, "He has created a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance."

That is what is the matter with the country today. The members of congress who are so anxious for the enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment, are guilty of doing the very thing King George did to the colonists, only they have increased the number by thousands and they eat our substance to the extent of more than $100,000,000 annually in appropriations, made for the enforcement of one amendment to the Constitution while others are brushed aside and forgotten.

It was a strange crowd which celebrated the birthday of Andrew Jackson, the man who knew and believed in all sections of the Constitution and accepted them as equally important.

Suffrage

General

NEW YORK HERALD

JAN 22 1928

Unenforced Laws Clutter Statute Books of Nation and All States

Dead Letter Acts Remain Unrepealed as Congress and Legislatures Yearly Swell Codes With Thousands of New and Diverse Enactments; Theoretical Regulation Touches Every Side of People's Life; Amendments to the Federal Constitution Never Made Uniformly Effective

By David Karsner

IT HAS been said that the United States is a nation of law makers and law breakers and that for every person that breaks a law there are ten persons clamoring for a new one to supplement or supersede an old statute. The business of making laws in the United States has become a highly specialized industry whose factories are located at Washington, in the capitals of the forty-eight states and in every city and county seat within those states.

Considering that there has to be a large number of persons in favor of every law advocated or enacted, for one reason or another, before a bill reaches the dignity of a statute, it is reasonable to assume that every third person in the United States gives a certain amount of time each day to the thought that "There ought to be a law." Judges and lawyers have said that there is not a single right guaranteed to the citizens by the Federal Constitution and by the Bill of Rights of the various states which have not been canceled, infringed upon and altered in some vital form by Federal or state statutes, or city ordinances.

Furthermore, it has been said that the average law-abiding citizen breaks no less than twenty laws every day of his life by merely going about his business peaceably, and sublimely ignorant that he has in any measure transgressed the statutes. It would appear that there must be a law to cover every voluntary and involuntary act and thought of the average person in every minute of the day and night, and comparatively few persons know anything abotu the meaning, or even the existence, of the multifarious laws intended to restrain thought and deed. The customs, habits, climate and temperament of a country to a large extent determine the character of itts laws.

Legislators Bring Fresh Stock Of Bills When Session Begins

Judging from the tremendous number of laws enacted by the Congress and by forty-eight states, Americans need more laws than any other people on earth. The fact that we have more laws than any other nation may give some weight to the theory that Americans are either lawless or that they love liberty more than most people, for the existence of every law is certainly indicative of the desire of a given number of persons to do the very thing that the law prohibits. Judges and lawyers say that thousands of laws should never have been enacted. There is scarcely a man or woman elected to a law-making assembly, either Federal or state, but who immediately conceives it to be his or her duty to unload a plethora of bills in the legislative hopper and insist that every one become a law.

New York Code Cluttered

Many such bills, as all know, never see the printer. But enough of them are enacted annually to cause amazement at the tremendous amount of energy spent—if it should be spent—in the enforcement of such laws. A prominent New York lawyer said that were all the laws enforced that are included in the Penal Code of New York State the overhead expense to the state government would be so enormous that there wo'dn't be enough money left in the treasury to buy a one-way ticket from New York to Albany. Moreover, every citizen would have to be drafted into the law-enforcement bodies of the city and state.

The Federal and state statute books are cluttered with laws that repeat and overlap each other to an amazing degree. There are thousands of laws supposedly in effect and operative that have been dead letters for many years. Others are of comparatively recent manufacture, but of such a character that it is virtually impossible to enforce them for the simple reason that a substantial portion of the population does not want them to be enforced.

It was the late Mayor William J. Gaynor, who also had been a judge of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York, who said repeatedly that "the United States is a government of laws and not of men."

"As a rule all unwise legislation is passed in time of senseless clamor," said Judge Gaynor.

Congressional Output Cited

Take, for example, the number of laws passed by Congress. The Sixty-seventh Congress passed 550 public laws and adopted 105 resolutions. The Sixty-eighth Congress passed 682 laws and adopted 75 resolutions. The Sixty-ninth Congress passed 807 laws and adopted 71 resolutions.

Even these totals only partly betray the voracious appetite of Congress for making new statutes. For example, the Sixty-ninth Congress actually passed a total of 1,422 laws, of which 807 were public laws, including several acts relating to bridges over navigable waters; 537 were private bills. In the House of Representatives last session were introduced 17,415 bills, 379 House joint resolutions, 457 House resolutions and 61 House concurrent resolutions, a total of 18,312 introduced. In the Senate during the same session there were introduced 5,835 bills, 381 resolutions, 172 Senate joint resolutions and 29 Senate concurrent resolutions, a total of 6,417 for the Senate.

It would seem that this total of the activity of Congress for one session might at least cover the matter of needful legislation for the entire country. But one who thinks so has not reckoned with the capacity of the state legislatures to pass laws for their own commonwealths.

In forty-four states in 1927 there were introduced a total of 50,893 bills, of which 17,199 were enacted into laws and thus became part and parcel of the civil and penal codes of those states.

Now, a legislator who goes to the trouble of drafting a bill only to see it defeated in his legislature is not likely to let the matter rest. His continuance in office may be contingent upon his ability to have his bill enacted into law. This is particularly true in isolated communties where a legslator's activities are scrutinized with more care than may be the case in a district of large population—cities and industrial districts, for example. Hence, any number of bills that fail of passage in one session are reintroduced in the next, and often enacted to appease the political ambitions of the member sponsoring the measure. There is an immense amount of trading among members of the state legislatures, and even in Congress, in this matter of bill passing.

Very often it is a question of "you vote for my bill and I will vote for yours." The whole matter at stake may be a question of political prestige or preferment or expediency, and often is so, but the fact remains that the legislative hoppers are kept busy day and night during every session of every state Legislature and of Congress turning out more and more laws.

Federal Statutes Unenforced

One does not have to go to those several states where the old English common law is still a quiescent part of the legal regimen of the state to find laws that to all intent and purpose are unenforceable, if not actually dead letters.

The Penal Code of New York State is cluttered with statutes that are simply not enforced and seem to be unenforceable. Also there are many Federal statutes which seem to have an ornamental rather than a practical significance.

Take, for instance, the most controversial law of the day—the prohibition act. There is not a citizen in the country outside of a lunatic asylum who does not know that the nation is legally dry, and that to encourage it to become wet by buying, selling or giving away alcoholic beverages is to violate not only the law of the state (certain states) in which the violator may happen to live, but also is to violate the Federal statute and to challenge the Constitution of the Republic.

All of which would seem to be a grave matter were it not for the fact that the prohibition law, though a highly controversial subject and actively "enforced," is the more often violated, perhaps, than any other current law for the simple reason that a large number of persons throughout the land are fond of spirituous liquors and another large number of persons are interested in selling them because there is large profit to be gained as long as the demand is greater than the supply.

Bootleggers Favor Dry Law

It is notorious that bootleggers are in favor of the retention of the prohibition act. The logic of their position is that their profits would cease if the law were repealed.

Various officials of the Treasury Department at Washington, as well as enforcement officers in the several states and state officials, seeking to enforce

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The Never-Ending Stream

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state dry laws—all have admitted in one way or another, openly or covertly, that the anti-liquor law is both openly and secretly violated in virtually every state in the union. One New York lawyer said that there was not enough stone and iron in the country to build prisons in sufficient number to hold all the violators of the Federal and state anti-liquor laws. It is apparent also that the prosecuting officials and the courts do not desire that all who violate the prohibition laws should be prosecuted, for the simple reason that the handling of these cases would require virtually all their time and money.

There are many localities throughout the United States where caches and rendezvous for the obtaining of prohibited liquor are pointed out to those desiring such beverage by persons whose economic interest is directly affiliated with the sale. Facts relating to the apparent impossibility of rigidly enforcing the Volstead law are so well known as to require no convincing.

Lawyers Doubt Repeal

However, on the matter of the prohibition act, many lawyers specially versed in constitutional law are of the opinion that the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead law will not be repealed, even though they may never be absolutely enforced. They say that should public opinion turn violently against the continued attempt to enforce the law it still would remain on the statute books.

But the mere fact that the prohibition act has been incorporated into the organic law of the nation does not necessarily give it eminence over statutes that lack such significance. Amendments to the Federal Constitution have not been uniformly enforced any more than the prohibition law is enforced.

Take, for example, the First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people to peaceably assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

The vitality of this Constitutional provision has been tempered many times by Federal and state laws. The most notable example of this was the passage of the espionage law in wartime. Although the amendment says specifically that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press," that is precisely what Congress did in the emergency produced by the war. Lawyers have pointed out that the Supreme Court of the United States, while upholding convictions obtained under the espionage law, refrained from commenting upon the constitutionality of the statute.

Right to Vote Abridged

Another amendment that is a dead letter in many Southern states is the Fifteenth, which provides: "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. The Congress shall have the power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation."

Any one who has lived in the South, or who has made any inquiry respecting the status of Negroes at the polls knows that they have no such status in a number of states, or in sections of states. Various supplemental laws have been passed in certain of the Southern states to circumvent the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment. For example, in some Southern states Negroes are prevented from voting in the Democratic primaries, which means that the free exercise of their franchise is of no consequence in the Democratic South.

The Chinese exclusion act is partly enforced. It provides that no Chinese may come into the United States except as a student or as a merchant, yet the fact remains there are thousands of Chinese in the United States who are neither students nor merchants, but are employed in various occupations, the most obvious of which are waiters, domestics and laundrymen. Many have been smuggled into the country and remain by observing certain formulas.

Then there is the Mann act. The passage of this law followed what was virtually a national rising against commercialized vice and its interstate traffic. Every lawyer knows that the Mann act is neither enforced or enforceable, except in specific instances where special complaint has been made to the Federal officials. The existance of the Mann law, said one lawyer, serves as a warning and a threat in the interest is virtually impossible.

Act Weapon of Blackmailers

However, the Mann act is often invoked in instances where its offenders are either deliberately vicious or so utterly witless as to be ignorant of the possible consequences of their acts. The Mann Law has been called by some lawyers a piece of "class legislation," meaning that it is invoked in certain brazen cases against a certain class of people but is not generally applied. It is, however, a favorite weapon of the blackmailer and the vengeful.

Federal and New York Laws In Which Enforcement Fails

If all the laws on the statute books of the forty-eight states, as well as those that compose the Federal statutes, were enforced, virtually all citizens of the United States would have to be drafted as law enforcement officers, who themselves very likely would break the very laws they were supposed to enforce.

A few of the national and New York State laws that are not enforced include:

The First Amendment to the Federal Constitution (freedom of speech and press).

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution (equal rights for white and colored).

The Eighteenth Amendment, which is buttressed by the Volstead act.

The Chinese exclusion act, which is evaded by thousands.

The Mann act, seldom invoked, except for revenge.

New York State law proscribing gambling. Many have never heard of it.

Laws having to do with Sunday observance.

The trading stamp law, which has long been a dead-letter.

Anti-anarchy law, which is reserved for national emergencies.

Judges, lawyers and legislators throughout the nation admit the statute books are cluttered with non-enforceable laws, yet nearly everybody says at least once a day, "There ought to be a law." And the wishes of all in this respect are usually granted a hundredfold.

In Pennsylvania there is an anti-riot act. The genesis of this law goes back to the time of the first Federal Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. There seem to have been some persons in Philadelphia who did not like the sort of Constitution that was being framed for the young Republic. They gathered in Philadelphia around a May pole and said so. This was an affront to the Federalists, and two of the ringleaders were arrested on the charge that their agitation in concert with other persons was inciting to create a riot, in which the public peace and order most certainly would be disturbed. The anti-riot act thus came into being. It was a quiescent statute and was invoked only at long intervals.

Old Law Invoked in 1921

The last time it was invoked was at Chester, Pa., when persons gathered in a theater to hear pleas in behalf of Soviet Russia. This was in 1921. There had been no disorder in the theater when the meeting opened, and it might have continued peaceably if the police had not broken it up and arrested the speakers. They were held under the ancient anti-riot act on the theory that had they continued to speak there might have ensued a riot.

Turning from Federal statutes to state laws one immediately is impressed with the huge amount of duplication of the Federal statutes, repetitions of state laws and amendments and clauses that, in many instances, nullify the very law intended to be enforced.

Gambling Prohibited

For example, Section 970 of the New York State Penal Code covers many forms of gambling and prohibits it. The section, headed "Common Gambler," reads:

"A person who is the owner, agent or superintendent of a place, or of any device or apparatus, for gambling, or who hires, or allows to be used a room, table, establishment or apparatus for such a purpose, or who engages as dealer, gamekeeper or player in any gambling or banking game where money or property is dependent upon the result, or who sells or offers to sell what are commonly called lottery policies, or any writing, paper or document in the nature of a bet, wager or insurance upon the drawing, or drawn numbers of any public or private lottery, or who indorses or uses a book or other document for the purpose of enabling others to sell or offer to sell lottery policies or other writings, papers or documents, is a common gambler and punishable by imprisonment for not more than two years or fine not exceeding $1,000, or both."

Lawyers in New York say that under the state anti-gambling law, if it were enforced (if it could be enforced) there would be no betting on election results in Wall Street and elsewhere, prize-fights or anything else. Neither would there be the innumerable "pools," the prizes of which are in many cases from $5,000 as the first prize, or even higher down to $5.

Section 986, however, covers specifically the matter of pool selling, bookmaking, bets and wagers.

Cheating Forbidden

"Any person who engages in pool-making, with or without writing at any time or place; or any person who keeps or occupies any room, shed, tenement, tent or booth, or building, float or vessel, or any part thereof; or who occupies any place or stand of any kind, upon any public or private grounds, within this state, with books, papers, apparatus or paraphernalia for the purpose of recording or registering bets or wagers . . . is punishable by imprisonment for not more than one year."

Then after the State Penal Code forbids gambling of any kind or character, it also forbids cheating at gambling should the other sections of the law that entirely forbids gambling be violated. In other words, if a person breaks the law by gambling, he will break another law if he cheats. This is to keep gamblers honest.

Section 1534 of the Penal Code proscribes ticket speculation. It is rather an inclusive statute, and the person who drafted it as well as the Legislature that enacted it probably believed it would be enforced.

The section reads: "Any person who conducts on or in any street in a city the business of selling, or offering for sale, any ticket of admission, or any other evidence of the right of entry to any performance or exhibition in or about the premises of any theater, or concert hall, place of public amusement, circus or common show; or solicits on or in any street in a city, by words, signs, circulars or other means,

any person to purchase any such ticket or other evidence of the right of entry . . . etc., is guilty of a misdameanor."

One has only to stroll around the theater district in New York to see how effective is this "ticket speculation" law.

Section 1221 provides that any person intoxicated in a public place may be arrested without warrant while so intoxicated and taken before a magistrate on the charge of public intoxication. The offender may be fined not exceeding $10 or imprisoned for six months. This law is not enforced except in cases of habitual drunkards, or when persons intoxicated become obstreperous.

Sabbath Laws Ignored

There are many sections in the Penal Code on the subject of Sabbath observance, and many of them are not enforced either in the letter or the spirit of the law, for the simple reason that seven million people in New York City cannot be watched on Sundays to find out whether they are observing the Sabbath in accordance with the law. But there is a section of the law—Section 2152—which is certainly not enforced.

This section reads: "The performance of any tragedy, comedy, opera, ballet, farce, Negro minstrelsy, Negro or other dancing, wrestling, boxing with or without gloves; or any circus, equestrian or dramatic performance or exercise, or any performance or exercise of jugglers, acrobats or rope dancers, on the first day of the week is forbidden."

The owner or lessee of such property devoted to such performances, or any one of them, on Sundays is guilty of a misdemeanor. Every person violating the section is subject to a fine of $500, which the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents in New York City, or overseers of the poor in other cities, may recover—if they can.

Theaters Evade Law

Variety theaters and burlesque houses in New York evade this law by announcing their Sunday afternoon and night programs as "Sunday concerts." Some houses even describe their programs frankly as "vaudeville concerts." This law has been variously interpreted. It appears that if there is no lowering or raising of the curtain the performance is "a concert." It still remains "a concert" if the performers do their stuff in street or evening clothes instead of costume.

Section 2143 announces that "all labor is prohibited (on Sunday) except the works of necessity and charity. In works of necessity or charity is included whatever is needful during the day for the good order, health or comfort of the community." It is obvious that this piece of innocuous, infirm and elastic legislation is a joker.

Section 2145 says that "all shooting, hunting, playing, horse racing, gaming or other public sports, exercises or shows . . . and all noise unreasonably disturbing the peace of the day are prohibited."

"Noise that unreasonably disturbs the peace of the day is prohiibted on Sunday!" says the law. This is not enforced in New York, and not much attempt is made to enforce it. Jazz bands,

Acts to Govern Sabbath Evaded Or Ignored Here

Amusements, Noise and Sale of Food Among Matters Covered in Enactments; Gambling Unrestrained

all-night parties and what not are the rule in apartments throughout the city at all hours of the day and night on Sundays. People who sponsor these things may create all sorts of racket, and do, but nothing is done about it save a moan or complaint from neighboring tenants. That law was written by a humorist, or one who lived in a dugout.

Section 2147, on the subject of Sabbath observance, cautions delicatessen stores that they cannot open before 10 a. m. and between the hours of 4 p. m. and 7:30 p. m. This law is not generally enforced.

Section 161 of the Penal Code is the anti-anarchy law. Under the terms of this statute if two or more persons were to gather in the home of either and discuss the anarchistic doctrines of any past or present exponent of that theory they both may be sent to prison for ten years and the owner or lessee of the property in which such conversations takes place may be sent to prison for two years. Other sections of this law also forbid the forming and participation in organizations having for their main and ultimate purpose the establishment of a form of government at variance with the form of government of the United States. Also, such organizations may not print and publish literature having these purposes.

Enforced in Emergency

This law is not enforced, except in times of national emergency. The intent of the law, it appears, was not only to restrain the acts of persons holding doctrines that are called subversive but also to control thought. One lawyer said that a strict enforcement of this law would make it illegal for dictionaries to contain the definition of anarchy and would most certainly prohibit professors from informing their social science classes concerning the doctrine of anarchy and allied subjects such as syndicalism and bolshevism.

Sections 2.300 and 2,301 of the Penal Code have to do with the question of suicide. It is illegal for a person to attempt to take his own life, and should he do so, and recover from the effects of the attempt, he may be sent to prison.

Also, should a despondent person say to another: "I am going to hang myself," and should the person thus addressed reply: "Well, go ahead and hang yourself," and should the despondent person hang himself, the one who said "Go ahead," would have aided and abetted the taking of a life and would be guilty of a felony.

Statutes Written as Jokes

There are on the statute books in many states all sorts of joker laws. They were written into the statute by wits and wags, and they are recognized as hoaxes. In Kansas, for example, there is a law which says: "It shall be unlawful for any person to exhibit in a public way within the State of Kansas any sort of exhibition that consists of eating or pretending to eat of snakes, lizards, scorpions, centipedes, tarantulas or other reptiles."

There is a law in Georgia that forbids traffic in cottonseed between sunset and sunrise. This law was passed after it was found that farmhands employed on cotton plantations stole large quantities of cottonseed when transfer of the product was made at night.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania on the average passes more laws at one session than are passed in ten years by the Parliament of Great Britain. Compare the record of the American Congress with that of England. The Sixty-ninth Congress, as pointed out, passed 807 public laws. Following is a ten-year tally of the laws passed by the British Parliament: 1915, 105; 1916, 71; 1917, 67; 1918, 61; 1919, 102; 1920, 82; 1921, 67; 1922, 57; 1923, 42; 1924, 40 This makes a total of 694 laws passed by the British Parliament in ten years.

Gaynor's Comment Recalled

The late Mayor Gaynor, as a result of his long experience at the bar and on the bench, knew it was impossible to enforce all the laws, and, having a philosophical turn of mind with a happy admixture of whimsicality, he never hesitated to admit that as the chief law enforcement officer of New York City he was powerless to have all the laws enforced.

On June 7, 1911, he wrote to a complaining citizen:

"I am in receipt of your letter saying that all clubs should be closed at 10 o'clock at night, also all saloons, and also that piano playing and singing should not be allowed at any hour of the night, especially in summer, when people cannot close their windows so as to shut the noise out.

"I hereby authorize you to carry out all of these reforms. It may be that you will first have to get elected to the Legislature, and pass laws therefor for you know this is a government of laws and not of men; that is to say, those put in office may not do as they like, but may only carry out the laws as they are passed by the Legislature. Did you never hear of this before?"

MINISTERS TO REGISTER

(Savannah Tribune)

It is a commendable step recently undertaken by the ministers of the city in attempting to interest their colleagues to become registered voters. In doing so they will receive the plaudits of the pews and all who believe in true citizenship. Independent

Too long has the pulpit, with a few outstanding exceptions, been derelict in taking advantage of this the highest privilege granted citizens. Their apathy in this direction, no doubt, has been the cause of the non-interest of so large a number of our men and women who should be among the registered voters. Say what you may, the credit will have to be given the ministers as being the leaders of the people; for that reason, that old truism of "like priest, like people," fits this case very aptly. 2-9-28

The efforts to secure a larger registration among the ministers will be watched with a deal of interest. The leaders among them should not waiver until the last one of the large number of them is on the list. It would be quite an array to have more than one hundred ministers of this county registered as voters. This large number will then be in a position to lead the way and direct their members to the court house where they can register in order to discharge the franchise granted by the constitution of these United States. Atlanta, Ga.

It is very opportune that this campaign should be made at this time. Next November the presidential election takes place. Every citizen should be proud to cast a vote for his choice to occupy the White House for the term after March of 1929, as well as for a candidate for Congress.

Along with the efforts of the ministers, others of age to vote should be urged to qualify. There should be on the registration list of this county not less than five thousand voters. It can be done.

Suffrage

SENATOR BORAH ON DISFRANCHISEMENT

Senator Borah in reply to questionaires submitted as to his attitude as to the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution as well as enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment declared that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were not being violated, nor had nullification of those Amendments been attempted in the election laws passed by the so-called disfranchising States. Herald-Commonwealth

Senator Borah is a man of too great ability and a constitutional lawyer of too much distinction to pass up his opinion on so serious a question as idle or as the mere dictum of a politician. 1-21-28

Coming from a man of such ability at such a time and one high in Republican party leadership, sanction of Democratic disfranchisement in the South is a direct blow aimed at the liberty of the Negro in this country. It will heighten the spirit of intolerance, intensify the prejudice and increase the insolence and overbearing attitude of those who by unjust and unconstitutional laws have reduced the Negro in the disfranchising States to a condition of serfdom and made him in effect subject to the will of every individual white man. Baltimore, Md.

It will also justify the apathy of thousands of white citizens who are at heart just and fair, and satisfy the conscience of other thousands who believe in human rights but who have looked on with tolerance upon the suppression of human liberty in the South.

And Senator Borah arrived at his conclusions without the slightest investigation of the various and nefarious laws governing the suffrage and their administration.

In South Carolina for instance he would find had he investigated that the election laws require a new registration every ten years, that registration certificates are issued to voters who are permitted to qualify which certificates must be presented to the managers of election on election day. There are three supervisors of registration for each country; in order to qualify for registration the applicant must be 21 years of age, must be able to read and write any section of the Constitution of the State, or own $300 worth of property. These are the simple legal requirements. If an applicant is refused registration he can appeal to any udge of a superior court who decides whether he has the right to be registered.

Investigation would show Senator Borah that Negro applicants for registration are required in the majority of cases to not only read the Constitution but to understand or interpret legal terms of the instrument, that if they approach the supervisors' office in large numbers dilatory tactics are used and time after time hundreds of Negro applicants are unable to procure certificates at their county seats because of delay and often the registrars close the office when no white applicants are present. Also white citizens can procure certificates without applying in person while Negroes must apply.

The supervisors of registration who thus disfranchise the voters are officials appointed by the governor under the laws of the State, and the disfranchisement is known and approved by the State. And Senator Borah also puts the stamp of his approval and sanction upon this disfranchisement.

If by any calamity the able and shifty Senator should become the compromise candidate of the Republican party at Kansas City in June a million Negro citizens who enjoy the right of suffrage will know what to do to the Senator.

WORCESTER, MASS.

Woman Suffrage and Negro Suffrage

The 19th amendment to the federal Constitution provides: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

Suppose Massachusetts established a rule under which no person could be a voter in the state unless he or she could lift an iron bar of a given number of pounds. Suppose that the weight of the bar was so fixed that the rule excluded the great majority of women from the polls.

That's the way the Southern states deal with the question of Negro suffrage. They don't make rules which specifically prevent Negroes from voting. Instead, they make rules imposing tests which Negroes "happen" to be unable to pass.

HOUSE MIGHT CHOOSE TO BAR A NEGRO

Action Of Senate In Smith Case Is Menace To Minority Groups

1,500,000 PERSONS VOTED FOR SMITH

Entire Dixie Delegation In Congress Polled Far Fewer Votes

By WILLIAM PICKENS

NEW YORK, (ANP.)—Frank L. Smith, regularly elected senator from Illinois, was barred from his seat in Congress by a vote which was dominated by "gentlemen from the South."

It's a grim joke for the southern senators to be voting against any other senator on account of corruption, when nearly every senator from the South is elected by means of the most immoral disfranchisement of both white and black citizens. A senator from a southern state, for example, which ought to poll nearly one million voters, gets himself elected to Congress by a little rotten borough vote of less than 1,000, and has the nerve to vote to oust a man who was sent by an Illinois vote of 800,000, in an election that polled 1,500,000 votes,—or thirty times as many votes as were polled for both the southern senator and that southern senator's opponent. Nearly as many free and untrammeled votes were cast in the Illinois election as were cast to elect the entire southern delegation in Congress.

Politics

But, waving aside the question of morals, let us take up the question of policy and politics. Frank L. Smith was elected by the people of Illinois after they had learned all about his campaign expenses: they knew how much money had been spent on his campaign and where the money came from. Still they preferred Smith to his democratic opponent, for the democrat had doubtless spent all the money he could get on his campaign,—and had gotten all the money that anybody was willing to give him. This fact makes the question of the right of the people of Illinois to choose their own representatives the primary question.

Nobody Fooled

If Smith had fooled the people of Illinois, then the rest of the United States Senate might stand against him, in defense of the people of Illinois. But nobody was fooled; the people chose for themselves, and regardless of whether their choice was good or bad, they are not self-governing if their choice cannot stand. Certainly the people of Mississippi do not deserve to appoint themselves as guardians for the people of Illinois. Any state that is ignorant enough to elect a Bilbo for governor, cannot set itself up as a model for voters' virtues. And think of Alabama making any suggestions to Illinois after Alabama sent Hefflin to Congress!

Minorities

There is a menace to all minorities in this action against Smith: Socialists, Jews, Catholics, or Negroes could be excluded from the Senate, however lawfully elected by their constitution, if a mere majority of senators could be persuaded or bought to vote against them.

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REAPPORTIONMENT IN CONGRESS.

The reapportionment of the country for congressional purposes, for which a general resolution is before the house, is going to bring out a lively debate and airing of the disfranchisement of the colored race by the south. While the population proportions are practically the same in all the states, the number of voters per congressional district are widely apart. Thus in South Carolina the vote per district was around 7,000, but in Ohio was 91,000 and in California 114,000. The large excess in the Pacific state, however, is due to the decided increase of population since the last reapportioning under the 1910 census count, this being largely at the expense of eastern states. The bill in question contemplates the use of the 1930 official census, and provides if congress fails to act promptly, the figures shall be certified to each state, which in such event, will reapportion as the census bureau has indicated, the states acting upon the present number of representatives which is 435.

It must be said that the number of voters exercising the rights of suffrage in northern districts disclose quite a variation, but nowhere in such a great disparity as in the south. Even in southern states the disfranchisement varies but nowhere approaches the equality of northern districts. In states like Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, the vote per district is larger due to the less severity of the disfranchising law and absence of intimidation; the biggest differences exist in the southern belt and Atlantic coast states, Oklahoma being included in this belt.

It is felt that the only way this disproportioning of votes can be reached must be by some process not involving the use of military force at the polls and counting of ballots, and just how to get at this has a lot of angles. The probabilities are that nothing will be done whatever the injustice may be. It is sixty years or so since the south through its respective legislatures nullified the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, and since the ratification of these no federal arm has been stretched to enforce such. In the opinion of many who realize that open nullification has been resorted to by the south, yet after the decades that have passed with the federal government acquiescing by doing nothing about it, it is now too late to reopen the subject.

A late Washington dispatch giving an account of congressional proceedings, has the following on the reapportioning as such bears on the disfranchising of the colored race by the south:

"The average population per representative in South Carolina under the 1920 census was 240,532, while the average population per representative in Illinois was 240,195, indicating on its face an equality of representation for the citizens of the two states.

"When the election figures are examined however, it develops that the number of votes actually cast in the last presidential election averaged 7,250 per representative in South Carolina as compared with 91,483 per representative in Illinois.

"The election figures indicate that in South Carolina the white citizens do a more effective job in keeping the Negroes from voting than anywhere else in the south. The voting totals in all of the southern states, however, are far below those in the northern states.

"Votes cast in Alabama in the last presidential election averaged 13,499 per representative; in Georgia, 13,881; in Mississippi, 14,057; in Louisiana, 15,253; in Arkansas, 19,796; in Virginia, 22,361; in Florida, 27,288; in Texas, 36,528, and in North Carolina, 48,268.

"There is a wide discrepancy between these figures and the votes cast in Illinois and adjacent middle western states. In Wisconsin the votes cast averaged 76,428 per representative; in Michigan, 88,360; in Iowa, 88,814, and in Indiana, 97,394.

In Massachusetts the votes cast per representative averaged 70,718; in New York, 75,905; in Ohio, 91,647, and in California, which is to gain several seats in congress under the reapportionment bill, 116,525. The votes cast in the last presidential election throughout the country averaged 66,709 per representative in congress. North Carolina, the southern state with the heaviest vote, thus was 18,441 below the average, while South Carolina was 59,459 below the average."

With examples from prominent southerners talking of nullifiers in the northern part of those seeking modification or repeal of the eighteenth amendment and Volstead law, and with prominent advocates of the strictest enforcement using this term, it is no surprise that public attention is being drawn to the real nullification practiced in southern states.

In the belt of states not including Maryland Kentucky and Missouri, there are 112 members of the house of representatives, and from the three omitted states 33 representatives. The United States senators are not included in this reapportionment business because the constitution guarantees two from each state, but this same instrument provides that congress shall be the judge of the qualifications of its own members.

CHRONICLE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
MAR 18 1928

SOUTH FACES FIGHT OVER NEGRO VOTE

Old Question of Disenfranchisement Linked With Reapportionment

By ARTHUR CRAWFORD

Special by Leased Wire to The Chronicle

WASHINGTON, March 17.—Negro disenfranchisement in the South is due for a further airing in Congress.

Already the subject of heated debates in both houses at this session, the question threatens to bob up for discussion in connection with pending congressional reapportionment legislation.

Although the apportionment bill approved by the House Census Committee seeks to even up the the congressional districts in respect to population it fails to take into consideration the number of persons who are actually exercising the right of franchise.

WHEN FIGURES DECEIVE

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When the election figures are examined, however, it develops that the number of votes actually cast in the last presidential election averaged 7250 per Representative in South Carolina as compared with 91,483 per Representative in Illinois.

The election figures indicate that in South Carolina the white citizens do a more effective job in keeping the negroes from voting than anywhere else in the South. The voting totals in all of the Southern States, however are far below those in the Northern States.

VOTING STRENGTH COMPARED

Votes cast in Alabama in the last presidential election averaged 13,499 per Representative; in Georgia, 13,881; in Mississippi, 14,057; in Louisiana, 15,253; in Arkansas, 19,796; in Virginia, 22,361; in Florida 27,288; in Texas, 36,528, and in North Carolina, 48,268.

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CALIFORNIA TO GAIN

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Representative Tinkham, Republican, Massachusetts, who has a resolution pending before the Rules Committee of the House directing the Census Committee to make an investigation of negro disenfranchisement with a view to bringing about a proportionate reduction of representation of Southern States under the penalty provision of the fourteenth amendment to the Federal constitution, intends to keep hammering away on the subject.

Political - 1928

General.

Suffrage

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

OCT 9 1928

FOUGHT TO GIVE NEGRO FRANCHISE IN SOUTH IN 1890

House Passed Lodge Force Bill, 155 to 149.

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Oct. 8.—[Special.]—The last attempt made in congress to secure to the Negro in the south the right of suffrage which the fifteenth amendment was intended to guarantee was represented by the effort to pass the Lodge "force bill" in 1890.

After the first election of Cleveland the Republicans were convinced that if they were to perpetuate themselves in power they must take steps to obtain the electoral votes of the south of which they believed themselves deprived by the exclusion of the Republican Negroes from the electorate. They calculated that they were cheated of 24 congressmen and 38 electoral votes by election practices in the south. These practices were the intimidation of Negroes into staying away from the polls in some places and in others the suppression of the ballots of such Negroes as were allowed to vote.

Majority of One Vote.

In December, 1889, President Harrison in his message to congress proposed federal supervision of congressional elections. With approval of the Republican caucus by the narrow majority of one vote, Representative Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts introduced what was immediately dubbed by its opponents the "force bill." It was designed to enforce the fifteenth amendment, not to carry out the second section of the fourteenth amendment directing the reduction of representation in congress of states disfranchising citizens. The Republicans wanted the south to keep its representation but they wanted the representatives.

The Lodge bill provided that upon petition of from 50 to 100 voters in election districts, according to size, federal judges should appoint election boards to supervise elections and canvass returns. As the judges were nearly all Republicans, it was assumed that they would appoint boards with a majority of Republicans on each. There were provisions for using troops and deputy United States marshals to preserve order and protect voters at the polls.

Six Days' Heated Debate.

After a six day heated debate in the house, the bill was passed by a vote of 155 ayes to 149 noes on July 2, 1890. Of those who participated in the debate, few are alive today and fewer still in public life. Representative Theodore E. Burton of Ohio, Republican, is the sole survivor of that day in either house of congress. He voted for the bill. Another survivor on the Republican side is Henry Clay Hansbrough of North Dakota, later senator, who is now in Washington heading a committee organizing the farmer vote for Al Smith. Still another is Alfred A. Taylor of Tennessee, who was once beaten for the governorship by his brother, Bob, but lived to win the job in 1920 and detach Tennessee from the solid south for the first time since reconstruction. Others who voted for the bill were Speaker Tom Reed, the late Robert M. La Follette, Uncle Joe Cannon, and Dolliver of Iowa.

Two of the few survivors of the Democratic opponents of the measure are Benton McMillin, who is Democratic national committeeman for Tennessee, and William H. Forney of Alabama.

Senate Cool to Measure.

The bill never was considered in the senate. The Republican leadership in the senate was cool to the measure. Senator Don Cameron of Pennsylvania explained that manufacturing was reviving in the south, that northern capital was pouring in, and that "the election law would disturb this desirable condition and produce ill feeling between the north and south."

Besides, six new states were being admitted to the Union, and all were Republican, or good Republican prospects. Their votes in congress and their electoral votes would offset the votes the Republicans were deprived of by Negro disfranchisement in the south.

Still another reason was that the Democrats intended to filibuster the election bill by prolonging debate on the McKinley tariff bill. The Republicans were more interested in the protective tariff than in the Negro vote. They made a deal with the Democrats whereby debate on the tariff bill was limited and the election bill was abandoned.

Uncle Joe Cannon reported the special rule from the rules committee, under which the house debated and passed the bill. His remarks in favor of the measure were applauded by a delegation of Negroes in the gallery, according to references to that circumstance occurring in the debate. The Democrats were up in arms at once.

"It is a bill to try to elect a Republican congress this fall; but they can not do it," said Representative Flower of New York.

"Here is a proposition," said Representative McMillin, "the most far-reaching and the most revolutionary that has ever been presented. It is centralization run mad. Despotism is sure to follow if it be enacted."

What Lodge Declared.

Mr. Lodge pointed out that the bill was an extension of the election supervision act, "made necessary by the gigantic frauds in the city of New York" in 1870, when in some instances more votes were cast than there were residents in the election district. He instanced election frauds in other northern states to prove that the bill was not aimed at the south exclusively. Then he went on to deal with the question of the purity of elections in the south.

"If, as I have heard it stated on this floor," said Mr. Lodge, "southern elections are perfectly fair and the black man goes caroling to the voting place by the side of his employer seeking only to cast his vote for those whose interests are identical with his own, then, sir, it is the duty of the United States government to uncover this pleasing picture and display it to the country so that confidence may be restored, and no man may suspect longer that southern elections are open to criticism. . . .

Assails South's Elections.

"If, on the other hand, the belief of large masses of the people that in certain sections of the south such a thing as a fair election is unknown is well founded, then it is high time that the United States should put a stop to that evil, if they have to exercise to the very last point every power that the constitution has put into their hands."

Mr. Lodge said he did not wish to judge harshly of the southerners for dealing with the vexed race question otherwise than he would, but the fact was that whether wisely or unwisely the Negro had been enfranchised and that it had become the duty of the federal government to protect him in the exercise of that right.

"The government which made the black man a citizen of the United States," he said, "is bound to protect him in his rights as a citizen of the United States and it is a cowardly government if it does not do it. No people can afford to write anything into their constitution and not sustain it."

Excluded from Voting.

Mr. Lodge dwelt upon the inequality of representation in the house produced by the fact that Negroes were counted in apportioning congressmen to the south, but were excluded from voting, wherefore, each southern congressman represented but a fraction of the number of voters represented by the northern congressman.

Incidentally, Mr. Lodge pointed the way to the device the southern states soon thereafter began adopting to disenfranchise the Negro.

"If any state," he said, "thinks that any class of citizens is unfit to vote through ignorance it can disqualify them from voting for state officers or for members of this house. It has but to put an educational qualification into its constitution. But the disqualification like the qualification cannot recognize color, and that is the reason that legal methods never have been tried. The Negro is not thrust out from his rights merely because he is ignorant and unfit to use them, as is constantly charged, but because his skin is black. It is this distinction which gives the lie to every principle of American liberty that is at the bottom of the difficulty and of the problem which we all deplore."

Those Democratic Bolters.

One of the principal counts in the indictment of Al Smith by the southern Democratic bolters in this election is his affiliation with Tammany, arch symbol of corruption. And one of the principal arguments being put forward in defense of Tammany is that it saved the south from the Lodge force bill. This argument is based upon the activity of Tammany in fighting the measure. Although the bill passed the house, Tammany organized mass meetings of protest and to these is attributed in large part the crystallization of opposition which impelled the Republican leaders to pigeonhole the bill in the senate.

Ironical as it may seem in the light of the current southern anathematization of Tammany as the corrupter of government, the New York organization was opposed to the Lodge bill for the same reason as was the south: Because it would give the federal government the power to compel the holding of honest elections. Tammany controlled New York elections were notoriously dishonest, no less so than those in the south in which the Negroes were counted out. In those days Tammany and the south were political bedfellows.

Federal Supervision.

Representative Cummings of New York, Democrat, portrayed the operation of the proposed system in the case of New York. There would be federal supervisors of elections and canvassing boards appointed by Republican federal judges.

"After the election," said Mr. Cummings, "the board canvasses the vote for congressman in all the districts of the state and declares what candidates are entitled to seats. Imagine these three gentlemen, appointed for life by a circuit judge sitting in Vermont, canvassing the vote of the great state of New York, with its thirty-four members of congress. The New York representative who votes for this bill ought to blush with shame. He will repent of it in sackcloth and ashes."

TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILL.

OCT 23 1928

THREE SENATORS FAVOR ENFORCING 14TH AMENDMENT

Michigan Pair Pledge Full Co-operation.

BY ARTHUR CRAWFORD.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

Washington, D. C., Oct. 22.—(Special.)—With but few exceptions, present members and new candidates for congress in the middle west answering THE TRIBUNE'S query have declared for impartial enforcement of all constitutional provisions, including the second section of the fourteenth amendment.

Thus far fifty replies have been received from the five states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin. In this area present members and new candidates number about 160.

Four of the nine senators and nineteen of the seventy-three representatives as well as one new candidate for the senate and twenty-six new candidates for the house have replied.

Quizzed on Negro Vote.

More than half of the senators and three-fourths of the representatives in these states have not as yet been heard from on the proposition of whether the second section of the amendment, which would reduce the congressional representation of southern states which have disfranchised the Negro, should be given the same degree of enforcement as the eighteenth amendment.

The question as propounded by telegram to all members of congress and new candidates was as follows:

"Do you hold that all provisions of the constitution should be impartially enforced? If so, will you introduce or vote for a bill to carry into effect the second section of the fourteenth amendment?"

Of the middle western senators replying, Senator Arthur Robinson [Rep., Ind.] declares for enforcement of the constitution as written and Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg [Rep. Mich.] answers affirmatively, but says he believes that precedence should be given to another constitutional mandate which has been ignored by congress, that providing for reapportionment every ten years. Reapportionment would mean several additional members of congress for the state of Michigan.

Senator James Couzens [Rep., Mich.] pleads a desire for more light on the legal questions involved before committing himself, and Senator John J. Blaine [Radical, Wis.] accuses THE TRIBUNE of seeking to drag a red herring "across the political pathway."

Of the 19 present members of the house who have responded, all declare for impartial enforcement of all constitutional provisions with the exception of Cyrenus Cole [Rep., Ia.], who avoids answering the first half of the query and says he cannot commit himself to vote for or against any legislation until he has seen it in final form.

Mr. Cole is the only member of the present Iowa bone dry delegation who has answered.

Enforce All Provisions.

Harry C. Canfield [Dem., Ind.] also wants to examine any proposed legislation before promising to vote for it but he adds that he sees "no reason why all the provisions of the constitution should not be enforced."

Senator Robinson answered thus:

"I believe in the constitution of the United States as written and shall always vote to enforce it."

Senator Vandenberg's reply:

"All provisions should be enforced." This includes second section of 14th amendment, although its interpretation may be complicated by Supreme court decisions bearing upon question of what constitutes an actual unconstitutional denial of suffrage. But paragraph three, section two, article 1 dealing with same general subject of reapportionment is a plain and uncontrovertible mandate which congress has ignored for eight years.

"I believe this latter lapse should be cured first without complicating it collaterally. I have already introduced a bill in the senate to this end. I believe it is the first time house reapportionment was ever initiated on the senate side. If the house further delays in the matter, this senate measure will be pressed in the December session."

Senator Couzens' response:

"There have been many debates in the senate concerning this matter. Senators with excellent legal minds do not seem to agree as to whether the 14th amendment is being adhered to or not. I being a layman, do not feel competent to speak upon the matter until it has been thoroughly debated and comes up for final action."

Calls It Red Herring.

Senator Blaine's reply:

"The red herring that you drag across the political pathway should deceive no one."

A. J. Cermak, Democratic senatorial nominee in Illinois, is the only new candidate for the senate in the five middle west states who have replied.

"Consistency would demand that I give my utmost support to any legislation that would carry into effect the second section of the 14th amendment," said Mr. Cermak. "I have been a leader in the fight in Illinois for proper apportionment. The second section of the 14th amendment is imbedded in principles to which it is highly necessary that we conform in every respect. Discrimination against any body of our citizenry in whatever guise sows seeds from which there must inevitably be a bitter harvest."

Responses of present house members in the middle west declaring for enforcement of all provisions include the following:

Britten Shows Interest.

FRED A. BRITTEN [Rep., Ill.]—All provisions of the constitution should be enforced. I will introduce a bill if necessary or will vote favorably on another's bill to carry into effect the second section of the fourteenth amendment.

ELLIOTT W. SPROUL [Rep., Ill.]—I would answer yes to both questions.

CARL R. CHINDBLOM [Rep., Ill.]—I hold that all provisions of the constitution should be impartially enforced. Will support necessary legislation to carry into effect second section of fourteenth amendment, as we as other provisions of the constitution.

A. J. SABATH [Dem., Ill.]—Am in favor of impartial enforcement of not only one but all provisions of constitution. Will also state that, in view of the fact that eighteenth amendment has been forced upon the people by questionable means, as admitted by Pussyfoot Johnson and his associates and as it is responsible for the wave of crime and corruption throughout the United States and disregard of law, I am in favor of its amendment even its repeal.

Igoe Stands Firm.

JAMES T. IGOE [Dem., Ill.]—I stand firmly for the honest enforcement of all the provisions of the constitution. But I believe just as firmly in the right to amend that revered instrument if and whenever a majority of our people believe amendments are necessary in order that its provisions shall be the more fittingly adapted to the vast changes in modern life and national development, such amendments to be brought about as specifically provided in article 5 of the constitution itself. I am thus in absolute accord with the attitude of Gov. Alfred E. Smith.

HOMER W. HALL [Rep., Ill.]—I hold that all provisions of the constitution should be impartially enforced.

J. EARL MAJOR [Dem., Ill.]—I am in favor of enforcement of all provisions of the constitution, including section section of the 14th amendment and will vote accordingly.

ED M. IRWIN [Rep., Ill.]—I shall suport legislation to make operative second section of the 14th amendment.

H. E. ROWBOTTOM [Rep., Ind.]—Will introduce or support bill to carry into effect second section of the 14th amendment.

NOBLE J. JOHNSON [Rep., Ind.]—Will at all times vote to enforce the constitution.

R. N. ELLIOTT [Rep., Ind.]—I believe that the constitution in its entirety should be enforced and respected and will vote for a bill to carry into effect the section section of the fourteenth amendment to the constitution if the rights of the state of Indiana are properly safeguarded.

FRED S. PURNELL [Rep., Ind.]—Am in favor of doing whatever is necessary to make the fourteenth amendment or any other amendment fully effective.

JOHN C. SCHAFER [Rep., Wis.]—Would certainly vote for legislation carrying into effect second section fourteenth amendment.

GEORGE J. SCHNEIDER [Rep., Wis.]—Favor impartial enforcement second section fourteenth amendment of the constitution.

FRANK P. BOHN [Rep., Mich.]—My answer is yes.

LITTLE HOPE FOR ENFORCEMENT OF 14TH AMENDMENT

Most of Our Legislators And Would-Be Legislators Seem To Be Afraid of The 14th Amendment To The Constitution

(Associated Negro Press)

CHICAGO, Nov. 7—Little or no hope for action in congress to compel the enforcement of the second section of the 14th Amendment to the constitution is to be found in the replies to more than nine hundred telegrams on this subject sent by the Chicago Tribune to members of the senate and of the house of representatives and to candidates for membership in these two bodies.

Only sixty-four members of the present congress, containing more than five hundred members in senate and house, replied to the telegram of the Tribune, which was as follows:

"Do you hold that all provisions of the constitution should be impartially enforced? If so, will you, if elected, introduce or vote for a bill to carry into effect the second section of the 14th Amendment?"

Enforcement of the second section of the 14th Amendment would compel the south to give the Negro the vote or to submit to having its representation in congress reduced.

A total of 145 replies were received to the 900 telegrams dispatched by the Tribune. Of these, 14 were from present senators and 50 from present representatives, a total of 64. Of 81 from new candidates four were from senatorial nominees and 77 from house nominees.

Present senators lined up as follows: For impartial enforcement of all provisions of the constitution 9; against 2; noncommittal 3.

Present representatives: For, 42; against, 8.

New candidates for the senate: For, 3; noncommittal, 1.

New candidates for the house: For 70; against, 3; noncommittal, 4.

Members and candidates from the Democratic south were a practical unit, either against proper enforcement or in their failure to reply to the telegram.

Only one member, La Guardia of New York, indicated any willingness to put up a fight for such legislation.

Leaders in the fight for the en- were conspicuous by their silence in respect to the 14th. Senator William forcement of the 18th Amendment E. Borah, Republican of Idaho, one of the most active drys in the country, pleaded that he needed time to study the 14th Amendment, in spite of the face that he has hitherto expressed himself unfavorably in regard to Negro enfranchisement.

AUGUSTA, ME.

MAY 22 1928

REFUSAL TO GRANT BALLOT STIRS SOLONS

S. Carolina Leads in Disfranchising

Washington.—The pending congressional reapportionment legislation has both northern and southern members of congress preparing for a battle on Race disfranchisement in the South. The apportionment bill, although approved by the house census committee, seeks to even up the congressional districts in respect to population, it fails to take into consideration the number of persons who are actually exercising the right of franchise. The northern members of congress will attack such conditions in the South as exemplified by the recent action of the Florida authorities in denying Race members the right to register for the Democratic primary election on the ground that the party was a private affair and not open to all citizens.

COMPARISON REVEALS UNJUST RULES

The unfairness of the present system used in electing members to congress is shown in the case of Illinois and South Carolina. The citizens of Illinois casting their ballots for representative will continue to wield an average of only one-twelfth as much political power as actual voters in the Southern state. This condition will be maintained, since Illinois will continue to have 27 representatives and South Carolina seven under the terms of the bill. The census showed that in South Carolina in 1920 the average population per representative was 240,532, while the average population per representative in Illinois was 240,195. This indicates on its face an equality of representation.

The election figures, however, revealed that the number of votes actually cast in the last presidential election in South Carolina averaged 7,250 per representative as compared with 91,483 per representative in Illinois. Only about 3 per cent of the men, women and children of both races exercise the right of franchise in South Carolina as compared with 40 per cent in Illinois. The South Carolina senator, Cole Blease, is true in his boast that under the qualifications prescribed for voters by the constitution of his state, members of the Race are kept from the polls.

CONGRESS MAY REDUCE SOUTH'S POWER

The election figures indicate that in South Carolina the white citizens do a more effective job of keeping people from voting than anywhere in the South. The voting totals in all of the southern states, however, are far below those in the northern states.

Votes cast in Alabama in the last presidential election average 13,499 per representative; in Georgia, 13,881; in Mississippi, 14,057; in Louisiana, 15,253; in Arkansas, 19.796; in Virginia, 22,361; in Florida, 27,288; in Texas, 36,528, and in North Carolina, 48,268.

Representative Tinkham, Republican, Massachusetts, who has a resolution pending before the rules committee of the house directing the census committee to make an investigation of disfranchisement with a view to bringing about a proportionate reduction of representation of southern states under the penalty provision of the 14th amendment to the federal Constitution, intends to keep hammering away on the subject.

"There is much more in the refusal of congress to enforce the Constitution than the lawless and unconstitutional suppression of the Negro vote," said Mr. Tinkham. "There is involved the destruction of a just and equal balance of political power among all the states of the Union.

"The states of the South now count all the white population and all the Negro population as the basis for their representation and obtain in congress and in the electoral college representation for both the white population and the Negro population, the latter of which they disfranchise."

Negroes Make Ready To Vote

Plan to Take an Active Part In The Southern DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES

Their Insistence to Vote Causing Politicians Concern

New York, Apr. 6—The victory won last year before the U. S. Supreme Court in the so-caled Texas White Primary Case by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has brought about a ferment throughout the South in this year's primary elections. In many cities of the South Negroes are registering as Democrats with the purpose of casting their ballots and making themselves felt as a power in local elections. White politicians are at a loss to account for the situation and are attempting to devise means to keep the Negroes from participating in the primaries.

In two States particularly, Virginia and Florida, the vote of Negroes are making a determined stand.

Nathan A. Jones, President of the Pensacola Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., reports that no less than 1500 Negroes have registered in that city to the consternation of the white politicians. The Attorney General of Florida is reported to have advised charging the Negroes with perjury on the ground that they had not voted as Democrats in the previous election.

Florida

Mr. Jones writes in part: "We Negroes have registered to vote in the Democratic primary and have regis-

(Continued on page 4)

SOUTH IN FERMENT AS NEGROES INSIST ON PRIMARY VOTING

(Continued from page 1)

tered as Democrats. It is only in this city that that is the case and we have registered 1500.

"We have so registered in the city and state and county registration books. Our action was taken because we felt as taxpayers we were not getting a fair deal by the city authorities—no parks, nor lights, nor water, nor city work.

"The city Democratic Committee says we can not vote in the city primary which comes off on Tuesday the 10th of April. The Attorney General has made a ruling that we can no vote in the state wide primary, since the Bryan primary law of this State gives the Executive Committee authority to say who can vote in a democratic primary and who can not.

"In the primary for city officer or commissioner, which primary is equivalent to an election we are taking the position that we have a right to vote under the Supreme Court's ruling (in the Texas White Primary Case).

"We are preparing to contest any refusal to permit us to vote on next Tuesday when we shall go into court on a writ of mandamus that very day. Our case will go directly to the Circuit Court and should we lose there we are to take our appeal to the State Supreme Court and should we lose there shall go to the U. S. Supreme Court.

"Knock-Out" For Southern Laws

'Our winning means the knocking out of various election laws in the South and that question will be settled for all time to come.

"The opinion of the Attorney General on perjury means that perjury could be charged only if one should swear to an election official that they had voted a Democratic ticket in the last election when they had not done so."

Another "knock-out" for southern disfranchisement is being prepared by colored voters in Richmond, Virginia, to the number of some 5,000, who are preparing to vote in the primary elections and to carry their case to court on the basis of the Supreme Court's decision in the Texas White Primary Case, in the event the white politicians try to prevent their voting.

Texas

In Texas, according to the Houston Sentinel, Negroes are not only being urged to enter the Democratic state primary election but are taking active part also in the Republican campaign.

Commenting on the contests over primary voting in the South, James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., said:

"The first breach in the disfranchisement wall against Southern Negroes has been made. The N. A. A. C. P. last year obtained a clear and unequivocal ruling from the United States Supreme Court that Negroes are entitled to vote in primary elections and cannot be excluded. Once the Negroes take advantage of this in large numbers, as they are beginning to do in Virginia and in Florida, the solid South and the rigid caste dominance of a small group of white Democrats are doomed. The white politicians realize this. They are faced with the inevitable. They will try to evade the plain issue. But Negroes are now determined to vote as United States citizens in the Far South on the same terms as in New York and Chicago. These Supreme Court decisions being won by the N. A. A. C. P. naturally cannot be fully utilized immediately. But they are there to stay. Eventualy the Negro will take full advantage of them. Inevitably white Southern prejudice will have to bow to law, or law itself will give way to the rule of force and anarchy."

The Negro As A Voter

Barred from the polls in the South; elected to office and in some States a political power in the North—this remains the present anomalous position of the American negro politically," declares Herbert J. Seligman, director of publicity of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in Current History. Several events during the past year have clearly shown the drift toward independence among the negro voters. First of these, perhaps have been the results of the United States Supreme Court's decision respecting the Texas white primary law when the case of Dr. L. A. Nixon, a Democrat fully qualified as a voter and a member of the Democratic Party, except for his color, was carried before that body "which unanimously held that the Texas law violated the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment." The result was an unprecedentedly heavy registration of colored people and enrolment in the Democratic Party in Western Texas. Since the last municipal election "the whole of Cleveland is now awake to the fact that the negro's vote can no longer be classed as solidly for the Republican Party or for any party. The situation of the negro voter in the South has lately been given a thorough airing from two opposite points of view. Representative George Holden Tinkham of Massachusetts declares in plain terms that the disfranchisement of qualified negroes is a 'national scandal,' and he has urged upon Congress appropriate action to reduce the representation of the disfranchising Southern States in consonance with the second section of the Fourteenth Amendmet. Mr Tinkham stresses the fact that the Civil War actually increased the power of the South in that the Southern States are now given full representation on the basis of non-voting negroes; whereas before the Civil War they were represented on the basis of only 60 per cent of their slaves. On the other hand, Senator Glass and Senator Swanson have been saying plainly that the South does not intend that the negro shall vote; that he will continue to be disfranchised; and that this is being accomplished with the strictest technical regard for the Constitution. In Mississipp and other Southern rural sections where the white dominance is equally rigid and uncompromsing, constitutional or legal questions simply do not arise. Any negro who attempts to vote takes his life in his hands. The negro vote is also negligible in Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Georgia and Tennessee, outside the large cities, in fact throughout the rural South."

AMERICA'S 8 MILLION VOTELESS CITIZENS

Republicans of North Connive in Disfranchisement of the Negro Population of the South

By Herbert J. Seligman

INSOFAR as the United States is supposed to be an experiment in democratic form of government, the South is not part of the United States. The South does not believe in democracy. It does not practise it, insofar as democracy is supposed to rest in the voting privilege. For colored citizens of the Southern States, in every way qualified, by property, tax-paying, and intelligence, are deprived of their right to vote simply because of their color and their African descent.

New Leader

Only recently we have had the spectacle of two United States Senators proclaiming on the floor of the United States Senate, not only their knowledge of the fact that Negroes are denied the vote in the South, but the expressed determination of the white people that Negroes shall continue to be deprived of the franchise.

and American

Appeal

3-3-28

The disfranchisement of the Negro after the Civil War was accomplished mainly by lawlessness, violence and intimidation by the Ku Klux Klan and other bodies. It will be recalled that there are two Amendments to the United States Constitution, dealing with this question of the vote. One is the 14th Amendment, of which the second section provides that in States disfranchising Negroes or other people because of their race or color, representation in Congress shall be proportionately reduced. The other Constitutional Amendment which applies to the matter of voting is the 15th Amendment which states plainly that no American citizen shall be denied the voting right because of race or color.

Dead Amendments

Both these Amendments to the Constitution are constantly and admittedly evaded, most flagrantly in that section of the country which is loudest in its demands for the enforcement of the prohibition Amendment.

Before 1890 Negroes were deprived of their votes mainly by violence. But since the era of violence between the years 1870 and 1890, new means of accomplishing the same end were discovered. One of the most famous of these means, some years ago declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, were the so-called Grandfather clauses in the Constitutions of Southern states. These clauses made the voting privilege dependent upon war service or residence or voting of oneself or an ancestor in the past. Other means were easily found for accomplishing the same end as that sought by the Grandfather clauses.

Property qualifications were required of intending voters which deprived not only many Negroes of the vote, but many of the poorer whites as well. There were poll and other tax requirements so that if one either failed to pay the tax or lost any of his tax receipts the right to vote could be denied. There were educational tests. These educational tests were most obviously designed to be used against the Negro. Under the provisions of the educational requirements citizens might be required to explain some sentence or part of the Constitution. As the most eminent lawyers differ about the Constitution and its interpretation, and as the Supreme Court sometimes votes five to four on Constitutional questions coming before it, it is not hard to see how some Southern Negro's explanation of a sentence or paragraph from the Constitution might be found wanting.

The South's Apology

These laws, technically legal and in accord with the Constitution, do not mention the Negro. Therefore no Constitutional question is involved in most of them. Yet their intent was to furnish a pretext for depriving the Negro of his vote. And although the law shows no discrimination on its face, it was passed for the express purpose of being unjustly and inequitably administered. So that in many Southern States, in Mississippi, for example, where the colored population is almost equal to the white, in Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, except in the large cities, the Negro has virtually no voice in determining who shall represent him, who shall make and who shall administer his laws, and spend the taxes he pays. Taxation without representation is of the essence of the Southern scheme of things, so far as the Negro is concerned.

What is the apology of the South for this situation? Senator Swanson of Virginia recently voiced it. Senator Swanson says the Fourteenth Amendment did not give the Negro the right to vote, but penalized any State which withheld that right. The Fourteenth Amendment therefore, left the question of conferring the vote in the hands of the States. Moreover, the Supreme Court has declared that the Fifteenth Amendment did not confer the vote on anybody but merely stated that the vote should not be withheld because of race or color. Therefore, says Senator Swanson and a considerable section of the South, the South is not violating the Constitutional Amendments because its laws are not withholding the vote on the ground of race or color.

The Texas Improvement

The answer of course, is that the disfranchisement occurs outside the law. Senator Swanson says the recourse of the Negro is to the courts, when his rights as a citizen are invaded. One Negro in Mississippi did go to the courts and bring suit because he was refused opportunity to register. The consequence of his attempt to obtain justice was that he had to flee from his town because the white people threatened him with violence. And the suit was discontinued. For a Negro outside the largest cities in the South to attempt to vote, is to take his life in his hands. Unless he is one of the handful of colored people admitted to the polls by grace of the white minority as a gesture or because it is known those few Negroes will vote right.

The attempt to deprive the Negro of his fundamental citizenship went so far in Texas, that Texas in 1924 passed a law which made it illegal for any Negro to vote in the Democratic primary elections of that State. Now as everyone knows, in Texas, as in other Southern States, there is only one party of any voting strength and that is the Democratic party. So that the candidates designated at the Democratic primary elections in Texas and other States, are practically automatically elected to office. Therefore, to exclude anyone from voting in the primary is just as effectually to deprive him of his vote as if he were deprived of the voting privilege altogether.

This Texas law did not go uncontested. A qualified Negro voter, Dr. L. A. Dixon of El Paso, a Democrat, took the case to court. He was backed up by the National Association for the Advancement of colored People which carried the case to the United States Supreme Court. And confronted with a plain case of denial of the vote on the ground of race and color, the Supreme Court had no alternative but to declare the Texas law unconstitutional. But the purely legal side of the disfranchisement question, although it is a matter of national hypocrisy in which the North is quite as much involved as the South, is only a phase of the situation.

The Stamp of Inferiority

Denial of the vote to the Negro in the South becomes a symbol for fastening the stamp of inferiority upon him. The man who is voteless, is ineffective in his demands for better education, for police protection, for sanitation. Too often he is the victim of injustice in the courts. Where his personal safety is concerned he is often the victim of the mob, the mob which may either beat him, or in too many cases hangs him, shoots him, or burns him alive at the stake before gloating audiences in which women and children mingle.

Part of the problem of the South and of the rest of the nation as well, is to get rid of the relic of slavery days, the notion that the Negro is something less than a man, and that white supremacy must be by laws which are in their intention lawless, which have been enacted for the purpose of denying and evading the spirit of the law of the land. For it is not a question of the Negro's having to prove his fitness to exercise the privilege of voting. If the Southern laws were directed merely against the ignorant and the unfit, and white men of this class were excluded equally with Negroes, there would be no valid criticism. It is because the Negro, no matter how thoroughly well qualified he may prove himself in every way, is submitted to this denial of his fundamental citizenship rights that protest is made against the Southern practise as vicious.

In the North Negroes have not only been exercising the ballot, but have been holding important offices with the most conspicuous success. One of the ablest members of the Ohio legislature for a number of years was a colored attorney of Cleveland, Harry E. Davis, who has recently been elected to the Civil Service Commission of his city.

What Actually Happens

The kind of intimidation Negroes are subjected to in the South to keep them from the ballot boxes was exposed during the 1920 election, by which a Republican President came into office. It was disclosed by an investigator for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people that Negroes were threatened and insulted as they approached the polling places in Florida. One leading colored man, a physician and respected member of the community, was spat upon by a crowd which dared him to wipe his face because he committed the crime of advising colored men and women of the community to register and vote. Two brothers in Columbia County were called from their homes and almost beaten to death two weeks before election day and for the same crime of having urged Negroes to vote. In one small town, Ocoee, in Orange County Florida, a bloody riot ensued upon the attempt of a colored man to vote. Word had been sent out that no Negro was to be allowed to cast a ballot. But this colored man, owner of an orange grove, of his own home, a respected member of the community who had never been in any trouble, did attempt to vote. He was severely beaten and told to go home. Thereafter a group of armed white men went to his house to get him, having no warrant for his arrest. Two of them were shot in the Negro's defense of his home. In the riot which ensued every Negro home, schoolhouse, church and lodge in the community was burned to the ground, in one case at least acording to report, a colored woman and her child perished in the flames.

The situation as disclosed by special investigation of the election in 1920 in Florida, represents the spirit of the white minority which is determined to rule the South and to prevent the Negro from voting there. United States Senators may say what they like about the legality on the face of the Southern laws. It is the facts that count. And those facts, it is quite generally understood, include any sort of brutality, law evasion, inequity in the administration of the law, hypocrisy and subterfuge, by which colored citizens may be deprived of what is plainly intended shall be their right.

Heretofore efforts in Congress to have these facts placed on record and proved, have failed. **The North has conspired with the South in its violation of the Constitution.** Congressman George H Tinkham of Massachusetts has introduced a resolution in the present session of Congress, Resolution Number 34 in the House of Representatives, calling upon the Census Committee to investigate and report on disfranchisement, making the facts available in such a form that

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Political - 1928

Suffrage

General

PLAIN BUNK

A well known leader writes that the "white man is guileful and the black man is gullible." This statement was inspired by the clever manner in which black people are being jockeyed in national politics. It strikes us that the great rank and file of both black and white are gullible and by that we mean that they readily believe that which is not true. There are white people in this country who really believe that the Republican party is seeking to establish some kind of social equality for the black people and on the other hand there are black people who are fed up on the idea that the Democratic party champions lynchings and would put them back in the house of bondage. It is gullibility, pure and simple.

The Republicans have neither thought nor concern about establishing the myth of social equality; in fact our social, political and economic problems are not in the scheme of party politics. Those who dope up racial propaganda and seek to turn away white votes from the Republican party thereby, know that in certain sections of this country this kind of talk arouses the sluggish, backward, ignorant whites who feast upon it like dogs on raw meat. They, like some others that we know about, are reached through emotions and their emotions alone. No intelligent black man nor any fair minded American citizen of the white race is alarmed or concerned about the Republicans changing the existing status of the black man. There is no such issue involved. The black people are not expecting any sudden upheaval themselves along these lines and would be amazed and dumbfounded beyond expression if any drastic or radical changes were made in regard to themselves. They know what to expect from the Republicans.

Just as most of the southern whites view the Republicans as champions of the black man's cause, just so a large portion of black voters shrink from the idea of a Democratic administration; but if any individual, be he white or black, were asked the difference in regards to the black man of Woodrow Wilson's or Harding's or Coolidge's administration he could not state it to save his life, for there were no outstanding differences. We have lived and survived under both Democratic and Republican administration under virtually the same conditions, and this writer feels that we will continue to do so.

We feel that a campaign of intelligence and truth is sadly needed both among the blacks and the whites and the question about race ought to be disregarded. The great questions before the country today do not include the problems of the black man and we do not believe that either of the parties is ever going to work them out; the black man will be compelled to work them out himself. When he gets strong enough economically he will be able to get his political rights.

The issues that are deemed paramount before the nation now are the questions concerning prohibition, farm relief, foreign relations and trade in general and whenever the issues of race or religion are interjected and interposed it is because of the known gullibility of masses. They fall for the bunk.

The Democratic party is not interested in lynching us or disfranchising us and we do not believe that there is any practical difference in southern white Republicans and southern white Democrats. The southern white Republicans are known as Lily-White and they mean us no good and southern white Democrats feel just about the same.

We belive that it is time for the people, both white and black, to begin to think straight and spurn all of the foolish, meaningless bunk that has swayed them so long. It is time for the southern white man to awaken and put an end to his exploitation by those who have beclouded his vision with rudely drawn word pictures of black domination. It is time for the black to awaken to the fact neither political party has its foot on his neck and that he should be controlled and motivated by the issues of the day and their relation to him.

Think Before You Vote

Representatives of the parties meet in Jefferson City September 11 and there make up their party platforms. They are the nominees each has chosen to run for state offices and the platform says what they will do if elected. Four years ago, the two parties made very similar promises, but the republicans won. It is their failure to keep their word which leads us to insist that the 1928 platform shall mean more than that of 1924.

Platform talk about Negro education has been made a farce by Governor Baker's administration when it leaves in force Missouri's damnable stipulation of fifteen children before a Negro rural school is required. This unfairness is no chance. Mark the political skullduggery that has gone on in Lincoln university during the whole of this term. Remember Baker's veto of funds voted for improvements at Lincoln! Without the lynchings which Missouri has had under Baker, without this administration's heartless handling of our unfortunates, its failure to do anything constructive for Negroes proves the need of plainer language in the platforms of 1928.

The Negroes of Missouri "need everything from a hat down and from an overcoat in," and both parties need the Negro in this state. The much-talked-of "balance of power" has real existence in Missouri. The need of the parties is our opportunity to wipe out that elementary school stipulation! Let's lift Lincoln out of the political pig sty! Let's stop lynching! Let's punish any judge who takes possession of a Negro's property, and whacks off a huge chunk for his favorite as one did in St. Louis. In short, lift Missouri out of its mossback ways and set its face toward civilization! Negro voters should vote for the party that promises best, and most looks like it will carry out its promises.

Colored Population Exceeds Whites in Two States

GIVE STATISTICS ON SOLID SOUTH

Washington, D. C., Aug. 9th—Statistics showing the Negro and white population of the states of the "Solid South" has just been released here by the census department. According to the table given the Race votes would be a potential power in politics in the South if it were not for disfranchisement practices. Over half the population of these states is made up of Negroes. The table follows:

State	White	Negroes
Alabama	1,447,032	900,652
Arkansas	1,279,757	472,220
Florida	638,153	329,487
Georgia	1,689,114	1,206,257
Louisiana	1,096,611	700,257
Mississippi	853,962	935,184
N. Carolina	1,783,779	753,407
S. Carolina	918,538	864,719
Tennessee	1,885,993	451,758
Texas	3,918,165	741,694
Virginia	11,617,999	690,017
Totals	17,129,013	8,055,760